1. 1
Urban Renewal

October 28, 1965

Mr. Clarence Funnye
Idea Plan Associates, Inc.
201 Clinton Avenue
Suite 4C
Brooklyn 5, New York

Dear Clarence:

We are interested in using the free consultative services of Idea Plan Associates in the fields of urban renewal and urban planning. We will certainly pass the word around, and would appreciate receiving additional, more explicit material on the subject.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:ns

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George NAC

IDEA PLAN ASSOCIATES, INC.

"Planning For People"
201 Clinton Avenue, Suite 4C, Brooklyn 5, New York
UL 8-8346

directive staff

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urban design

ROGER STARR, B.A.
housing economics

ROBERT A. DENTLER, Ph.D.
urban sociology

October 20, 1965

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

OCT 21 1965

Dear Jim,

Reading through the minutes of the Convention has reminded me that a resolution was passed authorizing the obtaining of an unpaid consultant in urban renewal and urban planning. I don't recall that this has been done, so I would like to offer the services of Idea Plan Associates.

As you know, we are particularly interested in the potential for deghettoization through physical and social design, with emphasis on the role which urban renewal can play in such an area. We have also done work in several other aspects of urban planning, and have acted as consultants to Borough Hall CORE on the Cadman Plaza urban renewal area, with regard to the question of inclusion of low-income housing in the project.

I think the services of a dedicated young group of urbanists would be most helpful to CORE. I look forward to hearing from you as to your feelings on the matter.

Sincerely,

Clarence

Clarence Funnyé

CF/sb

would it be necessary for the consultant to see the application to be filled out and would application need more explicit material on form —

JF

TENANT NEWS

METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING
CITY-WIDE ORGANIZATION OF TENANTS

NOV·1965

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
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[redacted]

From the coffee-and-Danish at 9:30 a.m. until adjournment at 4 p.m., the MCH 7th Annual Conference will be a working down-to-earth day. The conference, on Sat., Nov. 20, will be an ORGANIZING CONVENTION...for more effective tenant councils...for a more effective Metropolitan Council on Housing.

This can be seen in the kind of panels which are scheduled in the morning:

Panel I --- How to Organize a House
Panel II -- How to Organize a Tenant Council
Panel III - How to Organize in a Conservation, Rehabilitation, or Urban Renewal Area
Panel IV -- New Legislative Tools in Organizing(new rent strike laws)
Panel V --- Publicity Techniques in Organizing

Box lunches, reserved in advance at $1 each, will be distributed in the panels so the discussion can go on through the lunch hour. The morning panels will end at 1:45.After a brief pause and stretch, the conference will reconvene in Plenary Session. MCH chairman, Jane Benedict, will chair the plenary session which will tackle the problem of "Making Met Council Stronger and More Effective." Major Owens, MCH vice-chairman and a leader in Brooklyn CORE, will make brief opening remarks before the morning panels.

Conference registration is $1 per delegate. Each affiliate should send three, four, five or more delegates.

Vol. IV, No. 2
October, 1965

[redacted]

The picketline at 68th St. and 3rd Ave. on Oct. 9 sounded more like the Metropolitan Opera than the Metropolitan Council on Housing. Sopranos trilled and baritones demanded stronger rent control in rich, melodic tones. How come?

The magnificent voices came from a group of young men and women who joined the picketline spontaneously. They were high school students who had been auditioning for the All-City High School Chorus nearby. Until they came, the picketline consisted of 150 enthusiastic, but off-key, MCH tenants. With their arrival, everyone suddenly sang louder -- and better!

Rent increases protested

The picketline was held in front of the home of Mrs. Hortense Gabel, head of the City Rent and Rehabilitation Administration. It was held to protest the weakening of rent control by constant rent increases. Since the City took over control, rent increase on top of increase has weakened rent control and allowed rents to go up and up. The RRA keeps adding more and more reasons for increases -- bells and buzzers, peepholes, boiler repairs,TV security systems, etc. These increases go on forever -- even after the "improvement" is paid for.

(please turn to page 4)

(Photo by Lucille Flato)

[redacted]

Like the hearty crew of the Nina, the Pinta and the Santa Maria -- 41 determined explorers from the Cooper Square Committee set out for Washington, D.C. on Columbus Day, Oct. 12. Their task was to find a new route to the Alternate Plan for Cooper Square.

After being wished Godspeed by the ABC-TV crew at 7 a.m. in New York City, the explorers set forth to confront Robert Weaver, head of the Federal housing agency, HHFA. They wanted to protest the City's inhumane urban renewal plan for their community and ask him to back the Alternate Plan. The A.P. was drawn up by the community itself with the help of a professional planner and is being ignored by the City despite pious words in favor of "citizen participation."

Farbstein and Ryan back tenants

The explorers were well-supplied with picket signs and 2,000 leaflets in their chartered bus. Waiting for them in Washington were Cong. Leonard Farbstein and Wm. Ryan, who are among the Plan's sponsors. After an hour's delay due to heavy rains, the explorers arrived and made a splendid sight as they entered the ornate hearing room on Capitol Hill. Petite, silver-haired Thelma Burdick, chairman of the Cooper Square Comm., was flanked by children who live on the site, by old men and women struggling to keep up with the younger men and women, by artists and students, by black, white, and Spanish and English-speaking tenants.

The meeting was attended by Farbstein & Ryan and by Mr. Andrew Hickey, an assistant to Weaver. Weaver refused to meet.

Questions but no answers

Miss Burdick got right to the point. "What we want to know," she asked, "is why there is no real citizen participation in the urban renewal program and why won't Mr. Weaver hear our complaint?" Mr. Hickey gave an explanation which the group called "ineffectual and double-talking," and then Cong. Ryan and Farbstein promised to try to arrange a meeting with the committee, the NY head of the HHFA and City agencies.

Indignant at Weaver's refusal to meet with the restless natives, the group left and gathered outside his offices on K St. Soon the street was alive with the chanting, singing explorers. Radio, TV and newspaper reporters were moved by their spirit and determination. Chants of "NO FEDERAL FUNDS TO DESTROY OUR HOMES" and "MR. WEAVER -- TALK WITH US!" drifted through the closed doors of the building.

Police were everywhere, filling the lobby of the HHFA, crowding the sidewalk & begging unsuccessfully for a quieter demonstration, and, finally, in squad cars, escorting the waving, laughing busload out of Washington. Undaunted, the happy warriors sped back to NY to picket Weaver the next day at the Women's City Club.

Like now!

The exciting events of the day were seen on ABC-TV and NBC-TV, were carried in the NY Times, the Daily News and the Village Voice, and heard on WNEW, WINS and WNYC. To quote a new, hip member of the committee: "The Alternate Plan is cool, man. We mean to see it come to pass, and like soon!"

Frances Goldin

A TENANT NEWS MUSICAL BONUS -- songs to picket the HHFA chief by.

(Sung to the tune of "Give My Regards to Broadway.")

"Give our regards to Weaver.
Remind him that we tried to meet.
Tell all the boys up in HRB
Our Plan they won't defeat.
Tell Weaver that he'll be lonely
If citizens he turns away.
The Alternate Plan for Cooper Square
Will be reality some day."

[redacted]

The Spiegel law was revised in the last session of the legislature -- for the better. This is the law which permits the City Welfare Dept. to withhold rent paid for welfare clients if there are serious violations in the apartment. Now the withheld rent will remain in the City's treasury and never be paid to the landlord. The landlord can get the rent restored when he removes the violations but he gets no retroactive rent for the months when the violations existed.

[illegible] HOUSING HELD DOWN IN HOUSING ACT OF 1965; MCH CALLS FOR ACTION

Soon after Pres. Johnson signed the Federal Housing Act of 1965 into law, MCH issued a detailed analysis of the major features of the new legislation. The MCH statement said that "as a whole, the Housing Act is a tremendous disappointment. Instead of responding to widespread demands for more public housing, it holds appropriations down to 35,000 new units per year (plus 25,000 rehabilitated units). New York City's share would not be more than 3,000 per year."

The statement goes on to consider the gimmick of "rent supplements," and to "oppose the rent supplement as a substitute for public housing." Some of the objections to rent supplements are listed -- low income tenants will spend more money for rent, they will be humiliated with a "dole" or "welfare" label, and they will get less housing for each dollar spent. The statement concludes that rent supplement projects will not be able to avoid public housing's problems.

In the statement, MCH calls for "a public housing program of 100,000 new units per year nationwide" and "an immediate nationwide conference of community, civil rights, religious, labor, tenant and public housing organizations to discuss public housing's problems, suggest improvements and fight for an expanded program in 1966."

Copies of the statement, "Public Housing and the Housing Act of 1965," are available on request from MCH, 219 - 7th Ave.

Supplements may fizzle in N.Y.
The latest development in the supplement program is Congress' refusal to grant funds this year. Southern racists who also oppose public housing have mustered enough strength to vote down funds.

It is doubtful anyway that New York City can make use of the supplement program even if funds are voted next year. New rules for the supplement program, just issued by the Federal housing agency, would seem to exclude New York City. One of these rules prohibits supplements in cities with a low vacancy rate, such as New York City. A document issued by Mr. Weaver's office says that the average mortgage size on each dwelling unit will be $12,500 -- far below what it costs to build in New York -- and "that elevator apartments will generally be too costly to qualify."

LAST CALL FOR "POSTMARK ZERO"

Tickets are going fast for the MCH Theater Party on Nov. 12th. It's a unique evening -- and a unique play. The play, POSTMARK ZERO, has been hailed by Stanley Kubrick, William L. Shirer, Judith Anderson, and Linus Pauling. The novelist, C.P. Snow, commented that it "contains the human compassion which, I sometimes think, is wasting away a good deal too quickly for us to be safe."

The evening is also unique in offering an after-theater cocktail party right in the theater itself. Admission to the party and a free cocktail is included in the price of the ticket. Give yourself an engrossing evening -- and give MCH some much-needed funds. Order tickets now from MCH, 219 - 7th Ave. or call MCH at 924-9858 or Millie Weitz, Theater Party chairman, at UN 4-7960.

LAST MINUTE BARGAIN -- MCH has gotten a few more $6.50 tickets for the Theater Party. Order them right now!

MET COUNCIL DIARY

Planning conference, Oct. 16: Jane Benedict, MCH chairman, and Wilbert Tatum, MCH bd. member and exec. secy. of the Cooper Sq. Comm., participated in the Public Conference of ARCH, AIA and AIP. The conference was held at Cooper Union and centered around planning for New York City and the problem of citizen participation. ARCH stands for Architects' Renewal Committee in Harlem; AIA for American Institute of Architects; and AIP for American Institute of Planners. Miss Benedict spoke in the panel on "Priorities for the Development of New York City," and Tatum was one of a panel of questioners who interrogated Cong. John V. Lindsay, mayoralty candidate.

A REMINDER ... that MCH is now open five afternoons a week, Mon. thru Fri. from noon to 2:30 ... plus Tues. evenings, 8 to 10 pm. Also a reminder that MCH can use dependable volunteers to keep the office open and needs $$$ for rent, etc.

SONGBIRDS SERENADE GABEL

(continued from page 1)

One poster in the picketline showed how much an "improvement" actually costs the tenant. It showed that a refrigerator, which might cost the landlord $100-$150, will cost the tenant over $1500 during a twenty-year period. One of the first picketers waved this poster at Mrs. Gabel as she fled from the building into a waiting car at the start of the demonstration. Mrs. Gabel's only answer was a quick brush-off.

Three radio stations -- WINS, WNEW and WBAI -- broadcast news of the picketline including taped interviews with Jane Benedict, MCH chairman, with the singing in the background. The Herald-Tribune printed a story about it on Oct. 10.

Several thousand leaflets were distributed all over the city during the week before the picketline. And a few hundred were handed out during the demonstration to passers-by. These explained why rents are going up and demanded -- NO MORE RENT INCREASES!

Better rent control in 1966!

When the rent control law comes up for renewal in the City Council next spring, there must be even bigger and better picketlines. Tenants must fight for changes in the law to make it stronger.

[redacted]

The following telegram was sent to Pres. Johnson on Sept. 11 by MCH:

"Rumor Mayor Wagner to be appointed Secy. Urban Affairs. If true, disastrous. Neglecting logical appointment, Robert Weaver, insult Negro people. Wagner record housing and related problems abysmal. NYC urban renewal policy destroys communities with poor its victims. Slums have worsened. Misery deepened. As New York mayor 12 years Robert Wagner symbol benefactor of poor by publicity release only. Genuine desire to fight poverty rules out such an appointment. If rumor true, urge reversal."

To this date, Wagner has not been appointed to the newly created post of Secy. of Urban Affairs. Neither has Mr. Weaver who has been head of housing in the country. Despite MCH's differences with Weaver (see story of Cooper Sq. picketline), it was felt that by-passing Weaver, a Negro, to pick Wagner who has an "abysmal" record on housing would be an insult to the Negro people and a concession to the racist Southern politicos.

[redacted]

Housing Statistics Handbook, 2d ed. Get this handy compilation of facts and figures by writing to Sylvia Wolosoff, Secy., Subc.on Housing Statistics, Mayor's Housing Exec. Comm., Room 1405, 2 Lafayette St., New York, N.Y. 10007. It's free.

[redacted]

Met. Council on Housing
219 - 7th Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10011

RETURN REQUESTED

BULK RATE
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
NEW YORK, N.Y.
PERMIT No. 6383

George A. Wiley
CORE
38 Park Row NYC 38

UNITED CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE
8501 South San Pedro Street
Los Angeles, California 90003
750-3173
Rev. H. H. Brookins, Chairman
James Johnson, Chairman, Housing Committee

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A STATEWIDE HOUSING ASSOCIATION

1. A state wide association of interested groups and individuals should be set up. This association should not be politically affiliated and should not be led by or identified with a public official but should allow membership to political groups of both parties.

2. The purpose of this association should be the positive one of fighting to protect the right of every person in California, regardless of his race, religion or national origin, to acquire property of his choice which he can afford and to reaffirm judicial, quasi-judicial and legislative for his right, and not the negative purpose of completely repealing proposition 14.

   Other purposes should be investigated in order to broaden the base of the association without reducing its impact on the problem of housing.

3. The association should work for the adoption of the following proposed constitutional amendment, even before the court fight on Proposition 14 is completed, if our legal advisors agree that doing this would not be harmful to their positions in attempting to having Proposition 14 declared unconstitutional. The amendment should state that:

   > Nothing in the Constitution shall be deemed to deny a person the right to acquire or lease residential property offered for this purpose which he chooses and can afford, without regard to his race, religion or national origin, or to remove from the state, its subdivisions or agencies the power to provide a remedy for any person who has been deprived, directly or indirectly, solely because of discrimination based on race, religion or national origin, of his right to acquire or lease residential property of his choice which he can afford.

4. The association should join with other Civil Rights groups outside of California in seeking steps on the federal level which would increase the chances of success for the amendment. Including:

   a. An amendment to the President's Executive order of the Civil Rights Act to extend its coverage to purchasers of FHA housing.

   b. Barring the use of federal funds in California's Urban Renewal projects.

5. The association should seek legislation in Sacramento making the acceptance of discriminatory listings a ground for revocation of the license of a real estate broker.

6. The association should institute and seek the cooperation of its membership and local affiliates in positive education and action programs, including:

   a. Calling and organizing a Day of Mourning in California due to passage of Proposition 14.

   b. A scientific study should be made of the proposition 14 election results to determine guidelines for future education and action programs.

   c. Intensive efforts should be made to speed the integration of all local Realtor Boards.

   d. Continue to speedily establish programs for testing the constitutionality of Proposition 14.

   e. Promote a selective boycott against major enterprises such as the Los Angeles Times which took a "Yes on 14" position.

   f. Publicizing the misstatements of the realtors on proposition 14 and seeking to have them correct their misstatements.

   g. Promote fund raising activities.

   h. Demonstration against proven discriminators, i.e. boycotts, leaflets, pickets.

   i. Boycotting of "Yes on14" realtors, at the appropriate time, demanding that they do not participate in discriminatory transactions.

   j. Providing list of realtors agreeing to sell under the Rumford Act and encouraging the people of goodwill to deal only through these realtors or fair housing groups.

   k. Providing local information centers concerning available open housing and "No on 14" realtors.

   l. Arranging meetins and programs on civil rights and the relationship thereto of fair housing laws.

   m. Seeking fair housing pledges from individuals and realtors of goodwill.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE)

A national organization working to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods.

"The walls are swiss cheese. There is no heat. There are a dozen people in a room. The pipes leak. The windows are broken. There are 70 violation in four floors. When you think of a building like this, you can understand how frustrated people become, how beaten they are. You can understand why there is a rent strike."

JEROME TRICHTER
Assistant Health Commissioner
City of New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I want John Alexander and thousands like him to sleep in safety. Here is my gift of $..... to help CORE's battle for decent housing for all Americans.

Please make check payable to: CORE

No stamp or signature needed.
Simply enclose donation, seal and mail.

This return envelope may be mailed without postage. However, by placing a 5¢ stamp on it you will save us 7¢ and help CORE carry on its vitally needed work.

file - Housing

America the Beautiful...

Webster's tamely defines rat as "any of certain rodents allied to the mice, but considerably larger."

26-year-old Mrs. Rita Davis, mother of four, told the New York Times: "When I have to use the bathroom at night I always knock before opening the door. You've got to warn the rats you're coming, or they'll resent the intrusion."

John Alexander also knows rats intimately. Reports the New York Post:

Boy Bitten by Rat

Five-year-old John Alexander was bitten on the lip by a rat while the youngster slept in his first-floor apartment yesterday at 2174 Lexington Av., near 130th St. His parents are taking part in the rent strike to protest rats in their building. The child's mother, Mrs. Anabelle Alexander, said she had complained to the landlord for more than two years about the rats.

Why does CORE care? Isn't CORE primarily concerned with the non-violent struggle for racial equality?

> Yes, for 22 years CORE has been in the forefront of the movement for civil rights -- and you know that decent housing is an essential first step toward racial equality. The segregated ghettos of the North do as good a job of repressing human dignity as do the white supremacists of the South!

In Cleveland, in Philadelphia, in New York, in suburban slums as well, CORE is showing that people can do something about fallen ceilings and leaking pipes ... about heatless radiators and stinking firetraps ... about rats that gnaw on their children and slumlords who turn deaf ears to legitimate complaints.

Dateline: Cleveland. "Much of the city remains a bleak wasteland of broken plaster and fetid hallways, where every day children are bitten by rats."

Dateline: Hempstead, L.I. "At the invitation of the Long Island CORE, Welfare Commissioner John J. McManus took a guided slum tour here yesterday and immediately halted rent payments to five landlords. 'We never

(over, please)

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE
38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK

ADVISORY COMMITTEE
Ralph Abernathy, James Baldwin, Roger N. Baldwin, Katrina M. Barnes, Algernon D. Black, James B. Carey, Allan Knight Chalmers, Grenville Clark, John Cogley, Earl B. Dickerson, Eugene E. Frazier, Harold Gibbons, Roland B. Gittelsohn, Sidney Hollander, George M. Houser, E. Stanley Jones, Bishop F. D. Jordan, Martin Luther King, Douglas Levin, David Livingston, Will Maslow, A. J. Muste, Dorothy Norman, A. Philip Randolph, Ira DeA. Reid, Walter P. Reuther, Hobson R. Reynolds, Jackie Robinson, Arnold M. Rose, Fred M. Shuttlesworth, Lillian Smith, C. K. Steele, Gardner Taylor, Howard Thurman, Bishop W. J. Walls, Goodwin Watson, Joseph Willen, Jerry Wurf, Charles S. Zimmerman

James Farmer
national director

realized it was this bad,' he said. 'No agency ever reported on it.'"

Dateline: Philadelphia. "Living conditions in crumbling Hawthorne Village have been made the target of a militant campaign by a small but vocal group led by CORE."

Dateline: New York. "Assistant Health Commissioner Jerome Trichter says 'Rats breed disease and death. They are a symbol of despair and defeat. Our rat-infested slums are the city's worst health problem. They are part of a living hell.'"

CORE has proved that rent strikes are effective in establishing livable conditions. Cleveland's first rent strike ended after two weeks with the owner of a four-story slum building agreeing to all of CORE's demands. A New York judge has upheld the legality of rent strikes, and New York's Mayor Wagner has endorsed them.

The problem now is how to put this potent formula to work in hundreds of other rat-ridden slum areas. YOU can help CORE organize more tenant groups, spur victimized householders into acting on their own behalf. You can help with money!

Won't you act now, before the next child is mutilated by rats? Place your contribution in the postpaid envelope below. Give $10 or more if you can -- less if you must -- but send it today, so that little ones like John Alexander may sleep safely through the night.

Sincerely,

James Farmer

James Farmer
National Director

file housing

DRAFT - INCOMPLETE

HISTORY OF SYRACUSE C.O.R.E.'S ACTION CAMPAIGN INVOLVING URBAN RENEWAL AND RESIDENTIAL DESEGREGATION IN SYRACUSE

Related by G. A. Wiley

In the spring of 1963 C.O.R.E'S research committee, under my direction, prepared maps showing in detail the trend of the Negro relocation over the first two years of urban renewal. In summary, these data indicated that 97% of the Negroes relocated in the city were placed either in the hard core ghetto or in areas immediately adjacent to it. At the same time the Housing Committee conducted tests on the listings made available by the Relocation Office. These tests showed that 6 landlords out of 6 tested discriminated against Negroes solely on the basis of ~~their~~ race. Similar case studies were available from a church sponsorship program which had been written up by the Urban Renewal administration. Their data showed that a Negro met rejection based on race in 18 out of 19 instances after apartments were located and found to be otherwise suitable. In June, C.O.R.E. began its campaign to confront the City of Syracuse with the trend of resegregation which relocation, due to urban renewal, was found to be producing. Since at this juncture there were still over 600 families to be relocated due to urban renewal, a highway project, and the Upstate Medical Center expansion, an important opportunity for residential desegregation obviously confronted the Syracuse community. Since resegregation had been occurring, despite some efforts put forth by church groups, and despite the operations of the State Commission for Human Rights, with its law against discrimination in multiple residence housing, it seemed clear that dynamic new action programs were going to be required by the community. C.O.R.E. prepared a set of nine suggestions aimed at overcoming racial discrimination in housing for Syracuse. On June 27th, 1963, these proposals were brought by Evert Makinen, then co-chairman of C.O.R.E., and myself to Mayor William F. Walsh, and on the same day to Mr. Edward Eagan, senior vice-president of Eagan Real Estate, which was one of major benifICIARIES from urban renewal. It was necessary to sit-in in the Eagan Real Estate offices in order even to get an appointment. In both instances we were politely brushed off by Mr Eagan, after appropriate expressions of concern for the plight of Negroes in Syracuse. But he pointed out that his most immediate concern was convircing Syracusans that they should live in high-rise, multi-story, luxury apartments that he was to build on the urban renewal site. The mayor, after referring us to his long record of activity with the State Commission for Human Rights, was concerned with the situation of the Negro and with appropriate references to his Code of Human Rights, proposed a year ago, made passing references that a Human Rights program he was considering establishing later in the summer, and invited us to talk at greater length with the director and associate director of urban renewal, who had in addition been present at the June 27th meeting. Before such a meeting could be set up, however, our attentions became involved with the Merchants National Bank, when we found evidence of their having been involved in a discriminatory practice in dealing with a Negro over the sale of a house. While picketing of the bank was in progress, an expanded form of our nine-point program was produced and mailed to all the banks and realtors of Syracuse, under the title "Let's Desegregate Syracuse." We also sent letters to the presidents of these organizations, asking them to discuss our program with us and to relate to us what programs of their own they might be establishing toward the end of desegregating Syracuse. Very few responses were received.

Simultaneously, we were canvassing the urban renewal site for families being forced to move as a result of the project demolition. We tried to encourage some families to stand firm and pledged to stand with them until adequate housing could be found for them outside the ghetto. This phase of the program was not particularly successful, possibly due to lack of adequate follow-up on our part because of involvement with other action projects. Specifically, close on the heels of Merchants Bank action followed the dramatic and successful action against Hotel Syracuse, which culminated in the hiring by the hotel of a number of Negro busboys and a pledge to hire waiters, waitresses, doormen, and bellman.

On August 26, two days before the historic march on Washington, we sponsored, along with N.A.A.C.P., I.U.E. Civil Rights Committee, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, a marchk in Syracuse for fair housing. This was attended by about 300 Negro and white citizens. It was designed as a public confrontation of Mayor Walsh, County Executive John Mulroy, Mr. Kenneth Spaulding, president of the Board of Realtors, and Mr. William Andrews, speaking for the out-of-power Democratic Party. We aksed each to speak to the question of what positive programs their party or group or administration intended to pursue toward the desegregation of Syracuse. Mr. Spaulding had no program but promised to take up the issue at the September 18th meeting of the Board of Realtors. Mr. Mulroy promised to look into potential legislation and said he wanted to "do right" in this area. Mayor Walsh again pointed to his record and referred to his Commission on Human Rights that he was in the progess of developing but mentioned no specific actions otherwise. Mr. Andrews, for the Democratic Party, came out in favor of city or county human rights commissions, better distribution of Negroes in public housing, a scattered site public housing program, pledged himself against the construction of any more public housing in ghetto areas, pledged a desire for extra city services in ghetto and surrounding areas, porposed a rent-control office to prevent slum landlords from exploiting Negroes, and suggested the formation of biracial neighborhood councils to promote racial harmony in neighborhoods. On Wednesday, August 28, four members of Syracus C.O.R.E. who remained home from the Washington March, had the follow-up meeting with the Urban Renewal adminstration. It was clear that the magnitude of changes which we had suggested in our nine-point program had to be decided at a much higher level than the Department of Urban Improvement. Since we had had nothing from the city, county, or private interests of the community by way of a positive program, we commenced on a direct action program aimed at halting the progress of urban renewal.

To this end Bruce Thomas, now chairman of C.O.R.E., Debbie Niemand, Byron Rushing, and I walked onto a lot at the corner of Madison and South Townsend Streets where a crane and bulldozer were in the process of leveling a gas station, and physically interposed ourselves and thus prevented the equipment from being operated. At one point in this action, which was, to say the least, hair-raising, a workman attacked Bruce Thomas with fists and an iron pipe and attempted to throw him off of the deck of the crane. Despite being struck several blows to the face Bruce maintained a non-violent attitude and maintained his position on the crane. The workman was restrained by his associates. Several policemen stood by passively. The next day we greeted the workmen early in the day at the site and perched on their equipment in such a manner as to prevent them from using it. We also expanded our operations to two other sites involving the Upstate Medical Center, one of which was being worked by a Negro concern. These projects were also blocked and the ~~xxx~~ workmen returned home. The third day we conceived a plan wherein we permitted all of the demolition crews to return to work save for the original lot at Madison and Townsend, which we adopted as our own. We permitted the demolition crews to go to work on other lots so long as they kept their equipment away from ours.

We posted daily pickets on the site to be sure that the workmen did not return.

These actions prompted a response from the Mayor's office. I was invited to a meeting on September 3, with the Mayor, Mssrs, Hale & Chiles from Urban Renewal, Corporation COunsel Pancock, Presson, from the Mayor's office, Councilwoman Coburn, Mr. Maier from the State Commission for Human Rights, Bob Warr, president of N.A.A.C.P., and Rev. Horn, representing the Interfaith Committee on Religion and Race. The Mayor made no specific reference to our direct action but had before him our suggested program for desegregation of Syracuse. He discussed it with the group point by point, in general pointing to reasons why he could not carry out most of the proposals suggested. He did promise "beefed-up" code enforcement," renewed effort on the part of the relocation office, and a committee to work on fair housing in connection with relocation. I pointed out at the end of the meeting that these proposals did not sound like the action program which might warrant the cessation of our direct action activities. On September 6, after a meeting of the active membership of C.O.R.E. to discuss the matter, Bruce Thomas sent a letter to the Mayor advising him that the major points of our program had been 1) desegregation as a major objective of urban renewal and specifically that no Negroes should be forced to move into blocks containing more than 30% Negro residents and 2) that the city should undertake an immediate program of scattered-site public housing. These were felt to be the heart of the proposals. He indicated that it was the will of Syracuse C.O.R.E. that if significant action were not forth-coming by September 13, that direct ~~xxx~~ action campaign would be stepped-up to the point of retarding all demolition in the urban renewal project area. On September 12, the Mayor responded with a 5 page letter discussing our nine-point program in detail. This letter was basically a summary of the discussion of the meeting of September 3. The Mayor labelled the Thomas letter as an ultimatum. The only new proposals indicated were that he planned to set up a human rights commission before October first and that he was appointing Councilwoman Coburn to head a special committee on relocation and code enforcement. On Friday, September 13, as promised, C.O.R.E pickets appeared at an urban renewal site where demolitions were in progress. A direct action team led by C.O.R.E. chairman Bruce Thomas invaded the site, climbed on cranes and equipment, and completely blocked the progress of demolition action. This was met by vigorously police action, called for by the mayor. Thirteen C.O.R.E. members and one bystander were arrested in the course of the afternoon. That night over a hundred people rallied at the C.O.R.E. office and marched to the jail to serenade the prisoners. Also on September 13, the Interfaith Committee on Religion and Race volunteered to act as mediators in the dispute. A meeting was held in the mayor's office with them, representatives of C.O.R.E., the mayor and his staff, ~~and~~ Bob Warr of N.A.A.C.P. No great progress was made but everyone agreed to submit more detailed recommendations on Monday, September, 16. Over the weekend the N.A.A.C.P. and the Civil Rights Committee of Local 320, I.U.E., joined in support of C.O.R.E. in the action. At Monday's meeting, C.O.R.E., N.A.A.C.P., and I.U.E. submitted ~~x xxxxx~~ and eleven-point set of proposals, which were jointly sponsored and in many cases contained more detailed suggestions. Some specific steps called for from the administration were the following: for the mayor to solicit volunteers from among his top administrators to participate in relocation of Negro families outside the ghetto; for the ~~xxxxx~~ Mayor to call a meeting of bankers and realtors to remind them of their responsibilities in this effort; that the 30% rule be invoked so as not to force Negroes to relocate in segregated neighborhoods; that a city ordinance prohibiting discrimination in all phases of housing transactions including injunctive powers, and ~~subpoena~~ penal provisions be enacted;

that a scattered-site public housing program be undertaken; and that the housing code be enforced more vigorously. The mayor at this meeting conceded a number of additional points over his original position. He agreed not to force Negroes to move into blocks already densely populated with Negroes. He would not accept our definition of 30% but said he would defer to the State Commission for Human Rights for a judgment. He additionally suggested some steps for an educational campaign to promote open occupancy and he offered to ask the state commission to move up its open meeting to discuss the new anti-discrimination law in housing from October 24 to near the beginning of October. On the same day, September 16, ten more demonstrators were arrested on the urban renewal lot. At this meeting the mayor contended that he would not further negotiate with people who participated in what he characterized as 'lawless acts'. This threat was answered with 14 more walk-ins on Tuesday, September 17, including myself and Jesse Epps of the negotiating team. Tuesday was the roughest day on the lot. There had been some incidents on Friday, one in which the boom of the crane was dropped about five feet with three persons on it and two of the three were injured, though not seriously. On Tuesday, Ira Harrison and I both had our arms severely twisted by police, who claimed this was necessary in order to subdue us. Both of us suffered sprained wrists and required medical treatment. Another person was punched by a police officer. On Wednesday, September 18, the arrests were voluntarily suspended. This was done as a gesture of good faith as our step toward re-establishing negotiations, which had been broken off as a result of Tuesday's arrests. The Religion and Race Committee, again acting as mediators, and acting through Bob Warr, re-established communications. On Thursday, serious negotiations had progressed for about two hours when the mayor summarily announced that he ~~xxxxx~~ was promulgating his human rights program along with his so-called action program for desegregating Syracuse. These represented his most advanced suggestions to date. He proposed a human rights commission which would have educational and investigatory powers but no coercive or penal powers. He proposed some specific steps for effecting better code enforcement, including the hiring of a new deputy superintendent as soon as possible and provision for people to fill the gap until the deputy could be found. He also proposed the hiring of a community organization specialist who would work with the community organizations and act as executive of the human rights commission. He endorsed in principle scattered-site public housing and indicated that a pilot program would be undertaken. He also indicated a program for relocation wherein Negroes would not be forced to relocate in blocks having "approximately one-thirdNegro residents." He noted that there would be 300-350 low-middle income housing units put back into the urban renewal area. Note that this would not necessarily achieve residential desegregation, but it would PROVIDE some additional housing for Negroes. He also indicated that he would send some letters urging open occupancy to churches & realtors and conduct other educational efforts. This clearly represented a major advance over previous programs. Nonetheless, it fell short of our hoped-for program in several important respects. First, the personal leadership involving personal action of the mayor and his top administration in the relocation program was not called for. Second, his human rights commission would not even have subpoena power, not to mention injunctive power or enforcement power. Further, our groups were quite concerned about a guarantee that there would be substantial representation of civil rights groups on the human rights commission. The pilot nature of the scattered-site public housing program did not measure up to our concepts of an immediate program and the "approximately one-third" seemed too fuzzy to be useful in promoting residential desegregation of relocatees. When the mayor announced his strong-armed intention of releasing this information to the community while negotiations were still in progress, our groups interpreted this as a sign

of bad faith and walked out of the meeting. Since the arrest group had been pledged to be held in abeyance while negotiations were in progress, with the break-up of this meeting, 23 persons immediately entered the urban renewal site, including 3 university professors, one of whom is the director of the highly-touted Youth Development Center. On Friday the demonstrations continued with 18 additional arrests on the site. These arrests after the first day did not materially interfere with the progress of demolition. The did, however, provide an important witness for members of the community to express themselves clearly and directly on the question of social injustice done to Negroes in Syracuse due to housing discrimination. In addition, the strong picket lines maintained at the demolition sites, seldom falling below 100 at any given time, indicated the magnitude of community support for the Negro cause.

METROPOLITAN COUNCIL on HOUSING
219 Seventh Avenue WA 4-9858 New York 10011

December 23, 1965

Dear Friend:

One of the "Rent Strike" laws passed in the last session of the State Legislature called for the establishment of rent-impairing violations by the Department of Buildings. These violations, once enumerated, would give tenants the right to have the rent abated, SIX MONTHS after the violations were recorded in the files of the Dep't. of Buildings.

There are many defects in the law (which will be discussed at the Metropolitan Council on Housing Legislative Conference scheduled for January 29, 1966) but the Department of Buildings has now issued the list of violations, 66 in number, which it states "constitutes a fire hazard or a serious threat to the life, health or safety of occupants". Attached you will find the 66 violations. You will see as you read the list that many are a danger to tenants' rights! These we have starred. We have also listed below about a dozen violations which the Department of Buildings has NOT seen fit to include as a serious threat to life, health or safety of tenants.

MCH feels that the law has many weaknesses and pitfalls, such as: tenants must wait <u>six months</u> enduring hazardous violations before the rent may be abated; the tenants must deposit all of the rent into court <u>before</u> trial; if the landlord proves the condition was caused by the tenant, his family, his guests or some other tenant, his family or guests, the landlord wins the case and the tenant may be charged with $100 in court costs.

We ask that you or your organization appear at the hearing scheduled by the Department of Buildings for January 5, 1966, at 10 A.M. at 125 Worth Street. Demand that <u>proper</u> rent-impairing violations be established and point out to the Department the pitfalls in the law.

We urge you to write to the Department of Buildings for time to speak. We are urging all tenants to attend, whether or not they wish to speak.

Sincerely-

Richard L. Levenson
Chairman
Law Committee

Frances Goldin
Chairman
Legislative Committee

Department of Buildings listing of Violations proposed to be classified as rent impairing

Order No.	Description
17	Requires adequte artificial lighting for fire passages and cellar, public halls, yards and courts.
40B	Requires repair of structural defects for safety.
43	Requires repairing of leaky roof.
51	Requires discontinuance of illegal storage of combustibles.
58*	Requires the discontinuance of unlawful cellar occupancy.*
59*	Requires discontinuance of rooms which cannot be legalized.*
60*	Requires discontinuance by rent paying tenant janitor's apartment.*
65*	Requires discontinuance of the unlawful use as a lodging house until a certificate of occupancy is obtained for such use.*
69*	Requires discontinuance of unlawful use for manufacturing until a certificate of occupancy is obtained for such use.*
72*	Requires the discontinuance of business use above 2d story of a non-fireproof multiple dwelling.*
80	Requires a legal second means of egress.
81	Requires a second means of egress or a sprinkler system in converted dwellings.
81B	Requires sprinkler heads in all Class B rooms.
156	Requires the removal of the dangerous and inadequate supplemental fire escapes.
176	Requires the providing of a fireproof passageway to street, or a gate in fence to adjoining premises.
181	Requires a fireproof passageway to street where yard is less than 30 feet in depth and access to adjoining premises is not practical.
182	Requires the removal of locking device from gate in fence at lot line.
183	Requires the removal of obstruction in fire passage.
213	Requires the opening from place of business to public hall be sealed with fire-retarded material or with fireproof self-closing door and assembly.
260	Requires a separate house sewer be provided.
282	Requires a separate water closet for each family within old law tenement buildings.
306	Requires removal of water closet obstructions.
370	Requires replacing of defective plumbing lines
379	Requires the removal of all obstructions and defects in plumbing facilities.
411	Requires adequate cold water pressure to fixtures.
411A	Requires adequate hot water pressure to fixtures.
411B	Requires hot water supply (as to temperature) to fixtures.
413	Requires the repair of defective water supply pipe.
415	Requires repair of defective faucets.
445	Requires removal of sewage, etc., and cleansing and disinfecting to the satisfaction of this department.
472	Requires resident janitor on premises, applicable to multiple dwellings with 13 or more families.
475	Requires the providing of an adequate supply of gas to fixtures
477	Requires the repair of gas appliances to prevent carbon monoxide.
478	Requires heating plants in good repair to prevent coal gas.
479	Requires adequate supply of heat to residential portions.
480	Requires removal of vermin.
482	Requires premises to be free of rodent infestation.
609	Requires a registration and occupancy statement be filed with this department.
609A	Requires change in ownership, registration statement be filed with this department
609B	Requires a written designation for change in managing agent of premises.

-more-

Order No.	Description
611*	Requires discontinuance of unlawful cooking space.*
614A*	Requires the discontinuance of unlawful use for single room occupancy.*
615*	Requires unobstructed access to each required means of egress within each apartment.*
616	Requires the providing of hot water facilities.
617	Requires the providing of heating facilities.
618	Requires the filing of yearly x sprinkler test report.
622	Requires manager be provided for Class B multiple dwellings.
625	Requires the removal of partition sash and sealing opening of same with fire retarded material in old law tenements 3 stories and basements or less in height.
626	Requires the fire retarding of cellar ceiling in old law tenements 3 stories and basement or less in height.
627	Requires an adequate secondary means of egress for the apartments used for single room occupancy in fireproof tenements erected before May 16, 1913.
630	Requires a new certificate of occupancy for converted dwellings or tenements untenanted for a period of 60 days or more.
630A	Requires a new certificate of occupancy for any tenement or converted dwelling vacated by this department.
630B	Requires a certificate of occupancy be obtained before a vacant or vacated building can be reoccupied for living use.
631	Requires permit be obtained for operation of rooming house or S.R.O. building.
633	Requires a janitor or responsible person for janitorial service in multiple dwellings containing 9 to 12 apartments.
634*	Requires discontinuance for unlawful occupancy by children under 16 years of age in Class B or S.R.O. buildings.*
635	Requires adequate lighting facilities for public halls and stairs.
637	Requires discontinuance of room used for sleeping in which space heater is not provided with an air intake from outside the building.
639	Requires adequate lighting for laundry room.
645*	Requires discontinuance of illegal space or hot water heaters.
701	Requires the legalization or restoration of illegal alteration
702*	Requires the legalization or restoration of buildings illegally converted to multiple dwellings.*
703*	Requires the restoration of a frame building illegally converted to a multiple dwelling.*
704	Requires the filing of plans and compliance with Sec. 67 of the Multiple Dwelling Law for heretofore erected existing multiple dwellings.
705	Requires restoration or filing of plans and obtaining a new certificate of occupancy to legalize the unlawful alteration.

Violations NOT listed by Dept. of Bldgs. which Met Council feels <u>should</u> be considered rent-impairing:

42	Requires replacement of facilities broken beyond repair.
222	Requires fireproof self closing doors at top and bottom of cellar stairs.
299	Requires flushing apparatus be maintained in good repair.
298	Requires the replacing of defective flush pipe with new.
307	Requires a proper seat for water closet.
347	Requires the repair of defective plumbing connections.
447-6	Requires cleaning of public parts of premises-rubbish removal.
470	Requires sufficient metal receptacles and covers for the deposit of garbage and other waste matter.
602	Requires rent bill or receipt be provided for tenant.
624	Requires the replacement of plain glass with wire glass in apartment doors or transoms in old law tenements 3 stories hig

(The copy of The City Record from which the above list was excerpted may be obtained by sending 30¢ to 2213 Municipal Bldg. NY 10007#2806

DEC 3 1964

HOUSING PROGRAM : 12/28/64 - GS
DRAFT PRPPOSAL ON TECHNICAL PROBLEMS

Slumlords are engaged in an active revolt against the City. Individually and through associates, they deliberately violate the housing laws. Since the motive for the revolt is entirely economic, the slumlord can be expected to surrender when the cost of the revolt becomes great enough.

Surrender means an attempt to abandon a building, give it away or sell it cheaply. More and more slumlords are trying to surrender. But there is no one to whom to surrender. We propose to remedy that situation by organizing tenants' cooperatives or nonprofit private agencies with access to public funds which can rehabilitate the slum buildings.

CORE should take a position and act in this situation. A good program will not only have a massive impact on slum conditions. It will provide jobs. And it will give CORE a great opportunity to organize.

Several alternatives should be considered. Each of them may be the best in a particular situation. The wishes of the tenants will frequently dictate the choice.

First, there is the possibility of a voluntary receivership. T his would put the city in the position of repairing the building, ownership and control returning to the landlord after the city's expenditures have been repaid. In light of the small rent rolls of these buildings, the city might be in control of the buildings for a number of years. The land and building would ultimately still be owned by the landlord. City management of slum buildings is notoriously poor.

A second alternative is a donation of the building to the city. The City real estate department usually rejects

such gifts. Under Lazarus, the department has been disposing of valuable city land at upset prices on the theory that city ownership of land and buildings not needed for immediate purposes is contrary to public policy. Commissioner Lazarus can best be described in terms of his proposal to build apartment building in the northern half of Central Park.

The third alternative is to set up a nonprofit membership corporation, the directors of which would be community leaders. This organization would acquire title to the buildings, raising money either by way of mortgage or by way of loans from the city or the federal government, or both. This approach has much to recommend it, but, in the past has drawn opposition on a variety of political, social and other grounds. This technique has been used successfully by Boston CORE.

The fourth technique is to form a nonprofit corporation which would secure funds from the city, foundations and private sources. The money would be used to repair buildings. The city would assign its lien for such repairs, enabling the corporation to be repaid. This device is being used in Philadelphia. It is simply a device to help the city evade its responsibilities since the city already has the power to repair buildings, recovering the cost through a lien on rents.

The last alternative is to establish a cooperative (or condominium) under which the tenants themselves would own the buildings. This alternative is by far the most attractive when the tenants want it and when the tenants are well organized.

The cooperative is a good solution because, at every level, it meets the test of Occam's Razor : It is the simplest and most direct solution.

The purpose of any slum housing program is not the development of real estate, but the amelioration of living

conditions for the people. The most effective way to assist these people would be to give them new public housing of an adequate standard at a cost they can afford to pay. This is unfortunately not available. It must be a part of CORE's program to secure such housing. Until such time as these buildings can be replaced, which must take between 10 and 20 years, the community must deal with the problem of making these particular buildings habitable.

This primary objective can be accomplished by a variety of means, but the simplest and in the long run cheapest device is to give assistance directly to the tenant rather than to one of several layers of profit-making individuals who will ultimately pass a share of the assistance to the tenant. There would be a considerable direct financial saving. More important, tenant groups having an interest and a responsibility for their own buildings gain in a veriety of ways. Having an interest in the buildings, the tenants would and could perform a great many repair and maintenance jobs for themselves far less expensively than it could be done for them. This is one obvious additional aid factor. Primarily, there are psychological and sociological benefits which are recognized but not that easy to define.

The initial step toward cooperatives is to organize tenants. The whole scheme must be democratically accepted or it is worthless.It should be the rule that something more than three-fourths of the tenants ought to accept the plan for it to become effective. The purpose of this requirement is purely practical, aside from any other consideration. The plan will work only if the tenants truly cooperate.

The financing of the acquisition would depend entirely on city or federal funds. The city has available funds to assist in the rehabilitation of slum dwellings. These funds are avail-

able on a ten year, 5% basis. There is every reason to expect that an investment which can be repaid without significant rent increase will make a considerable difference in the living conditions of these buildings, even though it will not by any means make them first class housing. The justification of the investment is the lack of alternatives at this time and the hope that within the ten year period a more satisfactory, permanent, alternative can be developed. Further, such an investment will make these buildings sufficiently better than the average of New York tenements to put the matter beyond doubt.

There has been a tendency on the part of some officials to be disinterested in any rehabilitation which does not convert a slum into a palace. Thus some rehabilitations have taken four story walkups and converted them into two duplexes. Such rehabilitations require rent far in excess of the ability of these tenants to pay and consequently intensify rather than ameliorate the problem. It does no good to tell them that for the next ten years they must continue to have inadequate heat because it is impossible to give them a first class central heating system. What is required, until they can get good housing, is an adequate housing system. Further, the inability to create perfection overnight has been used as an excuse for doing absolutely nothing. These tenants, and many others, would benefit greatly from an investment that makes sense in terms of these buildings, without regard that they would benefit even more if the investment were triple. There is reason to believe that key city officials are now prepared to cooperate with CORE in developing and implementing a sound program. Demonstrations will probably be necessary to convince the Mayor.

In addition to the city funds, the city can make a substantial contribution by utilizing its powers to grant tax

abatements. While the taxes of these buildings are not great, they are the equivalent, approximately, of a month's rent. A five-year abatement would therefore be a significant addition to available funds.

In addition, federal housing mortgage guarantees might be available. This involves a good many complications. It is , however, a distinct possibility.

In addition , private mortgages might be available upon showing a proper financial plan. The reduction of the outstanding mortgage is here of the utmost importance. In many cases, the present mortgagee will take his loss now in order to secure at least some payment. The reduced mortgage could be refinanced with the use of governmental or private funds. At this level, community leaders and foundations should be willing to participate.

Within the cooperative, the concept of rent would of course be eliminated. The tenants would make a monthly payment sufficient to pay off the mortgage and to provide for maintenance and services. The exact payment must be calculated by an expert. It is anticipated, however, that the monthly payment will be slightly less or slightly more than the current rents, but not greatly different. At the same time, a portion of the monthly payments (the amount used to pay off the mortgage) would in fact be building an equity for the tenants.

It is contemplated that transfer of the individual apartments will be closely restricted. Leasing or subleasing would not be permitted except under most unusual circumstances. In the event a tenant desired to move away permanently, the cooperative would have the right to purchase the apartment at a price equal to the accumulated equity actually paid by that member, payment being made over a reasonable period of time. The cooperative

would in turn resell in such a way that the new member would pay off the old member's equity in addition to his own current payments. For example, a member selling out after three years, would be paid off by his replacement over a three year period, or, possibly, over a five year period. In any event, the withdrawing member would receive his equity, but nothing more.

Outright sale of the buildings ought not to be undertaken except with the concurrence of 90% of the members unless the sale is a forced one. Any net equity remaining would be distributed to the members at the time of sale.

Of particular importance would be a scheme under which the cooperative were allowed to build up a limited reserve which could be utilized to tide over the payment obligations of families of deceased members. Every precaution should be taken to enable families, the leading earner of which dies, to continue their memberships. On the same theory, transfers to the immediate family of members should be permitted. In case of death or serious illness interfering with the income of the family, the cooperative should postpone the payments due, meeting the deficit out of the reserve fund.

Certain aspects of the plan would have to be cleared with the welfare department. The general principle of welfare is that the ownership of property terminates the right to receive welfare. Since some families depend on welfare for rent, a suitable arrangement would have to be made to enable them to be members while still retaining welfare assistance. The titles of such families could perhaps be held in trust by the cooperative.

The cooperative would clearly acquire certain kinds of specialized assistance. This is true of any cooperative, even on Sutton Place South. Such assistance would be made available from several sources. Legal services will be made available

without charge for such period of time as that may be necessary by CORE. Expert assistance on matters of construction and maintenance would be given by one of several persons well qualified in that field. Naturally, the entire scheme would not become operative without some cooperation from certain government agencies, whose continued assistance would then also be available. CORE will also arrange accounting and bookkeeping services for the time being.

CORE will also continue to work with the tenants, with the assistance of the regional field staff. The initial financing will be negotiated for the tenants by CORE personnel. Financial assistance will theraafter continue to be negotiated by CORE personnel where necessary.

It is to be anticipated that, from the commencement of the project to the completion of the initial construction program, approximately one year will elapse. During that time, the processes involved will furnish invaluable training to the tenants. This training, together with the promised assistance of specialists should make the whole project a success.

In such cases, it is, of course, necessary to anticipate the possible impact of failure. It is difficult to see how the tenants themselves could possibly be worse off should their cooperative fail than they are today. If, at the worst, they have to give up their cooperative, they will again have a landlord and they will again have to pay rent instead of owning their buildings. The program does not involve any dislocation of tenants. It does not involve any rent increases. At the same time, it is possible that some governmental agency will sustain a financial loss. This loss cannot exceed a relatively small amount and would in any event be recovered in large part even if the cooperative is a failure. (The recovery will simply be

from rents). The loss cannot be excessive since at least two thirds of all monies advanced will be applied to the improvement of the building, (and as much as 100% may be so applied).

It goes without saying that a considerable amount of calculation must be performed for every building before these arrangements can be completed. Nevertheless, it is the principle that arrangements of this kind are the best solution to the problem and that the only question is whether the amount of improvement is dollars "X" or dollars "Y". Only where the tenants do not want a cooperative, are not organized for it or where other good reasons exist should an alternative method for rehabilitation of the buildings be utilized. Fundamentally, CORE should take a clear, public position that any program of this kind is, first a stopgap, interim, inadequate program; second, necessitated by the abdication of government either to enforce the housing laws or to provide directly for the amelioration of housing conditions in the slums; third, an essential undertaking at this time to ameliorate horrible housing conditions in New York City which must not be allowed to continue. But such a program is in no sense a substitute for broad programs which government must initiate. It is CORE's position that government should initiate the following programs with the utmost promptness:

1. New York City should take into receivership one thousand buildings every three months for at least one year. This compares with less than 200 taken in the last three years. These buildings should be selected as the worst slums, which no landlord will voluntarily repair. This would take into the immediate government responsibility the worst 10% of New York City's slums.

2. A greatly strenghtened enforcement program should be instituted. The question here is not new laws; it is constant pressure on the large landlords who deliberately violate the housing laws, for the purpose of forcing them to obey the law or to get out of the housing business. To be effective, the building department needs about 2,000 inspectors instead of the present 412.

3. The city should immediately authorize the construction of 30,000 to 50,000 units per year under the Mitchell-Lama law. While this is by no means a desirable or, under some views, even an acceptable device for the construction of new housing, city government has permitted the situation in housing to detetiorate to such a point that large amounts of new housing are essential. The construction of this housing will also provide substantial amounts of new jobs, since such housing should not, of course, be permitted to be done except by integrated unions. Further, the construction of housing under Mitchell-Lama places no economic strain whatsoever on the city, that being a feature of the law. Such construction would permit the development of really sound urban renewal plans for New York and would immediately put pressure on real estate owners to repair and recondition such housing as warrants the expenditure. In effect, the construction of Mitchell-Lama housing in large quantities would place pressure from the top on slum housing, just as the taking of large numbers of buildings into receiverships squeezes from below.

4. The city should not sell any more land. On the contrary, all land acquired by the city by any means should be reserved, as in a land bank, pending the development of urban renewal plans. Empty spaces should be turned into small parks or play areas for the time being. Much of this work could be

done by community groups. The sale of land in New York City at this time is a shortsighted policy which will cast a large financial burden on the near future when this same land will have to be repurchased.

5. City, state and federal agencies should promptly develop a plan for urban renewal which contemplates neighborhoods which are racially and economically integrated and which mix old and new housing. Under-occupied and under-utilized areas should be used for these purposes. This plan should contemplate that by 1985 not less than 40% of all housing in the City of New York will be owned by government. This plan should exclude the taking of land by eminent domain for high rent housing. No land should be taken by eminent domain under this plan for resale for private development, except during the next three years. In other words, Mitchell-Lama, as a concept is to be used solely as an interim measure and for a limited period of time.

6. The city should promptly implement each of the now existing programs under which the repair, rehabilitation and construction of housings can be subsidized. The failure of the city to utilize existing programs is one of the most significant failures of the Wagner administration. This administration has deliberately avoided taking decisive action in housing, over the protest of its own experts. Certain laws to protect rent strikes would be useful. The criminal negligence of the Mayor should be stressed.

8. The city should create either a deputy mayor in charge of housing or should ask the Legislature to create a housing authority. In either case, the agency so created should have full enforcement powers, coupled with super-departmental power. One of the key problems of New York City housing is that

a given constructive step requires the consultation of many different departments and compliance with their respective regulations. The lack of coordination is the one most damaging factors, indeed providing the excuse for much of the administration's inaction.

9. Fundamentally, CORE must demand and create a change in approach to housing. New York requires massive housing measures, the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars. These sums are available in a city with an annual budget of three and a half billion dollars. The funds are simply not made available.

The foregoing points of a general program are here set forth solely to show that the cooperative program is simply one emergency element of CORE's long range housing program. The cooperative program is needed now because it is intolerable to permit existing conditions to continue while a broad program is carried through. It is, however, only the broad program which can produce the ultimate results required by the community.

George Schiffer

Housing

OUTLINE OF A RESEARCH-ACTION PROJECT

TO DEVISE METHODS FOR

D E G H E T T O I Z A T I O N O F H A R L E M

A proposal presented by Urban Associates, the autonomous Department of Urban Renewal of the New York Congress of Racial Equality.

December, 1964

Clarence Funnye, Director

"New occasions teach new duties,
Time makes ancient good uncouth,
They must upward still and onward,
Who would keep abreast of truth."

James Russell Lowell

From "The Present Crisis"

The Congress of Racial Equality, like many groups watching the growth despite 15 years of urban renewal, wants answers to the question: "Is urban renewal adequate to the job of eliminating urban ghetto areas - and if not, why not?" To find answers, an autonomous planning and urban renewal department, called Urban Associates, was organized in New York CORE.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Authorities admit that present-day American ghettos cause or foster high delinquency and crime rates, school and housing segregation, and intense deprivation contributing to periodic violent eruptions, such as those in the summer of 1964.

New York, like many major cities, acknowledges the undesirability of ghettos. The city's official policy is to encourage integrated public schools and residential areas, and generally healthy environmental conditions for all citizens in an "open city". Nevertheless, New York has been rebuilding ghettos, using urban renewal funds supplied in part by federal and state governments. Urban renewal, which is intended to "renew", has done nothing of the kind.

Urban Associates believes it is impossible to have healthy cities so long as they contain massive ghettos serving as fountainheads of social ills, not only for the ghetto dweller, but for the city at

large.

In general, American ghettos are areas for the containment of the Negro minority. Nearly half of America's Negroes are forced to live in ghettos. New York's Harlem is typical. Like most ghettos, it is characterized by:

a) Almost total ethnic homogeneity.

b) Extremely high densities and poor housing.

c) Very low average income.

d) Inadequate or deficient city services; e.g., dirty streets (poor garbage collection) police tolerance of extra-legal activity, etc.

e) Very poor, ethnically and economically segregated schools.

f) An environmental boundary which identifies it as apart from the majority city and as a less desirable place to live, raise children, shop or go to school.

g) A general feeling of hopelessness on the part of residents, which is reflected in low aspirational levels of youth. (Dr. Kenneth Clark calls this "the death of the spirit".)

The many adverse ramifications of ghettos are well known. While attempts have been made to solve one or another prblem, they have been largely piecemeal. For example, while much lip service has been paid to the desirability of integrated housing, no major renewal pro-

ject in New York has considered this element in its selection, configuration or design. Renewal and redevelopment schemes have tended to solidify rather than weaken the ghetto.

APPROACH TO A SOLUTION

"We believe it may be possible to redesign and renew ghetto areas so attractive environmentally and physically as to sharply minimize the importance of racial homogeneity of a community as a consideration for potential white residents. If this is true, it may be possible to remove huge ghettos from our central cities."

Report to the national CORE convention, June, 1964

"The problems of Harlem will not be solved as long as Harlem remains all Negro and all low-income." Leader of District Planning Board #10, N.Y.C., during recent conference

Like many local and national leaders, we feel the present impetus should be toward eradication of the ghetto. Any plan which purports to do this must attempt to eliminate all the characteristics mentioned above. Mere construction of new buildings is not enough.

We feel the adequacy of urban renewal to meet this task can be evaluated by a research project which sets forth the steps required to reduce our country's ghettos and slums. By comparing what needs to be done with what can be done under urban renewal, the project could

illuminate deficiencies in the construction and/ or application of present urban redevelopment provisions.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE RESEARCH-DEMONSTRATION PROJECT

One of the best ways to arrive at answers to hypothetical questions is to have an experiment applicable to an existing area. In this way, hypotheses can be compared against existing field conditions and practices. This project is concerned not only with constructing plans which answer the questions posed here, but also with having these plans implemented by the city.

For this reason the research project should be constructed around an existing area which is part of a ghetto. To have a workable research-demonstration project, the area should:

a) Already be declared appropriate for urban redevelopment.

b) Not be surrounded by other slums, but be in a peripheral position relative to the hard core.

c) Have been adequately studied and analyzed by city redevelopment agencies.

d) Have been preliminarily planned; e.g., the planning agency should have stated conceptually what is required in the area.

e) Have very high densities and generally very poor housing.

After reviewing all areas which have been given urban renewal designa-

tions by the New York City Planning Commission (pursuant to application for federal funds for more detailed planning) the St. Nicholas Park area was one which met all these criteria.

The city is presently doing preliminary studies on an urban renewal project for St. Nicholas Park. There is every evidence that the city will be content merely to clean out the worst buildings and erect new low-income units, with no imaginative planning to reduce the ghetto itself. In fact, the city's proposal promises to further solidify the ghetto, with all its attendant social and physical problems.

Urban Associates believes that, presented with a new, fresh, well-documented alternative, the city would be inclined to accept it. As additional incentive, we will insure community support by full participation of all levels of the community in the plan's preparation.

The research project will devise a complete plan, reinforced with adequate documentation and coupled with thorough social planning, expressly designed to:

a) Maximize opportunities for economic and ethnic residential integration.

b) Incorporate a school building plan to encourage and serve an integrated student body.

c) Design and situate facilities to insure their utilization by both St. Nicholas and the city at large.

d) Devise criteria for rehabilitation of buildings, utilizing construction innovations which keep new rents at a level present occupants can afford.

e) Devise plans for relocating displaced persons consistent with the city's stated policy of fostering residential integration, and the federal requirement for safe, sound, sanitary housing. The plan might recommend: 1) construction of vest pocket (FHA) housing on available land outside ghetto areas; 2) rent subsidies; or 3) any combination of these or any other schemes which can practically provide for adequate non-slum, non-ghetto housing.

f) Take advantage of existing city and community facilities and amenities (City College, parks, existing waterfronts) and combine these with others to increase the intangible "status" potential.

In sum, our plan would do all the things the city says it regards as important and desirable: integrated communities, moderate densities, racially-balanced schools, etc. We would, however, unlike the city, include these provisions as part of a total well-coordinated scheme ready for immediate implementation.

CENTRAL QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED BY THE PROJECT

ONE: Can the housing of ghetto dwellers be brought up to standard using existing urban renewal tools?

TWO: Can slum dwellers be relocated in numbers sufficient to reduce the density of the renewal area?

Three: Can the relocation of slum dwellers take place without encountering social restrictions (discrimination), and if not, how can these restrictions be overcome using existing urban renewal tools?

FOUR: Can a community once solidly a part of a ghetto be reclaimed by design to encourage racial and economic integration by virtue of its design elements alone?

FIVE: Can urban renewal as presently constituted answer any or all of the needs of families being rehoused or relocated?

SIX: Are the rehabilitation provisions of existing urban renewal laws sufficient to permit meaningful upgrading of reclaimable ghetto housing?

SEVEN: Can urban renewal answer any of the environmental problems which characterize slum and ghetto areas?

EIGHT: Can school planning and location in conjunction with over-all planning in urban renewal areas result in better quality and more integrated schools?

NINE: How much would educational parks (clusters of schools) cost the city when located in urban renewal areas to serve several such areas? (Present urban renewal legislation allows partial payment for any schools built to serve persons living in an urban renewal area. New York, however, has seldom had total planning which includes this provision.)

TEN: What are the operational problems and deficiencies which permit and even encourage conflict or lack of cooperation between the many city agencies responsible for urban renewal?

Finding of the answers to these questions will be the central concern of the research-demonstration project. Where deficiencies are uncovered, the project will propose alternatives to existing practice which will meet the needs implied in each question.

TECHNICAL AND PROFESSIONAL RESOURCES

PHYSICAL DESIGN AND PLANNING; including associated research and documentation where required: Harvard University's School of Architecture and Department of City and Regional Planning.

RELOCATION AND ASSOCIATED SOCIAL PROBLEMS: including community organization: Paid staff of Urban Associates, assisted by professional social workers from Social Workers for Civil Rights Action, and professional planners from City Planners for Equal Opportunity, and community groups.

COORDINATION AND MONITORING: Urban Associates, in cooperation with community people, with emphasis on the grass roots level, in a broad program to insure that the community's own thinking is taken into account and reflected in the solution.

SUMMARY

Plans which are completed as a result of this project will be presented to the city and supported for adoption in lieu of the city's plans. This healthy competition will not preclude cooperation with city officials to insure that the project's plans are legally and financially feasible.

It is expected that vigorous community backing, coupled with the persuasive nature of an exciting, new and promising design, will fire the imagination of federal as well as city and state officials.

A successful project will, for the first time, point the way toward the elimination of slum ghetto areas, with parallel reduction of associated social problems.

While this project is immediately concerned with Harlem, it can be of more far-reaching benefit in two ways:

a) The specific plan designed for St. Nicholas Park will based on orginal techniques of coordinated action which will be applicable to deghettoization projects all across the country.

b) The mass of urban renewal and redevelopment legislation will be wieghed as to its relevance to the problems of deghettoization. Proposal for modification, elimination or enlargement of existing urban renewal provisions will be viogorously supported.

Clarence Funnye

APPENDIX

EVALUATION AND COMMENT

"Devising plans for the future development of the St. Nicholas Park area of Harlem that would at once attract white residents and minimize relocation needs and impacts upon the existing residents is a challenging pedagogical exercise. It will require imaginative inter-disciplinary collaboration, not just among the design professions, but also with several social sciences. The least we can expect is a searching reappraisal of the existing problems and the adequacies of current public programs in coping with them."

Dr. William Nash, Jr., Chariman, Department of City and Regional Planning, Graduate School of Design, Harvard

"The problem of planning truly integrated neighborhoods and cities is confronting America. We 'must' find new methods of building communities that embody the principles of democracy."

"We in the architecture schools want to work with you."

Dr. Benjamin Thompson, Chairman, Department of Architecture, Graduate School of Design, Harvard

"I find your proposal to be well-written, realistic, pertinent and generally most feasible. I wish you the best of progress with it."

Dr. Robert A. Dentler, Executive Officer, Institute of Urban Studies, Columbia University Teachers' College

"We are vitally interested in aiding people outside government in developing plans for their own areas. The basic assumptions here seem sound, and it would be of great help to the city if the group went ahead with its project for the St. Nicholas Park area."

"In a real sense, regardless of the specific merits of this proposal, it would be a vital educational experience for the people of the area to plan for themselves."

Roger Starr, Executive Director, Citizens' Housing and Planning Council, New York

"I think the possibility of finding radical new solutions to the problems of ghetto slums is an exciting one. But of more immediate interest to me is the fact that ghetto residents, through this program, would at last be able to decide for themselves what future they want for their communities. Even if nothing else is accomplished, this would be an outstanding contribution."

Gladys Harrington, Assistant Director, Volunteer Services, Assoicated Community Teams (ACT)

"This appeals to me as a wonderful project. I feel strongly that it should be undertaken. I should think many of the larger foundations would want to have a part in such a program. Reading your proposal and thinking of the need makes me wish we had the resources to participate."

Randolph Compton, The Compton Trust, New York

"I think your proposal represents a commendable venture which promises to develop some new constructive thinking on the ways in which urban renewal can be effective in rehabilitating and rebuilding a ghetto area. Particularly well thought out is the criteria developed for selecting the demonstration project area. The study, in addition to possibly developing new renewal and rehabilitation techniques, will give to the demonstration area residents a technical basis for evaluating the efficacy of the city's renewal proposals for the area."

"In summary, this is a very excellent concept and I wish you the best of luck in getting it underway."

Nathaniel J. Parish, Partner, Raymond and May Associates

"My reason for actively supporting the program for deghettoization put forward by Urban Associates goes beyond my appreciation of the unique features of the proposal in question. They are based on the realization, implicit in the proposal, that in order to attain the goal of an integrated and slumless environment, we must begin to take action now, multiply our efforts ten-fold, and set forth in detailed and articulate terms the means for attaining this goal."

Ron Shiffman, Director, Community Education Program in Housing, Planning and Urban Renewal, Planning Department, Pratt Institute

FINANCIAL DATA

ESTIMATE OF OPTIMUM BUDGET FOR THE 18-MONTH DURATION OF THE PROJECT

Professional Staff: (All salaries quoted for 18-month period)

One Director-Planner	$ 24,000
Two Associate Planners @ $15,000	30,000
One Social Casework Supervisor	16,000
One Community Organization Supervisor	16,000
Four Social Caseworkers @ $15,000	60,000
Four Comm. Org. Specialists @ $15,000	60,000
Total for Professional Staff	$206,000

Office Staff: (All salaries quoted for 18-month period)

One Office Manager	$ 12,000
Two secretaries @ $9,000	18,000
Total for Office Staff	30,000

Project Expenditures: (All figures quoted for 18 month period)

Rent	$ 5,000
*Supplies, equipment and utilities	11,500
Travel and miscellaneous	3,000
Total Project Expenditures	$ 19,500

*This figure includes all office expenditures with the exception of rent; i.e., furniture, mechanical equipment (typewriters, mimeograph, etc.), supplies, postage and utilities.

Total for Project:

Professional staff	$206,000
Office Staff	30,000
Project Expenditures	19,500
TOTAL	$255,500

Significant portions of the planning stage of the project will be carried out by Harvard University's Graduate School of Design and related facilities. Financial support for these portions of the project will be sought directly by Harvard, but the value of these services are estimated here:

Design and research team -- supervisors Two professors (for 12 months)	$40,000
Transportation and field expenses of Design teams (for 12 months)	30,000
Special technical research on building rehabilitation in the area (for 12 months)	15,000
Estimated total for Harvard Contribution	$85,000

Significant portions of the project will be carried out by volunteers from professional groups, coordinated by Urban Associates staff. The value of these services is estimated:

Social Workers for Civil Rights -- one team of 20 social workers, est. 5 hours per week each, valued at $1,900 for 18 months	$38,000
City Planners for Equal Opportunity -- one team of 20 planners, est. 5 hours per week, each, valued at $2,000 for 18 months	40,000
Total value of part-time volunteers	$78,000*

*This estimate of value may be increased by the addition of other specialized volunteers, such as teams from the Medical Committee for Civil Rights.

Total Cost of Project	$418,500
To Be Contributed	163,000
Monetary Support requested	$255,500

In the the three months in which the project has been in operation, effective operation has been hampered by almost total lack of financial resources. All services have been contributed gratis. Physical expenditures were absorbed by New York CORE and by contributions from volunteers working on the project. Total value of services and expenditures is estimated:

Community relations and organization	$ 300.00
Meeting Space	135.00
Telephone	105.00
Postage	60.00
Major Symposium	150.00
Travel and Transportation	45.00
Equipment	92.00
Supplies	95.00
Total	$ 982.00

Services:

Professional Planning	$1200.00
Clerical-typist	630.00
Consultants	800.00
Total	$2630.00
Total Expenditures to date	$3612.00

DIRECTIVE PERSONNEL

Board of Directors

Clarence Funnye, B. Arc. E., A.M., AIA, Director-Planner, Chairman of the Board

Mary E. Ensley, B.S., M.S., ACSW, Associate Director for Social Work

Bernadine Wesley, B.A., BSME, Associate Director for Engineering and Design

Gladys Harrington, B.S., ACSW, Associate Director for Community Organization

Luther Seabrook, B.A., Associate Director for Community Education

Susan Kaen, B.B.A., Associate Director for Business Management

James Robinson, B.A., Associate Director (Treasurer)

Associated Consultants:

William W. Nash, Jr., A.B., M.C.P., Ph.D., AIP, Chairman, Department of City and Regional Planning, Graduate School of Design, Harvard University

Benjamin Thompson, B.A., AIA, Chairman, School of Architecture, Graduate School of Design, Harvard University

Roger Starr, Executive Director, Citizens' Housing and Planning Council, New York

Robert A. Dentler, Ph.D., Executive Officer, Institute of Urban Studies, Columbia University

Ron Shiffman, B. Arch., Director, Community Education Program in Housing, Planning and Urban Renewal, Planning Department, Pratt Institute

TIMETABLE

Preliminary Stage (now in progress): Organization of project, investigation and documentation of problem, preparation of proposal, review of proposal by associated consultants, preliminary community organization. In pursuit of the latter objective, we organized and sponsored a major symposium to explore possibilities for deghettoization, guage and assess the community's feelings on deghettoization as a concept, and explain to city and federal officials and regional civic leaders the concept of deghettoization. We have also organized a four-class, 12-hour course in the rudiments of urban renewal and community participation in planning for deghettoization under urban renewal for community and civic leaders, to take place in February.

With respect to the main portion of the research-action project, estimates of a timetable are exceedingly difficult, due to the new nature of the program and the need for flexibility within limits. Nevertheless, the following general schedule is indicative of the pace we hope to set immediately upon receipt of foundation support:

Phase I: Planning and technical research, organization for community education and support, analytical investigation of the operation and structure of city, state and federal urban renewal agencies. This stage will last six months.

Phase II: Physical and social planning utilizing design innovations, with full community participation in the construction of the plan.

Phase III: Completion of design and final research into social problems associated with relocation. Documentation and analysis of conclusions. Continuation of organization for community action in the implementation process.

~~Urban Handbook~~? Housing?

URBAN ASSOCIATES

An Autonomous Urban Planning Department of New York CORE

307 W. 125th STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10027

File

CLARENCE FUNNYE, Director

LULLING WILLIAMS, Assistant Director

12-8-64

DEAR JIM

WE HAVE FINALLY MANAGED TO REVISE AND UPDATE OUR ORIGINAL DEMO-PROJECT FOR URBAN RENEWAL IN GHETTO AREAS. IT PROMISES TO BE A VERY EXCITING VENTURE.

HOPE YOU WILL BE PLEASED.

Clarence

P.S.

URBAN ASSOCIATES IS NOW IN POSITION TO PROVIDE CONSIDERABLE technical assistance to any chapter having problems in this area

Second Class Mail Matter

New York Herald Tribune

Wednesday, D

NEWS PERSPECTIVE

Housing Bias—Law at an Impasse

By Andrew J. Glass
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

WASHINGTON.

An official document circulated within the highest councils of the Johnson administration warns against the signing of a broad Presidential decree that strikes at racial prejudice in housing.

The secret civil rights position paper, drafted by the Justice Department's Office of Legal Counsel, was sent to the White House after being approved by Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach.

Many legal pitfalls cited in the informal Katzenbach opinion, it was learned yesterday, will probably cause President Johnson to abandon plans for issuing a long-studied executive order that would vastly extend the Federal government's role in protecting Negroes against discriminatory housing practices.

Mr. Johnson's aids have recently urged the civil rights leadership to ease its pressure for a wide-ranging order in return for a firm Administration pledge to sponsor Federal fair housing legislation at the coming session of Congress.

The housing order sought by the civil rights groups would cover virtually all privately financed, multiple dwelling housing, such as apartment houses and suburban developments. Both public and Federally-assisted private housing of this type are already covered by legislation and by an executive order issued by President Kennedy in 1962.

But so far, key Negro leaders have resisted the legislative alternative advance. They have insisted the President has sufficient legal and political power to combat the sensitive nationwide problem through "another stroke of the pen."

"They tried to sell us a bill of goods and we weren't buying," a civil rights leader said.

The impasse over the contemplated housing order has led to frustration and bitterness on both sides. For, as a key Administration official put it, "everyone feels that anything is better than what we have now."

Nicholas Katzenbach

RECOMMENDED

The immediate issue has been simmering since March. At that time, the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing secretly recommended to Mr. Johnson that he issue an expanded executive order tightening the rules on bias in housing. This proposal became generally known in May.

As envisioned by the 16-member White House panel, such an order would apply to all multiple-dwelling mortgage lending by savings and loan associations as well as commercial and savings banks. An estimated three-fifths of the nation's new residential construction would be covered under the order.

The committee, headed by former Pennsylvania Gov. David Lawrence, made its proposal without the benefit of any formal legal opinion. Yet it held that the banks and the lending associations were receiving Federal assistance—since their deposits were insured, up to $10,000, by government agencies.

The Katzenbach opinion, however, seriously questions the legality of such a Presidential order. Basically, the Justice Department feels that the courts could hold it to be an excessive and wanton use of executive authority.

Doubts were raised over Mr. Johnson's authority to control such semi-independent agencies as the Federal Reserve Board, which insures depositors through its Federal Deposit Insurance Corp.

COMPULSION

The Justice Department also questioned whether the White House could or indeed should compel private lending institutions to enforce a matter of public policy.

The housing issue arose again last month at the White House Conference on Civil Rights. In essence, the rights leaders accused the Administration of undue delay while officials termed the outsiders' sweeping proposals wishful thinking.

Since then, the problem of what to do about the housing order—once the special domain of Vice-President Humphrey—has been inherited by Joseph Califano, a Presidential special assistant. But it could not be determined what, if anything, Mr. Califano will recommend should be done.

An original order which the rights groups brand as unsatisfactory was issued in November, 1962, by President Kennedy. Its anti-discriminatory provisions were limited to mortgages backed by either the Federal Housing Administration or the Veterans Administration. Later, the FHA decided to exclude the resale of one and two-family houses from the order.

Mr. Kennedy utilized the housing prejudice issue during the 1960 campaign when he accused former President Eisenhower of failing to exercise his power through "a stroke of the pen." Later, however, Mr. Kennedy himself trod cautiously through the complex legal and political problems raised by his demands.

Prejudice against Negroes in housing is also partly covered under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. This extends the "open occupancy" rule, at least in theory, to all public housing, urban renewal projects and specialized housing for the elderly.

Since FHA mortgages cover only a fifth of the housing market, the Kennedy order left a great gap. While this gap would be narrowed through covering conventional mortgages as well, such newly arisen lending institutions as insurance companies would still remain exempt.

In fact, the non-retroactive executive order urged by the Lawrence panel would account for merely 2 per cent of the total number of housing units, old and new, within the United States.

A BIG GAP

At best, enforcement of the 1962 Kennedy order has been spotty. As one high-ranking FHA official explained: "We've got to go out and compete in the market with conventional (bank) lending. So you can't expect us to go out and look for trouble."

Thus there is wide agreement in and out of the administration that executive orders, civil rights laws and urban renewal projects have all failed to achieve integrated living in the U. S.

Finally, the immense problems of the urban Negro ghettos— such as New York's Harlem, Chicago's South Side and Los Angeles' Watts—would not be met by a Federal "open occupancy" law of the kind the Administration is advancing.

"Open occupancy" relates mostly to middle-class housing of the type that the nation's impoverished Negroes couldn't afford even if their legal rights were fully protected.

TENANT NEWS

[redacted]

Plans are being made for the MCH Legislative Conference on Sat., Jan. 15, 1966. The conference will discuss new State legislation and amendments to old laws, and decide on a State legislative program for MCH. Actions to be taken to bring the program to the attention of the legislators will also be on the agenda. The conference will be held at the McBurney YMCA, 215 W. 23rd Street.

During the State legislative session in the spring of 1965, MCH sponsored a 500 man (and woman) delegation to Albany and later sent 50 representatives on a follow-up delegation. In addition, MCH's legislative chairman, Frances Goldin, made several trips to Albany to keep pressure on the legislators.

The Case of the Missing Transcript

A highlight of the first and larger delegation occurred when Gov. Rockefeller met with some of the delegates & agreed to every one of the MCH proposals! Since a stenotypist was making a record of the meeting, it was expected that this would make a good news story. Unfortunately, the transcript of the meeting, although promised, never could be found by the Governor's office. The mystery of the missing transcript is still an open case in the MCH files -- filed under "D" for "demagoguery!"

In 1966, MCH plans to send an even larger delegation, get more bills passed -- and keep its own record of meetings with bigwigs. Every organization concerned with housing legislation-- and certainly every MCH affiliate -- should send representatives to the Jan. 15 Conference.

SEASON'S GREETINGS!!! HAPPY NEW YEAR!!!

Vol. IV, Nos. 3-4
November-December, 1965

[redacted]

The 7th Annual Conference of MCH on Sat., Nov. 20 drew almost 200 people to its six panels and plenary session, far more than the number expected. When the doors of the McBurney YMCA auditorium opened at 9:30 the rush for registration started. Labelled with name-tags and loaded down with MCH publications, the delegates fortified themselves with coffee and Danish pastries. They moved around the room looking at the exhibits which showed a year's activity by MCH and some of its affiliates. The room was ringed with picket signs, posters and photographs. At the literature table, copies of MCH's Organizing Handbook and the Citizens' Survey of Available Land were being sold and new members and sustaining members were being signed up.

Public housing panel added

Bill Tatum of the Cooper Sq. Committee chaired a brief opening session during which Major Owens of Brooklyn CORE spoke. The assembly then split up into panels. In addition to the panels on house organizing, organizing a tenant council, urban renewal, new legislative tools, and publicity techniques, an additional panel was formed of public housing tenants to discuss problems of public housing.

MCH finances discussed

The afternoon session centered around

(please turn to page 6)

Cooper Square speaks up (see story on page 5) -- Photo by Charles Kaswan.

LEGISLATIVELY SPEAKING

by Frances Goldin

A disappointing result of the Nov. 2 election was the defeat of the low rent housing propositions, Nos. 2 and 3. The voters were so confused by the long list of propositions, questions and amendments that many didn't bother to vote on them. They just didn't know what these were about. About half of the New York City voters didn't vote at all on Prop. 2 & 3.

One proposition which did pass was the Governor's favorite, Prop. No. 1 to finance water purification. It passed because Rocky backed it to the hilt. He went on TV and gave a vivid demonstration of the importance of pure water by showing children who had become ill because of pollution. The voters were impressed and they singled out Prop. No. 1 and, quite rightly, gave it a big YES.

Bad housing endangers children, too

Rocky had also declared his support for public low rent housing. But why didn't he go on TV and introduce children who are the victims of slum housing? He could have shown the rat bites, the illness and the other effects of living in crowded, unheated, crumbling slums. And he could have urged voters to cure the slum disease by building more housing. Instead the Governor limited himself to one last-minute, undramatic tour of the slums along with Mayor Wagner. Even that token gesture was delayed until after MCH's telegrams to Rocky and until Jane Benedict exposed his neglect of the propositions at a public hearing on Oct.28.

MCH had met with the Governor back in March of this year, wrote him five times since then and wired him in late October. His response was silence until after Election Day. A letter to me from his counsel, dated Nov. 10, regretted his inability to meet sooner and stressed "the Governor's efforts on behalf of the propositions --for example his tour with Mayor Wagner on Oct. 29 -- and his disappointment that they were not approved by the people."

What chutzpah!* The Governor made one token gesture in support -- and then has the nerve to brag about it!

Silence killed propositions

The defeat of these important propositions can be blamed directly on the Governor, Mayor Wagner, Mayor-elect Lindsay and on Abraham Beame. None of them did enough to push the propositions. Lip service is not public service and tokenism never advanced a cause.

Not only did these men ignore the propositions but they did nothing to improve the image of public housing and make it more appealing to the voters. They could have, for instance, urged the construction of individual vest-pocket public housing throughout the city on vacant land. Such buildings could be integrated and would fit into existing communities.

Tenants demand housing anyway

This defeat must not mean the end of the public housing program in NYC. Lindsay has promised a massive increase in public housing (see list of campaign promises on page 5). Lindsay and Rockefeller must win from Washington an increase in the amount of public housing allotted to NY State -- which is now limited to 15% of the national total. They must figure out other methods of revitalizing the program of low rent public housing, without which the housing dilemma cannot be solved.

---

* Call it chutzpah, gall or nerve -- it's all the same.

[illegible]

This supplements the information in the Sept. issue of TENANT NEWS on nighttime heat, hall lights, and elevator mirrors:

Peepholes: Required after Jan. 1, 1966. New ones must have label of approval of Bd. of Standards and Appeals. Old ones are ok unless they weaken door. Rent increase for new peepholes installed by landlord is 10¢ per month or 15¢ if a new bell is installed also -- only after approval by the Rent Administration.

Lights: In addition to 40W lights in yards, two 50W lights must be installed at front entrance-way, encased in metal guard or shatterproof globe. Both yard and entrance lights must be on all night.

[redacted]

Cooper Square chairman wins award, Oct. 19: The Lower East Side Neighborhood Assn. (LENA) presented Miss Thelma Burdick, chairman of the Cooper Sq. Community Development Committee, with its annual award. The award was given for her outstanding contributions to the East Side.

MCH affiliates meet with Lindsay, Oct. 27: Propositions 2 and 3 (the public housing proposals on the election ballot) were the subject of a meeting between mayoralty candidate John Lindsay and representatives from MCH and its affiliates. Groups represented included Neighbors in Action, the Housing Committee of RENA, Chelsea-Village NAACP, plus the legislative and law committees of MCH. Cong. Lindsay promised to support the propositions publicly and to discuss them later that day at a press conference.

Joint Legislative Committee on Housing and Urban Development, Oct. 28: Jane Benedict, MCH chairman, spoke at an open hearing called by this committee of the State Legislature in New York City. She testified in favor of a massive program of low rent public housing and for passage of the housing propositions, 2 & 3.

Outdoor rally, Nov. 1: An outdoor rally was held by MCH in the garment district at 7th Ave. & 33rd Street at lunchtime. It was well-attended by garment workers who stopped to hear our speakers urge them to vote for Propositions 2 and 3.

Democratic Club, Nov. 18: Ruth Beinart, TENANT NEWS editor and co-chairman of the Housing Committee of RENA, addressed a new Democratic club, the 80th A.D., Part B Reform Democrats, on neighborhood housing needs. The club is in a newly formed district in Washington Heights.

Bill Tatum on CBS-TV News, Nov. 24: Together with Woody Klein, noted housing reporter, Bill Tatum, exec. secy. of the Cooper Sq. Committee and MCH bd. member, toured a lower East Side tenement at 5th St. and Ave. D. They inspected the "repairs" made under the City's emergency fund and found that, although $4,000 was spent, the building was still in deplorable condition because of sloppy or non-existent repairs.

[redacted]

Just to jog your memories, here's what our next mayor, Hon. John V. Lindsay, promised to us voters:

* A program to build 100,000 low income housing units and 60,000 middle income units in the next 4 years.
* Speedup in processing applications for low and middle income housing.
* Centralizing the handling of all housing complaints.
* Expanding the number of housing inspectors, in fact, tripling it.
* Retention of rent control (although he didn't pledge strengthening it).
* Unqualified support of the Alternate Plan for Cooper Square.

City Council Pres.-to-be Frank O'Connor also made some promises as part of the Democratic slate. He is bound to carry them out as leader of the Democratic party in New York City. He promised:

* "Compulsory listing of apartment vacancies with central city agency to assist low and middle income groups."
* A single department to handle housing complaints, inspection & enforcement. Stronger code enforcement.
* Continued rent control.
* Higher public housing income limits.
* Putting city pension funds into mortgages for "home-seekers in minority groups."

Our job now as voters and as tenants is to see that these promises are fulfilled.

[redacted]

50 speakers from 17 organizations spent the afternoon of Nov. 23 demanding that the City allow real citizen participation in urban renewal decisions. The Speak-up, from noon to 5:30, went on in front of 2 Lafayette St., office of the Housing and Redevelopment Bd., City Planning Commn., and other City housing agencies.

7th ANNUAL MCH CONFERENCE

(continued from page 1)

making MCH stronger and more effective. Brief introductory remarks by Frances Goldin included a recommendation for a committee of 100 -- 100 people who would join MCH as individuals for $5 each and who would pledge to sign up 5 more members. She pointed out that this plus the formation of an effective fund-raising committee would guarantee enough funds for MCH to hire a full-time organizer and expand its operations.

One step in the direction of more money was made when the delegates voted to raise organizational dues in MCH from $10 to $15 per year.

[redacted]

MCH extends thanks to the east side bakeries who provided the delegates to the 7th Annual Conference with delicious breakfast Danish pastries. Take a bow: Ratners on 2nd Ave., Karlin's on Grand Street, and Honey and Spice on Clinton Street.They're as sweet as their pastry!

[redacted]

Jovenes Progresistas
(Puerto Rican Progressive Youth)

Tenant councils formed in over 50 buildings and 200 tenants organized, most of them dues-paying members -- this is the wonderful work of the Jovenes Progresistas, MCH affiliate, in the past 2 years.

Starting in 1962 as a group to study and discuss "freedom of the spirit,"they decided after a year that their study must lead to action.Working in Brooklyn, they soon found that their main area of work had to be housing.

Tenants need new outlook

Most of the Puerto Ricans with whom they work have come to the mainland recently. In Puerto Rico they had their own homes, did their own repairs, lived amongst friends and, accordingly, did not know the rights of tenants or ways of dealing with landlords. Faced with a language difficulty,forced into substandard housing with landlords who push them around, they need skilled and sympathetic help.

With 30 active members,Jovenes Progresistas has its own lawyers to aid in legal matters. It also assists with translation problems, teaches the history of Puerto Rico, organizes tenant councils, and educates tenants on their rights. It is not surprising that its leaders must spend about 20 hours a week (or 2½ days) of work to carry on this program. And they have gotten results.

Officers of JovenesProgresistas are Pepe Sanchez, president; Flora Sanchez, secretary; and Ricardo Alvarez, treasurer.

Margaret Forsyth

[redacted]

[redacted]

Met. Council on Housing
219 - 7th Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10011

RETURN REQUESTED

U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
NEW YORK, N.Y.
PERMIT No. 6383

James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
NYC 38

THE SECRETARY OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20410

FEB 15 1966

FEB 14 1966

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Mr. Farmer:

This is to bring you up to date on the Bogalusa situation about which you wrote to me in your December 14 letter and telegram of the following day.

We assume that you have heard by this time that Commissioner Varnado of the Housing Authority has been replaced.

An investigation has been undertaken by the Public Housing Administration of the other matters raised by the Voters' League, in Mr. Rachlin's correspondence, and in your letter. We are enclosing copies of our letters to them for your information.

Sincerely yours,

Robert C. Weaver
Secretary

Enclosures (2)

THE SECRETARY OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20410

Mr. Carl Rachlin
General Counsel
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Mr. Rachlin:

This will bring you up to date on the Bogalusa situation.

As Mr. Joseph Burstein, General Counsel of the Public Housing Administration, informed you by telephone, the PHA is investigating the complaint of the Voters' League. We assume you know by now that the matter of the alleged KKK Member on the Board of Commissioners of the Housing Authority, which Mr. Burstein also discussed with you, has been resolved.

We want to correct any impression that the Public Housing Administration anticipates no problems in dealing with the established pattern of segregation in Bogalusa. Although it is not a problem that public housing can solve by itself, the PHA fully recognizes its continuing responsibility to secure compliance by the Bogalusa Housing Authority with the requirements of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act and the assurances already given by the Housing Authority that it will comply. This extends to the processing of applications and the assignment of dwelling units on a nondiscriminatory basis. In addition to the Civil Rights Act requirements, the financial assistance contract between the PHA and the Housing Authority contains a nondiscrimination requirement as to employment which will also be the subject of continuing compliance review by the PHA. Enclosed for your information is PHA material pertaining to these matters.

We are taking the liberty of sending copies of this letter to Mr. Farmer and to the Voters' League because it answers some of the questions they have raised. You will find enclosed our letter to the Voters' League on the same subject.

Sincerely yours,

Robert C. Weaver
Secretary

Enclosures (2)

PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY — WASHINGTON, D.C. 20413

CIRCULAR
8-27-65

TO: Central Office Division and Branch Heads
Regional Directors
Local Authorities
Managers, Directly Operated Projects

SUBJECT: Title VI of Civil Rights Act of 1964

Experience in the low-rent housing program under the HHFA regulations and PHA requirements issued pursuant to Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 indicates that clarification and greater detail are needed in respect to certain aspects of administration. The following requirements are designed to provide this clarification, in order to assist local housing authorities in meeting their obligations pursuant to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in accordance with Government-wide policies applicable to Title VI-affected programs.

1. Methods of Administration. Methods of administration, staffing arrangements, assignment of responsibilities and procedures shall provide for the following (reports thereof, along with copies of all materials used or produced, to be furnished promptly to the PHA Regional Office):

   a. Administration of all dwelling units on a uniformly nondiscriminatory basis in respect to race, color or national origin, including nondiscrimination in maintenance, equipment, facilities, and services, and in the treatment of tenants.

   b. That the race, color or national origin of the tenants of the dwelling units or of the staff shall not be a factor in the assignment of managers and other staff responsible for the administration of the dwelling units.

   c. Such location of facilities for filing of applications for tenancy and such circumstances for acceptance of applications as will afford the applicant the greatest opportunity for the exercise of his rights under the tenant selection and assignment plan adopted by the local authority (see subparagraph d below).

   d. Establishment of a plan for selection of applicants and assignment of dwelling units to insure nondiscrimination on grounds of race,

(Cont'd)

color or national origin. Examples of different types of acceptable plans are the following:

Each applicant is assigned his appropriate place on a community-wide basis in sequence based upon date of application, suitable type or size of unit, and factors affecting preference or priority on grounds (other than race, color or national origin) established by the local authority's regulations; and any suitable vacancies arising at a given time at any project or location are offered to the eligible applicant first in sequence at such time. If such applicant refuses to accept the offered vacancies on any grounds, the plan shall provide for one of the following: (i) that he remain in first place; (ii) that he remain in first place but if he rejects suitable vacancies on a stated number of occasions (two or three, for example) he be moved to last place; or (iii) that he be moved to last place.

Each applicant is offered the opportunity to state on his application in what project or projects, or in what location or locations, he wishes to obtain housing, or to state that he will accept housing in any project or location; and assignments of dwelling units to eligible applicants are made in accordance with such stated preferences insofar as consistent with the other pertinent factors (other than race, color or national origin) established by the local authority's regulations. Each applicant will be informed that he may indicate a preference for housing without regard to the race, color or national origin of the existing occupants of any project. Whenever there are one or more vacant units in a project for which no eligible applicant has expressed a preference, the local authority shall offer such units to the eligible applicant(s) having priority, whether or not the applicant has indicated that he will accept housing in any project or location other than his stated choice.

Under any plan, the applicant shall be fully informed, at the time of application, as to which projects contain dwelling units of the size and type suitable to his needs, and the location of all such projects.

The PHA may from time to time review and determine the adequacy of any plan for selection of applicants and assignment of dwelling units to accomplish the purposes of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the regulations and requirements pursuant thereto.

e. Nondiscrimination in reassignments or transfers to other dwelling units.

f. Instruction of the local authority's staff concerning its obligations under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the HHFA regulations and PHA requirements pursuant thereto, by suitable means such as providing them with copies of all pertinent documents, conducting training meetings, and maintaining review through regular supervisory channels.

(Cont'd)

g. Posting, in a conspicuous place in the local authority's facilities in which applications are received, of notice that the facilities and services in the authority's low-rent housing program are provided on a nondiscriminatory basis and of its plan for tenant selection and assignment of units; and inclusion of such information in material distributed to tenants and prospective applicants, to the general public, and to agencies, institutions, organizations, and political subdivisions which may refer applicants.

h. (1) Receipt and processing by the local authority of complaints from or on behalf of any person who believes himself to be subject to discrimination by the local authority or its staff; (2) keeping a record of each complaint including the date of the complaint, by whom made, investigation and hearing (if any), and evaluation; (3) a written notice to the complainant of action taken; (4) posting, in a conspicuous place in all facilities of the local authority which are open to the public, of a notice that complaints of discrimination may be filed with the local authority or the PHA Regional Office, at a designated address, including notice that the filing of a complaint with the local authority will not prevent the subsequent filing of a complaint with the PHA; and (5) posting with the above notice a copy of the PHA regulation under which complaints may be submitted to the PHA (copy enclosed--additional copies available from the PHA).

i. A prohibition against intimidatory or retaliatory action or threat thereof by the local authority or its staff against any applicant or tenant because of participation in civil rights activities or for having asserted any of his rights under the Civil Rights Act, and the regulations and requirements pursuant thereto.

j. Periodic review by the local authority of its practices to assure that they are in conformity with its obligations under the HHFA regulations and PHA requirements.

2. Reports on Complaints. Beginning with September 30, 1965, and thereafter at the end of every calendar quarter, or such less frequent intervals as the Regional Director with the approval of the Commissioner may determine to be consistent with the objectives of the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the regulations and requirements pursuant thereto, each local authority shall furnish the PHA Regional Office with a report showing the number of complaints (if any) filed with the local authority during the reporting period, the nature of the matters complained about, and the findings made and action taken on such complaints.

3. Selection of Sites for New Projects. The local authority shall furnish, for inclusion in the PHA Project Planner's report on Form PHA-2651, "Preliminary Site Report," such supporting data or information as may

(Cont'd)

be required to enable the PHA to include, in its tentative approval of the site selected by the local authority, a specific determination that the selection is in accordance with the policy established by the PHA under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (see Low-Rent Housing Manual Section 205.1).

The foregoing requirements shall be effective on September 1, 1965.

Marie C. McGuire

Commissioner

Enclosure

PHA-3053
October 1965

PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION
Housing and Home Finance Agency

Complaint Procedures
Nondiscrimination in Low-Rent Public Housing

(as published in the Federal Register on
January 7, 1965, 30 FR 132-133, 24 CFR 1500.7)

Effective January 3, 1965, Chapter III, Public Housing Administration, is amended by adding a new § 1500.7 *Complaint procedure—nondiscrimination in low-rent public housing*, as follows:

§ 1500.7 Complaint procedure; nondiscrimination in low-rent public housing.

(a) *Introduction.* This section is issued under the authority of title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, P.L. 88-352, 78 Stat. 252, 42 U.S.C. 2000d-1; the regulations of the Housing and Home Finance Agency effectuating title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 24 CFR, Subtitle A, Part 1, § 1.1 et seq. of this title (herein referred to as "the HHFA regulations"); and section 502(b) of the Housing Act of 1948, 42 U.S.C. section 1404a. Notwithstanding the provisions of § 1500.6, *Complaint procedures—equal opportunity in housing*, the procedure prescribed in the HHFA regulations, as implemented by the Public Housing Administration in this § 1500.7, shall apply with respect to any complaint of discrimination on the ground of race, color or national origin in the low-rent housing program under the United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended, 42 U.S.C. 1401 et seq. The procedure prescribed in § 1500.6 shall apply only to complaints of discrimination on the basis of creed.

(b) *Definitions.* As used in this section:

(1) "Local Authority" means a "public housing agency" as defined in section 2(11) of the United States Housing Act of 1937, 42 U.S.C. 1402(11), which is a "recipient" of or an "applicant" for Federal financial assistance under that Act as defined in section 1.2 of this title (HHFA regulations). With respect to any federally owned or operated low-rent housing project, the housing project manager shall be deemed to be a "Local Authority" for purposes of this section.

(2) "Discrimination" means any action or practice of a local Authority of the kind prohibited by section 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 or by § 1.4 (a) and (b) of this title (HHFA regulations), and, in the case of a project covered by a contract clause for equal opportunity in housing pursuant to section 101 of Executive Order 11063 (see § 1500.6(b)(2)), any action or practice prohibited by such clause relative to race, color, or national origin.

(3) "Project" means a low-rent housing project assisted under the United States Housing Act of 1937, including any low-rent housing project owned or operated by the Federal Government pursuant to said Act.

(4) "Commissioner" means the Public Housing Commissioner.

(c) *Complaints*—(1) *Filing.* Complaints of discrimination on the part of a Local Authority shall be filed with the appropriate Regional Director of the Public Housing Administration. A list of PHA Regional Offices with their addresses and areas of jurisdiction appears as Appendix A to this section. Regional Directors are authorized to extend the time for filing a complaint beyond the period specified in § 1.7(b) of this title (HHFA regulations).

(2) *Content.* A complaint shall be signed by the complainant or his representative and shall, insofar as known to complainant, name the Local Authority and the project involved, state the time, place, and nature of the alleged discrimination, set forth factual information known to the complainant supporting the allegation of discrimination, and state the complainant's interest in or relationship to the alleged discrimination.

(3) *Acknowledgment.* Upon receipt of a complaint, the Regional Director shall promptly and in writing acknowledge its receipt.

(Cont'd)

(4) *Further notice to complainant.* The complainant will be advised in writing when investigation of the complaint indicates discrimination and the matter is resolved by informal means. In all other respects, the procedure prescribed in the HHFA regulations will apply.

(d) *Effective date.* This section shall be effective January 3, 1965.

Approved: December 30, 1964.

MARIE C. MCGUIRE,
Commissioner.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF PHA REGIONAL OFFICES AND AREAS OF JURISDICTION

Regional office	*Areas of jurisdiction*
Atlanta: Room 737, Peachtree Building, Atlanta, Ga., 30323.	Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee.
Chicago: Room 2201, 185 North Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Ill., 60601.	Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Wisconsin.
Fort Worth: Room 2072, 300 West Vickery Boulevard, Fort Worth, Tex., 76104.	Arkansas, Colorado, Kansas, Louisiana, Missouri, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Texas.
New York: 346 Broadway, New York, N.Y., 10013.	Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, Vermont.
Philadelphia: Room 1102, Widener Building, Chestnut and Juniper Streets, Philadelphia, Pa., 19107.	Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Virginia, District of Columbia.
Puerto Rico: Post Office Box 9197, Santurce, Puerto Rico, 00908.	Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands.
San Francisco: 450 Golden Gate Avenue, Box 36027, San Francisco, Calif., 94102.	Alaska, Arizona, California, Guam, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming.

NOTE: Any changes in this listing of PHA Regional Offices or their areas of jurisdiction will be published in the Notices section of the FEDERAL REGISTER under the heading "Housing and Home Finance Agency, Public Housing Administration, Description of Agency and Programs," or may be obtained by writing to the Public Housing Administration, Washington, D.C., 20413, or to any PHA Regional Office, or by inquiring at any Local Authority office.

[F.R. Doc. 65-142; Filed, Jan. 6, 1965; 8:46 a.m.]

THE SECRETARY OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20410

Mr. Robert Hicks, Vice President
Bogalusa Voters' League
1215 North Lincoln Street
Bogalusa, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Hicks:

This is with reference to the letter of November 5, 1965, from you and Gayle Jenkins on behalf of the citizens of Bogalusa and the Bogalusa Voters' League, requesting that Federal funds be suspended from public housing developments in the City of Bogalusa on the grounds of discrimination. You state the grounds as follows:

"I. No Negroes on planning board
"II. Sites located to maintain segregation
"III. Units to be segregated"

We had occasion to reply to a letter from Mr. Carl Rachlin, General Counsel, Congress of Racial Equality, bearing on some of these matters. A copy of the reply is enclosed. As you will observe from this letter, your complaint is already under investigation.

You will be advised further of the results of the investigation. In the meantime, you may present any additional information or find out whom to contact by writing or calling the Fort Worth Regional Office of the Public Housing Administration. The Regional Director is Mr. Thomas H. Callaham, Room 2072, 300 W. Vickery Boulevard, Fort Worth, Texas, 76104.

Sincerely yours,

Robert C. Weaver
Secretary

Enclosure

THE SECRETARY OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20410

FEB 14 1966

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Mr. Farmer:

This is to bring you up to date on the Bogalusa situation about which you wrote to me in your December 14 letter and telegram of the following day.

We assume that you have heard by this time that Commissioner Varnado of the Housing Authority has been replaced.

An investigation has been undertaken by the Public Housing Administration of the other matters raised by the Voters' League, in Mr. Rachlin's correspondence, and in your letter. We are enclosing copies of our letters to them for your information.

Sincerely yours,

Robert C. Weaver

Robert C. Weaver
Secretary

Enclosures (2)

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
MINNESOTA

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C.

January 15, 1965

JAN 18 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Jim:

Thanks so much for your recommendation on Mr. Donald M. Wendell. He looks like an excellent possibility. We will certainly give him every consideration.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

APR 7 1965

THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

Humphrey

April 4, 1965

Dear Jim:

Thank you for your telegram. The question of extending the President's Executive Order on equal opportunity in housing is now under the most careful consideration and scrutiny. I am cognizant of the extremely difficult problems which housing discrimination creates in communities across the nation. Please be assured that this entire matter is receiving my direct and personal attention.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Vice Pres
Humphrey

May 10, 1965

The Vice President
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

Dear Hubert:

Thank you for the advance announcement of Wiley Branton; it is indeed good news.

On a related matter: I am distressed that as yet there have been no appointments made to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to supervise the enforcement of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. As you know, the Act takes effect in the area of employment on July 2nd, less that sixty days from now. I would hope that such appointments are to be forthcoming promptly so that this very important section of the Act will be put into effect with dispatch.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:nm

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

April 29, 1965

MAY 3 1965

Dear Jim:

I am sending you this advance announcement of good news: Wiley Branton has agreed to serve as Executive Secretary of the President's Council on Equal Opportunity.

There is no need to remind you of Wiley's qualifications and ability, but I thought you would be pleased to know that you will have occasion to work with him in this new capacity.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Why the Delay?

Although the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was signed last July 2, Title VII – the Fair Employment title – will not become effective so as to prohibit discriminatory practices until July 2 of this year. But the title established, effective immediately upon its enactment, that is ten months ago, an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and gave it many essential preparatory tasks to perform during the year of grace.

The Commission consists of five members, all Presidential appointees. But the Commission does not exist as yet. President Johnson has neglected to make the necessary appointments. Thus, it is not too much to say that he has substantially extended the year of grace granted to private employers by Congress, and that he is further extending it every day that he continues to delay organizing the Commission.

Moise Tshombe's defiance of the United Nations and his more recent personal "invasions" of Cairo and Nairobi have given the world a picture – and it is roughly accurate – of a shrewd man gifted with physical courage and inexhaustible sass. Most of the rest of the "popular" picture of Tshombe, however, is false. For instance, he is not pro-colonial, not pro-white, not pro-Belgian. He has neither genius for, nor interest in, administration. At each stage in his faintly Gilbert-and-Sullivan career, distant "observers" have mistaken his unlimited lack of scruple for policy; in fact, no ideology ever interferes with his opportunism. He is charismatic, ruthless, commanding, humorous, resilient.

Jill Humphrey

THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

MAY 17 1965

May 14, 1965

Dear Jim:

Sorry you were unable to make connections and attend our meeting with the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. I think we had a useful session.

Also, I'm glad to know you approve of Wiley Branton's appointment. And now we even have an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. It will be a busy spring and summer.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Hubert H. Humphrey

Mr. James Farmer
National Director, CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

October 2, 1964

Mr. W. W. Marleaux
Iberville Industrial Voters League, Inc.
1818 Haase Street
Plaquemine, La.

Dear Bill:

Thank you for your letter of September 21. I had not been aware that the CORE office had been moved from Plaquemine to Baton Rouge. Upon receiving your letter I checked first with Richard Haley, Director of the Southern Office in New Orleans, and with Ronnie Moore, who heads up the Louisiana operation.

From these two conversations the following facts emerge: CORE is not deserting and will not desert Plaquemine or Iberville Parish. CORE Field Worker Henry Johnson will remain in Plaquemine to see that the work goes on. The office which has been located in Plaquemine is the state CORE office and is being moved either to Baton Rouge or to Alexandria for the sake of better research facilities in mapping the state-wide program of community organization and voter registration. At the earliest possible date, no later than January 1, a sub-office is to be re-established in Plaquemine with additional workers assigned there.

As I promised you, there will be no withdrawal of CORE from Plaquemine. The fine people of Plaquemine have backed us up, and we will continue to back them up. Please be assured of this fact.

Cordially yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

cc: Richard Haley
Ronnie Moore

W. W. HARLEAUX
President

L. T. THOMAS
Secretary

W. L. BANKS, JR.
Treasurer

Iberville Industrial Voters League, Inc.

"Register and Vote To Make Democracy Live"
1818 HAASE STREET
PLAQUEMINE, LOUISIANA

Sept. 21, 1964

Dear Jim,

Today I was advised by Mr. Ronnie Moore that the CORE office in Plaquemine was moved to Baton Rouge. I don't know what crime we in Plaquemine have committed that merit such a penalty. You have done the very thing we asked you would you do the night we were on our way to the Donaldsonville jail, that is, "What would happen to us when the demonstrations would end"; would CORE turn its back on us and forget about us". You assured us that you would never turn your back on us. I doubt seriously that you are aware of this recent development. I don't believe you would deliberately go back on your word.

Leaving us without a national civil right office in Plaquemine is like pulling the federal troops out of the south during the 1870's. Moving the office out of Plaquemine has instilled more fear into ## our people. To make bad matters worst the uncle toms are showing the few who had courage they have been used for fools.

I hope you will give this matter very serious consideration and move the office back to Plaquemine,

Hoping to hear from you very soon,

Yours truly,

W. W. Harleaux

W. W. Harleaux

Answered
3/20/62
JS

Baldwin Path
R.F.D. 4
Huntington
N. Y.

CORE
38. Park Row
New York 38
N. Y.

Dear Sir:

On December 30th., 1961, I advised you that my $5 order for Christmas cards had not been taken care of. I sent cash some weeks before Christmas, just as I had done the previous year; in the latter case I received the cards with no trouble, but this Christmas they never came & I had to buy other cards.

So far I have heard nothing from you about this matter. I would still like the cards if you have some left over; otherwise just let the matter drop. I would be very pleased if you would use the enclosed stamped, self-addressed envelope to let me know what happened.

Yrs. Truly,

P. Cammer.

March 20, 1962

Mrs. P. Cramer
Baldwin Path
R.F.D. 4
Huntington, New York

Dear Mrs. Cramer:

I have received your inquiry concerning the CARE Holiday Cards. Please excuse the delay in answering your letters. I am extremely sorry for what apparently was an unfortunate mix-up. Processing of orders is done on our premises, and shipments are made from a plant in Lebanon, Pennsylvania. Inevitably, some errors do occur, and we regret that your order had to be one of them.

To expedite our handling of this matter, would you be good enough to inform us which cards you ordered and in what amounts. We do have left over cards of numbers 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6 (The Night Before Christmas, Greetings, The Music Makers, World Brotherhood and Hands). If you will do this, we will be happy to send out your cards.

Please accept my apologies for this inconvenience.

Thanking you for your kind consideration,

Sincerely,

Mary Hamilton

Enc: $15.00
No address

JUL 18 1962

July 14, 1962

Gentlemen:

May I have a copy of the song "We Shall Overcome" - both words and music, if possible.

Thank you very much.

Joyce Watson

If you do not furnish copies, where can I get one?

October 15, 1963

Mrs. Selma Scull
Food & Nutrition Trades High School
225 West 13th Street
New York 11, New York

Dear Mrs. Scull:

I do not find in our records, any specific information about discriminatory activities of the Red Cross.

However, should you like more information, you might try writing:

Mr. Clarence Mitchell, Director
NAACP - Washington Bureau
100 Massachusetts Ave., N/W
Washington, D.C.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:dab

OCT 3 1963

Gordon Chaney

Board of Education City of New York
Food and Maritime Trades High School
208 West 13th Street New York 11, N.Y.
CHelsea 3-2248

Francis X. Carlin, Principal

S.S. John W. Brown
MUrray Hill 3-2859
Academic Building
ORegon 5-1582
Guidance Office
WAtkins 4-8422
Placement
CHelsea 3-6404
Evening Trades
WAtkins 4-8721

Clarence Mitchell
100 Morn. Ave. N.W.

October 2, 1963

CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

As the G.O. advisor in charge of Junior Red Cross activities, before I proceed, having heard of discriminatory activities by the Red Cross, I would like you to notify us of any such examples that may have come to your attention.

I thank you for your trouble.

Very truly yours,
(Mrs.) Selma Scall

October 15, 1963

Miss Elizabeth Shannon
301 Pfeiffer Hall
Cornell College
Mount Vernon, Iowa

Dear Miss Shannon:

We do have a Regional office in St. Louis, Missouri. I am forwarding your letter on to Mr. Eugene Tournour, in charge of this office. I am sure that he will be able to assist you.

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Clroy
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:dab

cc: Eugene Tournour
St.Louis Office
Enc.

Don Rose

OCT 2 5 1963

International Affairs Secretariat
National Federation of Catholic
College Students
Marycrest College
Davenport, Iowa
October 23, 1963

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Sir:

At the National Congress of the National Federation of Catholic College Students, the International Affairs Secretariat was seated at Marycrest College. This means that we will act as a national referral agency for over one hundred colleges and over one hundred thousand students.

In the bid we planned to edit newsletters for these colleges on important international situations. Our current topic is the Aparthied in South Africa. Would you please send us information, bibliographies, and possible speakers on this topic. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Denise O'Neill

Denise O' Neill
Research Staff
N.F.C.C.S. - I.A.S.
Marycrest College
Davenport, Iowa 52804

4 November 1963

Miss Denise O'Neill
Research Staff
N.F.C.C.S. - I.A.S.
Marycrest College
Davenport, Iowa 52804

Dear Miss O'Neill:

The Congress of Racial Equality does not publish any definitive information on the Aparthied in South Africa. However, I'm quite sure that you will be able to obtain the information you require by contacting:

The American Committee on Africa
211 East 43rd Street
New York 17, New York

Best success with your newsletters.

Sincerely yours,

B. Lane

B. Lane Perdue

College Georgian

January 8, 1964

Miss Anne Dente
College of St. Elizabeth
Convent Station, New Jersey

Dear Miss Dente:

We were pleased to learn of your efforts to establish a civil rights commission on the campus of the College of St. Elizabeth. Anything that the Congress of Racial Equality can do to assist you will most assuredly be done.

I am having your name added to our National List to receive the CORElator and other mailings. I will also have you added to our list of student contacts. Further more, under separate cover I am sending a packet of CORE literature and an order blank. Iffthere is other specific information or advice that you desire, please feel free to call on us at any time.

Sincerely&yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

Carey

O'Connor Hall
College of St. Elizabeth
Convent Station
New Jersey
December 8, 1963

CORE
38 Park Road
New York 38, N.Y.

DEC 13

Dear Sir:

We are interested in establishing a Civil Rights Commission on our campus. Generally, the purpose of this commission will be to eliminate prejudice through effective education and, specifically, to combat discrimination through active support of the Civil Rights Movement.

At present we would prefer to remain an independent organization, rather than become a branch office of one of the existent Civil Rights' Groups. We would be most appreciative and most eager to receive any suggestions you might have concerning the formulation and functioning of our Civil Rights' Commission. Could you also please add our address to your mailing list and send us any literature on CORE. We are anxious to support any CORE activities which we are able to. Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,
Anne Dente

January 8, 1964

Mr. John M. Morris
1916 North Nevada
Colorado Springs, Colo.

Dear Mr. Morris:

I am afraid that I do not have offhand information on the availability of Thoreau's Civil Disobedience. However, I do know that it is published in paperback and that it is sometimes published in conjunction with Walden. I would suggest that you might write to the major paperback publishers who, I am more than certain, could supply you with quantity rates. Sorry that I cannot be of more assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Garvey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

Gordon?

University of Colorado
1105 N. Nevada
Colorado Springs, Colo.
Dec. 10, 1963

DEC 16 1963

Dear Core:

Do you have, or know where we can get, reprints of Thoreau's "Civil Disobedience" for use in classes here? The Modern Library version is a little expensive, and we haven't been able to find another version.

John Morris
(Lecturer in Philosophy)

January 8, 1964

Miss Susan Nixon
#745
Washington University
6515 Wydown
Clayton, Mo.

Dear Miss Nixon:

For information on the field of education I would suggestithe following two sources:

The Southern Educational Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156
Acklen Station
Nashville, Tennessee

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:lp

Corey

December 1, 1963

DEC 5 1963

Dear Sir,

I am writing a term paper on the Negro's progress in the field of education from Lincoln and the Reconstruction to the present. This subject is quite interesting to me and is vitally important in today's society. In order for the Negro to reach his desired position in society, he must be educated. My paper deals with the drawbacks and advancements made in this area. I would greatly appreciate it if you could send me any possible material on this subject.

Thank you for your prompt attention,

Susan Nelson
#745
Washington University
6515 Kingsbury
Clayton, Missouri

January 9, 1956

Dr. C. Eric Lincoln
Professor of Social Relations
Clark College
Atlanta 14, Ga.

Dear Dr. Lincoln:

We are terribly embarrassed to have misplaced your letter of May 14, to Mr. Fenner. Please excuse this bit of inefficiency on our part.

I suppose that by now your project has been completed. However, should you still wish Mr. Fenner to respond to our "quiz" questions, please let us know and I will see that it is done at once.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon B. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GBC:ljp

CLARK COLLEGE
ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA

May 14, 1963

SOCIAL RELATIONS

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am currently engaged in a limited research project, which among other things, is aimed at a critical assessment of the current state of Negro-white relations.

May I ask your cooperation as a responsible observer and/or participant in the day-to-day relations between Negroes and whites here in America?

You are asked to do only one thing: read the "guide" questions on the accompanying sheet, and in a paragraph or two state your feelings about "The Current State of Negro-White Relations". The guide questions are merely suggestive. You may respond to some (or all) of them, or you may feel free to discuss "The Current State of Negro-White Relations" in your own way. You may write at length if you wish, or a couple of paragraphs will do. Please use the paper provided, but use additional sheets if necessary.

Your help is important and is very much appreciated. At your request I will be glad to share the results of this study with you.

Very truly yours,

C. Eric Lincoln

C. Eric Lincoln
Professor of Social Relations

CEL:dkn

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

Comments by

_____

Name

on the

Current State of Negro-White Relations

Guide Questions:

What is the present status of communication between the races? What is responsible for these conditions? Does fear play a significant part in the way whites and Negroes relate to each other? What part? Who is afraid? Of what?

Do whites and Negroes hate each other? More than before? Less than before? Do whites and Negroes see each other in a different light in 1963 than they did prior to 1954? Or prior to World War II? If so, in what way does the present image differ from the past image? Is this good? Is it bad?

Where does the white man think the Negro is "trying to go"? Where is the Negro trying to go? Will he get there? When? What is the best way to improve Negro-white relations? What will most readily cause further deterioration of Negro-white relations?

sample of literature and list of CORE locals (not list)

FEB 10 1964

Box #53-Bowman
Mount Vernon, Iowa
February 7, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director of CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

The Iowa Methodist Student Movement, a college youth group, has chosen the improvement of race relations as its Spring Work Project. I would like to know if you have any free pamphlets or other inexpensive literature which would help us in planning and promoting community projects in which each of us has actual contact with the race problems and in which we strive to improve race relations. Such literature might include a definition of the basic racial problems, what your organization has done in this area of concern, and specific suggestions of what we, as college students, can do in our local communities.

If you do have some literature, will you please send me a few samples as soon as possible?

Thank you.

Yours truly,

Sharon R. Earley

Sharon R. Earley

February 11, 1964

Mr. Michael Wolfson
600 Florida Avenue
Apartment 1
Orlando, Florida

Dear Mr. Wolfson:

I am enclosing a copy of All About CORE and our most recent issue of the CORE-lator--which includes a literature list.

The other major organizations in the field of civil rights are:

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

The NAACP Legal and Defense Fund
5 Columbus Circle
New York, N. Y.

The National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York City, N. Y. 10017

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
5 Beekman Street
New York, N. Y.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

The NAACP publishes a monthly magazine, Crisis. Both the SNCC and the SCLC publish regular newsletters as does CORE. I trust that this information will be helpful to you.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP
Enc.

Gordon

JAN 29 1964

January 26, 1964

James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Sir

I am a recent graduate of the University of Florida and plan to do graduate work in the field of race relations in the future. I am very interested in the work that the Congress of Racial Equality does and would like to know more about how you operate. Could you please send me information about your group and all the phases in which you operate.

Also if possible, could you please send me a list of the names and addresses of organizations that are working in this field and the publications that these groups produce.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Michael Wolfson

Michael Wolfson
600 Florida Ave.
Apartment 1
Orlando, Florida

Send list

24 Turner Street
Newton 60, Mass.
February 27, 1964

James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
Park Row, New York, N. Y.

FEB 28 1964

Dear Sir:

I am a student at Newton High School Newton, Mass. I am writing a research paper on The Negro Today with special emphasis on education. If you could supply any information, it would be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,
James Rice

Bio sketch of Mr. Farmer

Alamac Hotel
Broadway at 71st St.
New York City

C.C.R.E. Natl Headquarters
38 Park Row
New York City

MAR 2 1964

Dear Sirs:

In compiling data covering demonstrations since the 1954 Supreme Court Decision, I find that C.C.R.E. has had such a prominent part in these that it seems as if it would be appropriate to include something about the life of its leader, Mr. James Farmer.

Would it be possible for you to supply a brief outline in the form of a pamphlet or mimeographed sheet?

If so, you might mail it to me here, at the above address.

Thanking you for your co-operation, I am,

Sincerely yours

Roland J. Heacock

Dr. Roland J. Heacock
Staffordville, Conn.

18 March 1964

Miss April Smith
Studebaker Hall
La Verne College
La Verne, California

Dear Miss Smith:

Under separate cover I am sending you a variety of literature about CORE which I believe you will find helpful. Some of the questions, however, can more easily be answered by letter.

CORE was founded in 1942 by James Farmer and a group of others in Chicago. They were interested in adapting Gandhian and labor union techniques to the race relations scene in America. CORE now has about 25 professional employees, some 30 clerical employees and about 40 full time volunteers. We have over 100 chapters throughout the nation and our activity concentrates along the Eastern seaboard, the West coast and the South.

I hope that this along with the literature will prove sufficient for your purposes. Thanks for your interest in CORE and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

March 9, 1964

MAR 13 1964

Dear Sir,

I am a student of Sociology studying at the present minority groups in America. I have a term project and I have chosen CORE to be my topic. If you would please send me all the vital information possible such as, when CORE was founded, what prompted this particular group, how many paid employees and approximately how many volunteers, how many branches there are in the U.S. and the areas where they are most concentrated, etc.

I hope I have given you a pair idia of what I need. This information is very important to me in more ways than one. I am a white

student and I feel that if we are ever going to solve racial problems in our country we must be educated not only to the Negro group but all the other minorities included. I chose CORE because I have very dear friends who are Negroes and it it hurts me to see how they and members of their race are so brutally treated.

If you would please send the information as soon as possible I would appreciate it very much. My address is:

Miss April Smith
Stuckshaker Hall
La Verne College
La Verne, California.

Thank you very much

Sincerely,
Miss April Smith

19 March 1964

Mr. Larry Leitzes
154 Lincoln Avenue
East Paterson, N.J.

Dear Mr. Leitzes:

Enclosed you will find several pamphlets concerning CORE's nonviolent direct action battles against segregation. I do hope that this material will be helpful to you in writing your term report for history class.

Sincerely,

Lana Perdue
Secretary to the
Assistant to the
National Director

Enc.

Lou

Carey

(in care of Pikovsky)
Larry Leitzes
154 Lincoln Avenue
East Paterson, N.J.

MAR 18 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am doing a Term Report in History on the Causes of Racial Violence and how can we stop it. I would like it if you can send me pamphlets on these subjects, if it is possible. Thank you very much.

Yours Truely
Larry Leitzes

20 March 1964

Miss Lucy M. LaMorte
50-04 31 Avenue
Woodside, N.Y. 11377

Dear Miss LaMorte:

Mr. Farmer's assistant, Mr. Gordon R. Carey has written a paper on the black nationalist movement which you will find enclosed. I hope that this paper will help you in your own research.

Also enclosed is some material on CORE and its nonviolent direct action battle to eradicate discrimination.

I wish you success in your course and in your research.

Sincerely yours,

Lane Perdue
Secretary to the
Assistant to the
National Director

Enc.

FEB 13 1964

50-04 31 Avenue
Woodside, N.Y. 11377
February 11, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Road
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am a High School student taking a course in Problems in American Democracy. At the present time I am doing research on the Black Muslim movement. I would greatly appreciate your opinion and any additional information you can give me on this organization. Thank you for your kindness and consideration.

Respectfully yours,
Lucy M. LaMorte
Lucy M. LaMorte

20 March 1964

Mr. Marc S. Friedman
83 Seventeenth Avenue
East Paterson, N. J.

Dear Mr. Friedman:

Enclosed you will find a copy of the paper written by MF. Farmer's assistant, Mr. Gordon R. Carey, on the subject of black nationalism. I hope that this study will help you in your own research.

Also enclosed are a few pamphlets concerning CORE and its struggle to end racial discrimination.

I wish you success in your research.

Sincerely yours,

Lane Perdue,
Secretary to the
Assistant to the
National Director

Enc.

MAR 16 1964

Gaden

83 Seventeenth Avenue
East Paterson, New Jersey
March 13, 1964

Commitee on Racial Equality
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer,

I am writing to you in regard to a problem which is of intense significance. The Black Muslims are an ever-increasing threat to your organization and other agencies with good intentions.

As a senior in high school, I have been assigned to fully research this problem, with my eventual goal being a method to surmount it.

Any information or views you have would be greatly appreciated.

Thank you very much.

Yours truly,

Marc S. Friedman

Marc S. Friedman

23 March 1964

Mr. Johnny E. Knight
P.O. Box 5867
University of Alabama
University, Alabama

Dear Mr. Knight:

eI am enclosing a copy of This is CORE which should explain a great deal about the Congress of Racial Equality. You will notice that CORE has but one aim--the elimination of all forms of color discrimination. By our Constitution we are not permitted to take stands on issues other than what is commonly known as race relations. Consequently, we have no position on socialism versus capitalism.

As an organization we support and are loyal to the United States of America and work throughdemocratic means to improve our democracy within the context of the American Constitution.

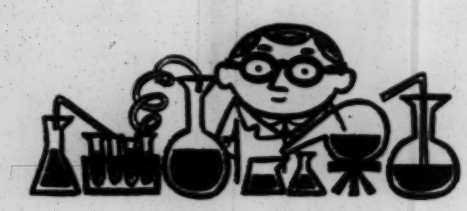
I am afraid that this has not been very helpful to in terms of your economics class, but CORE is simply a non-partisan and non-political organization.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

Carey



Chemistry
University of Alabama
Johnny E. Knight
P.O. Box 5867
University, Alabama

ack

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Gentlemen:

How does Socialism and Capitalism affect the civil rights movement in the United States? Could you please furnish me with your organization's definations of these two economics systems, and how they affect your organization. I would like to have your definations and views on these topics in order to complete my study assignment on these systems for my Economics 11 class.

I would appreciate any information you could give me on these subjects.

Sincerely yours,

Johnny E. Knight

Johnny E. Knight

24 March 1964

Mr. Edward Mervine
465 Stanley Road
Akron 12, Ohio

Dear Mr. Mervine:

Material about CORE will soon reach you under separate cover. Let me also refer you to magazine-newspaper files and also to the book, Freedom Ride, by James Peck.

I hope that you find your research a worthwhile and stimulating experience.

Sincerely yours,

Lane Perdue
Secretary to
Gordon R. Carey

- 2 -

May 19, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
Director, CORE
38 Park Row
NY 38, NY

MAR 23 1964

Dear Sir:

I am writing a historical research paper about CORE of about 35 to 50 pages in lenght due on the 1st May at the University of Akron.

If you could please send me information and sources of information on the History of CORE, its Philosophy, and its methology, it would be of great help to me in writing my paper.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
Ed Mervine

rep/ Ed Mervine
465 Stanley Rd
Akron 12, Ohio

(over)

All About CORE

Cracking the Color Line

The CORE

Ruler for Action

Nat. Constitution

Several Book since CORE

the CORE way (Brother)

McCain Dept

Refer to

Freedom Ride, by Jim Peck

Mapcyl

24 March 1964

Mr. Harry M. Scoble
Assistant Professor
189 Haines Hall
Department of Political Science
Los Angeles 24, California

Dear Mr. Scoble:

Enclosed you will find two sample copies of our 1962 letterhead. One was printed before the Convention and the other after, accounting for the slight difference in officers. Also enclosed is a copy of All About CORE for your information.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

Enc.

Ack.

Clara

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

189 Haines Hall
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
LOS ANGELES 24, CALIFORNIA

MAR 16 1964

March 12, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
Executive Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am presently doing research on liberal organizations, particularly the National Committee for an Effective Congress. As a part of this project, I am interested in examining the overlap between and among national groups, and I would appreciate it if you could send me a copy of your 1962 letterhead for this purpose.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Harry M. Scoble

Harry M. Scoble
Assistant Professor

HMS/jel

All About CORE

25 March 1964

Mr. Bruce Carnizzaro
455-05 Jewel Avenue
Flushing 67, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Carnizzaro:

It was indeed a pleasure to receive your kind letter and to know of your interest in my work with the Congress of Racial Equality.

I was one of the founders of CORE in 1941 and was the first National Chairman. During CORE's history I have held a number of offices with the organization and worked in its behalf throughout the nation. I came to work for the Congress of Racial Equality as National Director on February 1, 1961.

I am pleased to enclose an autographed photograph and a brief biographical sketch.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

FW:LP
Enc.

Picture
+
Bio

MAR 18 1964

155-05 Jewel Ave
Flushing 67, N.Y.
March 5, 1964

Head of CORE
James Farmer
CORE
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. Farmer,

I have just been reading about your work on CORE and would like to compliment you. How long have you been head of CORE? What other offices have you held? Do you have any intentions of running for a higher office?

My class has "Wall of Fame" on which we have autographed photographs of world famous men and women. We would be honored to have a picture of you. We would also appreciate a biography.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours
Bruce Carruzzo

3 June 1964

Mr. Sam Litt
135 B Boulevard
East Paterson, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Litt:

I am sorry that we were unable to answer your letter in time for your term paper on the Black Muslims. I trust that you secured your information elsewhere.

However, I would like to advise you that the best book on the subject is by E. U. Essien-Udom. The title is Black Nationalism--A Search for Identity in America. Mr. Essien-Udom is a Nigerian, currently in the United States. His book is interesting and authoritative. It is more than likely available in your local library.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

APR 10 1964

135 B Boulevard
East Paterson, N. J.
April 7, 1964

Congress of Racial Equality
c/o Mr. Farmer
N. Y., N. Y.

Dear Sir:

I am a student at East Paterson Memorial High School. As my history term paper I have chosen the topic "The Black Muslims". I would appreciate it very much if you could send me any information you might have on the pros and cons of the Muslim organization. Can you also send me a list of addresses where I may write to receive more information? I am

Sincerely yours,
Sam Litt

24 June 1964

Mr. Richard Pestka
THE COLLEGIAN
Ashland College
Ashland, Ohio

Dear Mr. Pestka:

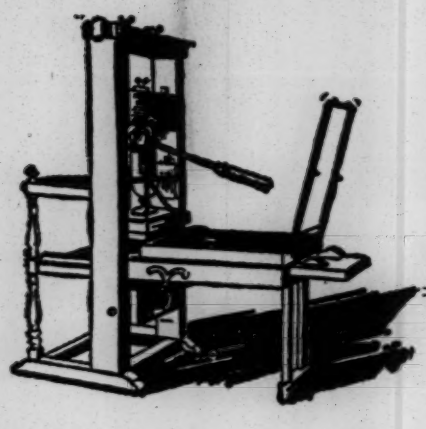
I regret that the rush of activities in this office precluded us from getting the information that you had requested for your term paper last semester. We were especially overworked during the time that your letter came in due to the World's Fair Project and many other activities around the nation.

Should we be able to be of assistance to you in the future, I trust that you will call on us again.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP



THE COLLEGIAN
Ashland College
Ashland, Ohio

APR 22 1964

Representing the art, style and dedication
of the professional journalist

Editor
Thomas Fensch
Associated Press
Ohio Press Photo Assn.

Sports
Chuck Mistovich
Ashland Times-Gazette
Medina County Gazette

Photography
Don Goembel
Ohio Press Photo Assn.
1963 O.C.N.A. Award Winner

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Hank Geary
Gary Smalley
Chuck Wilmouth
Alice Schearer
Ann Sollenberger
Pete Bilan

Mr. Farmer,

I'am writing a term paper this semester for my course in Racial and Cultural Minorities on the "Problems Facing the Negro in the field of education over the past 15 years in the New York City area," or something to that effect. I have asked for information from the NAACP and New York City Board of Education. I feel that through these three organization I should beable to get a well rounded view of the problems facing the Negro.

Please send all the information you have available which will pertain to my paper. I will be more then glad to pay the cost of postage and material if there is a charge for such information. Thank you very much for your time and efforts.

Sincerely,

Richard Pestke

Address:

Richard Pestke
The Collegian
Ashland College
Ashland, Ohio

info file

13 August 1964

Miss Denise Abrums
42 Eggers Street
East Brunswick, N.J.

Dear Miss Abrums:

Mr. Farmer has asked me to reply to your kind letter of March 13 and to apologize for not having answered you sooner.

It is encouraging to know that a young person like yourself is interested and concerned about the field of civil rights. While active participation in the civil rights movement will probably have to wait the time that you are older, there is still a great deal that you can do.. The most important thing is to speak out amongst your friends and acquaintances on behalf of justice and brotherhood. You may also want to try to develop friendships with persons of other backgrounds. For your information I am enclosing a copy of our pamphlet, All About CORE.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP
Enc.

MAR 16 1964

42 Eggers Street
East Brunswick, N.J.
March 13, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
New York Chapter of Core
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer,

I have just finished reading an eye-opening article in the New York Times. It told about the protests which CORE is planning in the metropolitan area to wake up the population on the problems of racial equality

I would like to be of service to you in your drive for equal rights, but what can a thirteen year old who resides in New Jersey do?

Thank you for your time and attention

Yours sincerely,
Denise Abrams
13 years old
Grade 8, Churchill School

8 September 1964

Miss Rosemary Jacous
912 North McCoy
Independence, Mo. 64050

Dear Miss Jacous:

Mr. McKissick has forwarded your inquiry of August 10 to the National Office. Mrs. Schwerner has recently been appointed CORE field secretary. She can be contacted at the following address:

Mrs. Rita Schwerner
c/o Steve Schwerner
319 Court Street
Brooklyn, New York

Yours, truly,

Lane Purdue
Secretary to
Gordon R. Carey

cc: Floyd B. McKissick, Esq.

912 N. McCoy
Indep. Mo. 64050
August 10, 1964

Dear Mr. McKissick,

I would like to know were I may write to Mr. James Farmer for some information concerning Mrs. Rita Schwerner. I understand she is the widow of the slain civil rights worker Michael Schwerner. I would like to get in touch with her.

Any information that you would give me would be appreciated.

C/o Steves
319 Court St
Brooklyn N.Y.

Respectfully yours
Rosemary Jacobs - Secretary
Independence Core chapter
Independence, Missouri. 64050

cc McK
2 Dore

send all about CORE

done

SEP 17 1964

September 15, 1964
Buffalo Center, Iowa

James Farmer, national director
Congress of Racial Equality, national office
New York City
New York

Dear Sir:

For a research paper this year I am writing on integration and I was wondering if you could give me some first hand information on the functions and purpose of your minority group.

Thank-You
Susan Potter

20 October 1964

Miss Libby Valdes
Rock Point School
Burlington, Vermont

Dear Miss Valdes:

I am replying to your September 29 letter to Mr. Farmer. I am glad that you found the pamphlets interesting. I am afraid that I do not have any terribly good answer to the problem which you raise in your letter. However, I would suggest that there is one book which might be helpful. If I remember correctly, it is called "For Human Beings Only." It is by Saljah Patton Boyle. Mrs. Boyle is a white Southerner from Virginia who has been quite active in interracial activities. The book gives guide lines on building bridges between persons of different races. I am sure you will find it of interest. It is probably in your library and I believe it is also out in a pocket book edition.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

Libby Valdes
Rock Point School
Burlington, Vermont
September 27, 1964

SEP 29 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer,

Thank you for the pamphlets. I will send my pledge in as soon as my allowance arrives.

I would like to ask your advise in a problem we have here at school. You see, we have about nine negroes here at school the rest of the forty-eight students are white. The negroes cluster in one groups and are an eye sore where ever we go.

Mr. Farmer, I am
but I have to
with the sam
girl for all m
years. I am d

I underst
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two races. Ma
girls that come
hardly if ev
high for su
period of tim
mind live w

All the
my friends
My closest,
roommate. I
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person in
but it does
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am a Caucasian,
e to roomed
same negro
my highschool
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derstand the
ery well but
Inmate and don't
to join the
Many of the
one here have
ever seen a
such a long
time never
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e negroes are
s some are
t, & like my
. Lots of times
only white
the crowd
doesn't bother
can we

show the white girls that
the negros are friendly.
Please help us.
My roommate and I would
be so grateful.
We'll walk hand in
hand all the
way.
Thank you,
Libby Valdes.

20 October 1964

Miss Kathleen Farrell, News Editor
THE CROWN
St Mary's High School
South Amboy, New Jersey

Dear Miss Farrell:

I am happy to reply to your letter of October 5.

To an extent the so-called white backlash is a creation of the press It is inevitable that whenever there is progress in the field of civil rights there will also be a reaction. The white backlash is simply the manifestation of those persons who are opposed to real and rapid progress of the Negro. It seems highly doubtful to me that these sentiments have been created by the civil rights drive or by the Civil Rights Bill. It is more likely that feelings which existed before, but which were under the surface, have come into the fore.

Some political analysts deny the existence of the backlash. Others recognize a trend of movement of supporters of the late President Kennedy to Goldwater. However, the trend from supporters of Richard Nixon to President Johnson has been even greater. Consequently, I do not foresee the backlash having any real effect on the election. CORE feels that Mr. Goldwater presents a grave threat not only to the Negro but also to the American system. We are dedicated to his defeat.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

THE CROWN
ST. MARY'S HIGH SCHOOL
SOUTH AMBOY
NEW JERSEY

1964
5 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer,

The current issue of civil rights has grasped the interest of many people. Among them are the students of St. Mary's High School and their newspaper The Crown. As one of the leaders of the Negro population would you please give us your views on the following questions:

1. What are your feelings toward the white backlash?
2. What effect will it have on the upcoming election? Will it help Goldwater? Will it damage the President's chances?

Your reply will be greatly appreciated. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
Kathleen Farrell,
News Editor

Reply for info

November 16, 1964

Mr. Homer L. McCall
Yale Divinity School
409 Prospect Street
Box 249
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Mr. McCall:

Your letter of October 19th addressed to Mr. Farmer has been referred to me.

I am enclosing some literature on CORE and its activities. However, I am really not sure that it is what you require. If you would like any further information will you please write again and explain in more detail what you would like.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:nm
Enclosures

Gordon

Yale Divinity School
409 Prospect Street
Box 249
New Haven, Connecticut
October 19, 1964

OCT 2 0 1964

Mr. James Farmer, Executive Secretary
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

During the past few years I have served as Chaplain of Yale University. One day in the near future I hope to be President of this great institution. My home church is Battell Chapel.

I am writing for information concerning Intergroup Education i.e. in schools. I welcome your advice and aid on this timely question. I look forward to hearing from you.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Yours sincerely,
Homer L. McCall
Homer L. McCall

Information
Requests

8 January, 1965

Miss Christine Paul
4 Brox Blod
Edison, New Jersey 08817

Dear Miss Paul:

Enclosed you will find pertinent information pertaining to CORE, which you requested in your letter of January 6. I hope this information will be of value to you.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Staff Associate

NM/m
Encls.

4 Brox Road
Colonia, New Jersey
08817
January 6, 1965

James Farmer, National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, 38, N.Y.

Sir:

Please send me information as soon as possible on the purpose, program and leaders of the CORE.

I am a student in high school doing a report on such groups. I need the information promptly.

Thank you,
Christine Paul

info reg

January 19, 1965

Mr. James P. Bradley
6826 Chester Avenue
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19142

Dear Mr. Bradley:

I am enclosing a copy of the analysis of the killing of James Powell by Police Lt. Gilligan. We believe that the killing was the occasion for the riot. Certainly there were underlying motives, such as the slum conditions, the lack of job opportunities and the general feeling of frustration and alienation. But the killing of James Powell we beleive to be the spark that touched off the riots.

I would like to mention that it is fairly expensive to make these thermofax copies. CORE's present financial situation is quite desperate and we would very much appreciate it if you would send in a contribution to CORE of at least $1.00.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Staff Associate

5826 Chester Avenue
Philadelphia, Pa. 19142
December 10, 1964

Mr. James L. Farmer
C. O. R. E.
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

JAN 18 19[illegible]

I would like to know your opinion of the race riots that occured in Harlem last June. Civil rights and police brutality have often been cited as primary causes of the riot. Do you agree with either of these theories? If you do not agree, to what or to whom do you assign the blame for the riot? I am doing a research paper on this topic and I would appreciate any assistance you may be able to give.

Very truly yours
James P. Bradley

Requests For Info

January 19, 1965

Mr. Allen F. Long
R.D. 4, Gold Course Road
Amsterdam, New York 12010

Dear Mr. Long:

James Farmer is now in Africa and will be there for several additional weeks. However, I do know that he would not tell anyone how he voted on any election.

We are a non-partisan organization and unless we take a public stand against a specific candidate we take no stand at all. Clearly, Mr. Farmer does not feel he should lend his personal prestige to influence a political election.

I hope you understand why we abstain from making this kind of statement. It is the only way in which we can continue to maintain our own integrity while we work with our elected officials.

Sincerely yours,

Marvin Rich
Community Relations Director

MR:nm

R.D. 4: Golf Course Road
Amsterdam, New York 12010
January 13, 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

JAN 15 1965

I am in the process of preparing a study of last November's Kennedy-Keating campaign for the office of United States Senator, here in New York.

Sir, I was wondering, if you would consider doing me a favor? At your leisure, would you drop me a few lines answering the following questions: 1) What candidate did you vote for in the Kennedy-Keating contest? 2) What prompted you to make this choice? 3) William Kunstler believes that Robert Kennedy has put his civil rights views tailormade to suit his political ambitions. What is your opinion concerning this?

I completely realize that you are quite busy with your own splendid work, and if you find it impossible to fulfill my request, I certainly (can plead)

would understand. However, if your decision regarding this matter is in the affirmative, I'd appreciate it a great deal. Furthermore, As I have tremendous respect for your opinion, I believe your remarks would be a valuable asset to my project.

Some of the people who have assisted me thus far, are, Rep. William ~~Fitts Ryan~~, Rep. Sam Stratton, Rep. Otis Pike, Harvey Swados, Norman Thomas, Lisa Howard and William Kunstler.

May I take this opportunity to applaud both you and your organization for the excellent work, both are doing in the field of Civil Rights.

Thank you.

Hoping to hear from you.

Freedom!

Allen F. Long

req. for info

29 January, 1965

Mrs. Susan Kelty
21020 Topochico Drive
Woodland Hills, California

Dear Mrs. Kelty:

Your letter of January 11, addressed to Mr. Farmer, has been referred to me.

If you want to send books or money directly to Linda Davis at the Ruleville, Mississippi Freedom School, you may be sure that she will be able to receive them if you mark the package "personal."

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

NM/mt

RAA

Gary —

The answer is yes — she would get package marked "personal" to Linda Davis —

JAN 14 1965

21020 Topochico Drive
Woodland Hills, California
January 11, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I recently read the article, "Their Text Is a Civil Rights Primer" in the December 20th issue of the New York Times Magazine.

I would like to know the following: If I were to send books, toys, or money directly to Linda Davis of the Ruleville, Mississippi Freedom School, would she be assured of receiving the above? Or is it necessary to go through the COFO headquarters?

I thank you for the above information.

Yours truly,

Susan Kelty

(Mrs. Susan Kelty)

file info reg

1 February, 1965

Mr. Roy L. Hill
State University College
Fredonia, New York

Dear Mr. Hill:

Mr. Farmer has not yet returned from Africa, so I am taking the liberty of answering your letter of January 27. I have enclosed a biographical sketch and an article by Mr. Farmer, which might be useful for you. As a rule Mr. Farmer does not speak from a prepared text, so we unfortunately have no copies of his speeches on hand.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

NM/mf
Encls.

STATE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, FREDONIA, NEW YORK

JAN 29 1965

January 27, 1965

Mr James Farmer
35 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am trying to complete my second book — Rhetoric of Racial Revolt. would you please send me a brief biographical sketch of yourself and one or two copies of speech(s) you have delivered somewhere that you would want me to include in my book. Also tell me where, when and to whom the speeches were delivered to. I am most anxious to include you in my study. May I please hear from you soon.?

With warm regards, I am

Sincerely,

Roy L. Hill

file info
rel.

1 February, 1965

Miss Deborah Charley
Letsche School
1530 Cliff Street
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15219

Dear Deborah:

Mr. Farmer is in Africa now but I wanted to get the enclosed material to you quickly for your class project, so I have taken the liberty of answering your letter of January 14.

I hope the enclosed literature will be helpful to you.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

NM/mt
Encls.

1530 Cliff Street
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15219
Jan. 14, 1965.

JAN 29 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer,

My class in school is studying about prominent Negroes. I have read about you and CORE in Current Biography. We are going to give a program about you and other prominent Negroes. If you're not too busy, would you please awnser my letter, and if possible, please send me your picture?

Yours truly,
Deborah Charley
Letsche School
1530 Cliff Street
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15219

Send bio & picture - See write note

info reg

11 Februayy, 1965

Miss Sally Bair
311 Dunton Hall
Colorado Woman's College
Denver 20, Colorado

Dear Miss Bair:

We have your letter of February 8 requesting information on discrimination in college fraternities and sororities. We are sorry that we cannot help you on this, but we have no material relating to this sector of civil rights in our files.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

NM/mt

Wiley

CO

P11

311 Dunton Hall
Colorado Woman's College
Denver 20, Colorado
February 8, 1965

Congress of Racial Equality
513 West 166th Street
New York 32, New York

Dear Sirs:

I am doing a paper on discrimination in college fraternities and sororities and shall appreciate any information you can offer. Iam especially interested in a chronological history of such discrimination (Negro, Jew, Oriental, Indian, Catholic, etc.), emphasizing specific cases on various American college campuses.

I realize that because of the nature of fraternity organization, such information is not easy to come by. However, <u>any</u> help you can give will be greatly appreciated.

I hope you will give this matter the soonest possible consideration. Thank you.

Sincerely,
Sally Bair
Sally Bair

Information Requested

206-43 45th DR.
BAYSIDE N.Y.
February 23, 1965

Farmer

CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

FEB 25 1965

Dear Sirs;

I am a student at J.H.S. 158 Bayside Queens. I would like to know if you could send me any information on James Farmer. Because I have to make a report on James Farmer.

Thank You
Sincerely Yours
Diane Womack

Info Requested

February 24, 1965
517 Gill Street
Petersburg, Va.

FEB 2 6 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I would like inquire some inforrmation in regards of the Equlaity Racial Core and the origin of it and what it stand for. The chief purpose. I'm a member also but I would like ask the following questions

What year it was organized and the founder of it?

Not the purpose of it because I unlerstand the prurpose of it.

Your's truly,
Ernest Shaw
Ernest Shaw
Reporter of Afro- American
Newspaper

info request

24 February, 1965

Mr. Arthur Jasinski
411 First Avenue
New Hyde Park, New York

Dear Mr. Jasinski:

We have your letter of February 17, but are sorry that we do not have on hand in any useable form the information you requested.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

NM/mt

Wilkes

411 First Avenue
New Hyde Park, New York
February 17, 1965

Congress on Racial Equality
38 Park Row,
New York, New York

Dear Sirs:

I am a student in the history department of St. John's University at Jamaica, New York. I am trying to write an historical narrative on the civil liberties of the Negro in the state of New York over the last fifty years.

I would like to know if you could furnish me with any information on this topic which will serve as my Master's thesis.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Yours truly,

Arthur Jasinski

Arthur Jasinski

info requests

24 February, 1963

Miss Janet L. Jones
Grand Isle, Vermont 05458

Dear Miss Jones:

Your letter of February 19 has been referred to me. I am sorry but CORE does not have on hand for distribution the type of information you are seeking. We can suggest, however, two books that might be useful to you:

Our Faces Our Words	by Lillian Smith	published by WW W. Norton & Company, Inc.
Freedom Ride	by James Peck	published by Simon and Schuster

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

NM/mt

FEB 2 3 1965

February 19, 1965

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

As a student of Milton High School, I am presently writing a term paper, the subject of which is: The American Negro Past and Present.

Would it be possible for you to send me as much information on this subject as possible within the next two weeks? I shall be able to use this material after this date but for convenience I should have it before the end of a two week period.

Thanking you I remain.

Yours very truly,

Janet L. Jones

Janet L. Jones
Grand Isle, Vermont 05458

Freedom Ride

inf
reg

February 25, 1965

Mr. James V. Clark
Research Specialist
Education Department
School of Education
University of California
Berkeley 4, California

Dear Mr. Clark:

We have your letter of February 15th, but are sorry that we do not have on hand for distribution the type of information you request.

Perhaps you might try Mobilization for Youth, 214 East Second Street, New York and The Institute of Educational Research, 2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

February 15, 1965

FEB 18 1965

Mr. James R. Farmer, Executive Secretary
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

The Education Department at the University of California, Berkeley is developing a center for the study of Vocational-Technical Education. My particular area of interest is the socio-economically handicapped youth.

More specifically, my area of research is: The Male Socio-economically Handicapped Non-High School Graduates and Their Subsequent Performance in Junior Colleges' Occupational Programs. Hopefully, guidelines will be developed, as a result of this study, that will help to identify and remove obstacles to the "returnees'" continuing their vocational education. Also, I plan to study the junior colleges' retention of youth in this category.

I would appreciate any summaries of research, references or names of resource people relevant to these particular areas of concern: (a) Vocational-Technical Education for an automated society, (b) The socio-economically handicapped youth.

Thank you in advance for your consideration.

Sincerely,

James V. Clark

James V. Clark
Research Specialist
Education Department
Center for the study of Vo-
cational-Technical Education

JVC:meb

info req.

February 28, 1965

Miss Claire Kushel
456 Crescent Avenue
Moorestown, New Jersey 08057

Dear Miss Kushel:

Your letter of February 25th, addressed to Mr. Farmer, has been referred to me for reply.

We do not have on hand for distribution the type of information that yourrequested. Although we do have in our files a great deal of literature on the Civil Rights Act of 1964, in order to prepare this material for public distribution would require an enormous amount of time and work. CORE is understaffed and we simply do not have the necessary funds to perform this type of service.

I am enclosing some literature on CORE, but would like you to know that there are expenses involved. We would very much appreciate a small contribution to defray the costs of the material and postage.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

~~Address~~

456 Crescent Avenue, Moorestown, New Jersey 08057

February 05, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
% C.O.R.E.
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

MAR 1 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer,

I am an eighth grade American history student at Moorestown Junior High School in Moorestown, New Jersey. I am writing a term paper based on the development and passing of the Civil Rights Bill.

I would appreciate any free literature you may have available on this subject.

I would also like information concerning C.O.R.E.'s feelings, and yours, toward this bill.

May I please have information pertaining to this organization's role in helping to pass the Civil

Rights Bill?

do you feel this bill will be a success?

What is C.O.R.E.'s position to help see this bill enforced?

May I please have your permission to quote you?

May I please have this information as soon as possible?

For my own personal interist, may I please have information concerning the history, purpose, and plans of C.O.R.E.?

Thank you for your co-operation.

Respectfully
Miss Claire Haskel

Info req.

March 1, 1965

Miss Mary A. Trottier
9 McEndy Street
Linwood, Massachusetts 01525

Dear Miss Trottier:

Your letter of February 26th, addressed to Mr. Farmer, has been referred to me for reply.

Mr. Farmer is out of the office and will not return for two weeks. I am sorry, but we do not have on hand for distribution the type of information you requested, and Mr. Farmer has such a heavy schedule that he will not be able to take the time to answer personally the questions you enumerated. There are many, many books dealing with this subject and numerous articles in periodicals. I suggest that you consult your local library; I am sure that the librarian will be able to help you in locating suitable material.

Thank you for your interest in CORE; I regret that we cannot help you further.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

9 McEnely St.
Linwood, Mass
01525
February 26, 1965

MAR 1 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer,

The senior class at my school Nordbridge High school, has to make a problem in democracy project. For my topic I chose, "What Can Be Done About Racial Discrimination in Industry." This problem is of great concern to me.

I would appreciate it if you would write and tell me your opinion on a few questions.

1. What do you think the federal government should and can do about this problem?
2. What can the Negro do to aid and improve this situation?
3. Contrast, in your opinion, the difference in attitude between northern and southern employers.

This project is due the end of March, so I would appreciate it if you would answer this letter as soon as possible.

Thank you

Yours truly
Mary A. Frottier

info req

March 2, 1965

Mr. Richard A. Calo
234-08 Seward Avenue
Queens Village 27, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Calo:

Your letter of March 1st, addressed to Mr. Farmer, has been referred to me. Mr. Farmer is out of the office travelling most of the time and does not have time to answer personal requests such as yours. We do not have on hand for distribution information of a type you requested. There are a number of books and articles on the subject, however, and I suggest that you consult your local library. I am sure that the librarian will be able to help you.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

NM/mt

234-08 Seward Avenue,
Queens Village 27, New York
March 1, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
C.O.R.E.
38 Park Row,
New York, 38, N.Y.

MAR 2 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer,

I am a high school senior doing research for a term paper. I know you are a busy man, but I would greatly appreciate your help. Would you be kind enough to answer these questions:

1.- What do you consider to be the basic underlying cause for racial prejudice in the United States today?

2. Why has it been so prevalent in the South?

3. What do you think is the concrete solution to this problem?

I would greatly appreciate your assistance in this matter as I am very interested in your views.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Very truly yours,
Richard A. Calo

info req

March 4, 1965

Mr. Dennis J. Dee
Notre Dame Lawyer
Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

Dear Mr. Dee:

Your letter of February 19th arrived when Mr. Farmer was out of the office for an extended speaking trip; therefore, I referred the letter to our Associate National Director, Dr. George Wiley, who has asked me to reply.

Unfortunately, we at the National Office are so caught up in our own programs and problems that we do not have sufficient time now to devote to the preparation of a paper on CORE's exact stand on the bill to which you refer.

Enclosed is a copy of our paper on the Gilligan case, which, although it is not exactly what you want, does refer to police questions such as the ones you refeered to in your letter.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

Robert S Krause

Notre Dame Lawyer
Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

FEB 2 3 1965

civil suit
June
Illegal Case
not dismissed

Dennis James Dee
841 Notre Dame Ave.
South Bend, Indiana
February 19, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equqlity
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am writing you in an effort to secure information concerning the fundamental position of CORE, specifically in relation to a bill which I have enclosed in this letter. This is simply a mock legislative bill, the merits of which are presently being considered by the first year law students here at Notre Dame Law School. One of the hottest issues in American life today involves the constitutional rights of the person as affected by the various branches of our Government. A bill which advocates an increase in the police power is understandably a controversial one. We here at Notre Dame feel that members and supporters of CORE would be particularly concerned about the ramifications of such legislation should it ever come before any of the legislative assemblies of this country. Therefore, I have been elected to represent the position of CORE with respect to the proposed bill.

I believe it will be necessary to write a position paper explaining our position and reasons for opposition to the bill, or sections thereof. However, I am not well enough acquainted with the position of CORE on such matters to adequately or properly represent the organization. Therefore, Mr. Farmer, I am requesting information as to the exact stand CORE would take on the proposed legislation. I would appreciate hearing your objections to the bill, as well as any suggestions and possible amendments which you may offer.

While this bill is merely being considered by a group of law students, since these same law students are the political leaders and legislators of tomorrow, I feel that it is vital that I adequately warn them of the pot ntial danger of such legislation.Along with any objections and suggestions which you may have, I would appreciate any materials or sources thereof from which I may better understand the position and aims of CORE. I find it most essential to illustrate our position by citing incidents where Negroes have been unfairly treated by police, especially in regard to arrests without a warrant,unfair searches and seizures, etc. Any assistance which you may render me will be greatly appreciated. Since time is of the essence, I would appreciate as prompt a reply as meets with the convenience of your office.

Thanking you for your anticipated cooperation, I am

Sincerely yours,

Dennis J. Dee

Member - National Conference of Law Reviews

Dennis J. Dee
841 Notre Dame Ave.
South Bend, Indiana
February 20, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

FEB 2 3 1965

Dear Mr.Farmer:

Please accept my apologies for a gross oversight. In my letter to you dated February 19, 1965, I requested information concerning CORE's position in reference to a certain mock legislative bill. However,in my hurry to contact you, I neglected to attach the proposed bill.

I therefore enclose the bill with the request for the necessary information, and any objections or suggestions which you may have.

Thanking you in advance, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Dennis J. Dee

Dennis J. Dee

HB 65-9

An Act for the Enhancing of the Powers of the Police to Deal with Professional Criminals

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Hoynes:

1. This Act shall be known and may be cited as the Police Act of 1965.

2. Section 142 of Chapter 169 of the Acts of 1905 is amended to read as follows:

> All judicial officers, sheriffs, deputy sheriffs, coroners, constables, marshals, deputy marshals, police officers, watchmen and the conductors of all trains or cars carrying passengers or freight within this state, while on duty on their respective trains or cars, may arrest and detain any person reasonably and in good faith believed to be violating, to have violated, or to be about to violate any law of this state, until a lawful warrant can be obtained, and may apprehend all loose, idle, or disorderly persons whom they shall find disturbing the public peace, or whom they shall have just cause to suspect of any evil designs.

3. It shall be the duty of all persons to assist the police in the carrying out of their duties, and any person who when requested to do so shall refuse to present himself at a reasonable time and place and give a true account of such knowledge as he may have of any matter legitimately under police investigation, except insofar

as the same is privileged, shall be guilty of obstructing justice, and shall suffer the punishment of the statutes made and provided in that behalf.

4. Any officer authorized by law to make arrests, or to execute search warrants, or any person aiding such officer, may forcibly break and enter any outer or inner door or window of any building or part thereof, or anything therein, or otherwise enter to execute a search or arrest warrant, or to make an arrest when authorized by law without warrant, or where necessary to liberate himself or any other person unlawfully held. But no such forcible entry shall be made until such officer has announced his identity and purpose, unless such officer reasonably believes that such identity and purpose are already known to some person in the premises, or that such announcement would result in a destruction or concealment of evidence subject to seizure, would permit the person to be arrested to escape, would increase the possibility of bodily harm to such officer or to another, or would otherwise be a useless gesture.

5. Any person who, when the identity and purpose of an officer are known pursuant to Section 4 or otherwise, wilfully destroys, conceals or disposes of evidence subject to seizure, or assists in the escape of any person subject to arrest, or attempts to do any of the foregoing, or to prevent the officer from carrying out his purpose, shall be guilty of obstruction of justice, and

shall suffer the punishment of the statutes made and provided in that behalf.

6. An ex parte order for the interception overhearing or recording of telephonic or telegraphic communications may be issued by any magistrate empowered to issue a search warrant, upon oath or affirmation of any prosecutor, deputy prosecutor, or police officer, that there is reasonable ground to believe that evidence of crime or of the activities of professional criminals may be thus obtained and identifying the particular telephone number or telegraph line, and particularly describing the person or persons whose communications are to be intercepted, overheard or recorded, and the purpose thereof. In connection with the issuance of any such order, the magistrate may examine on oath the applicant and any other witness he may produce and shall satisfy himself of the existence of reasonable grounds for the granting of such application. Any such order shall be effective for the time specified therein, but not for a period of more than two months unless extended or renewed by the magistrate who issued the original order upon satisfying himself that such extension or renewal is in the public interest. Any such order together with the papers upon which the application was based, shall be delivered to and retained by the applicant as authority for intercepting, overhearing or recording, or directing the interception overhearing or recording of the telegraphic or telephonic communications transmitted over the instrument or instruments described. A true copy of such order shall at all times be retained in his possession by the magistrate

insuing the same.

7. At any time after arraignment and before trial, the court in which a criminal proceeding is pending may entertain a motion for the suppression of evidence which the defendant alleges has been obtained by illegal police procedures. Any order granting or denying a motion under this section shall be appealable in advance of trial to the same court or courts to which a final judgment of conviction in the same proceeding would be appealable. No evidence of reasonable probative value shall be excluded on the trial of any criminal case by reason of any claim of illegal police procedures unless the court shall be satisfied that the defendant could not by the exercise of due diligence have embodied such claim in a motion under this section.

8. No police officer, or the government agency employing him, shall be civilly liable for anything done or omitted reasonably and in good faith for the carrying out of the duties of his office.

info ref.

March 4, 1965

Mr. Alfred Hanis
c/o M. Mishkin
2345 So. Christiana
Chicago, Illinois 60623

Dear Alfred:

Your letter of March 1st, addressed to Mr. Farmer, has been referred to me in Mr. Farmer's absence.

Mr. Farmer has a terribly full schedule and he is out of the office a great deal, therefore he will not be able to write to you personally to answer your questions.

We greatly appreciate your interest in CORE and our activities in the civil rights movement, and your special interest in Mr. Farmer. I have enclosed some literature on CORE that may be of help to you in better understanding our organization. Also enclosed is a biographical sketch of Mr. Farmer.

I am sorry not to be able to send you a picture, but our finances are severely limited and we cannot afford to comply with such requests.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

FARRAGUT HIGH SCHOOL
C/O M. MISHKIN
2345 SO. CHRISTIANA
CHICAGO 60623, ILL.
MARCH 1, 1965

MR. JAMES FARMER
CORE
38 PARK RUN
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK

MAR 4 1965

DEAR MR. FARMER:

I AM WRITING TO YOU BECAUSE, I BELIEVE IN WHAT YOU ARE DIONG FOR THE NEGROES. WE NEED A GOOD ORGANIZATION SUCH AS CORE TO HELP FIGHT FOR THE EQUALITY OF NEGROES. WHILE YOU ARE HELPING THE NEGROES TO GET THEIR EQUALITY. I, THINK YOU HAVE TO BE SURE THAT NINETY FIVE PER CENT OR MORE WILL PARTICIPATE.

DICK GREGORY AND MARTIN LUTHER KING ARE DOING THEIR BEST TO HELP THE NEGROES BUT SOME OF THEM DON'T APPRECIATE IT, WHAT I WOULD LIKE TO KNOW IF IT ISN'T GETTING TOO PERSONAL WHAT MADE YOU CHOOSE THIS TYPE OF FIELD? WHAT MADE YOU GIVE UP ALL THE OTHER PROFESSIONS AND GO INTO THIS FIELD?

IF, YOU DON'T MIND WRITING AND SENDING ME A PHOTO OF YOU. YOUR GENEROSITY AND KINDNESS WILL BE GREATLY APPRECIATED.

THANK YOU,

Alfread Harris

info req

March 5, 1965

Miss Kathi Fearn
Department of Journalism
University of California
405 Hilgard Avenue
Los Angeles, California 90024

Dear Miss Fearn:

Your letter of March 3rd was received today while Mr. Farmer is out of the office on a speaking trip. He will not return for several days; therefore I am taking the liberty of replying.

Unfortunately, from now well into May Mr. Farmer's schedule is so full as to preclude his devoting time to writing his opinions on the "Uncle Tom" of today. I know he will regret that he cannot be of help to you in writing the article.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES March 3, 1965

Department of Journalism

Mr. James Farmer
National Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Road
New York City, New York

MAR 5 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

As a student in graduate Journalism at UCLA, I have been assigned to write a magazine article on the Negro Revolution. I have chosen to write about the modern "Uncle Tom" and his effect on the achievement of racial equality.

This letter's purpose is to ask you for your opinion on the matter. How would you define today's "Uncle Tom"? How does he compare with the "Uncle Tom" of yesteryear? How does he feel about today's civil rights struggle? How is the struggle affected by him? How do you feel about stereotyped television programs (like the old Amos 'n Andy series) that have been accused of keeping the image of the American Negro a subservient one?

Please express your opinions on the preceding questions and elucidate and expand as you wish. If the finished article is good, and with your help it will be, it will probably be published. Of course, I will notify you of publication in advance.

Please respond as soon as possible keeping in mind that the article is to be completed in late March.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Kathleen Fearn

Kathi Fearn,
Graduate Journalism Student

Copies:

James Baldwin
Mrs. Medgar Evers
James Farmer
James Forman
Harry Golden
Barry Goldwater
Langston Hughes
President Lyndon Johnson
Gov. Paul Johnson
Dr. Martin Luther King
Sen. Robert Kennedy
Elijah Muhammed
Adam C. Powell
Louis Lomax
Gov. Carl Sanders
A. Philip Randolph
Roy Wilkins
Whitney Young

8 March, 1965

Miss Kristine Lobeck
2727 Wilson Avenue
Orange, California

Dear Miss Lobeck:

Your letter of March 6, addressed to Mr. Farmer, has been referred to me.

We are sorry that we have no information available for distribution regarding the contribution of Negroes to science. I suggest that you consult your local library: I am sure that the librarian will be able to help you.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

NM/mt

2727 Wilson Ave.
Orange, Calfornia
March 6, 1965

CORE
Mr. James Farmer, National Director
38 Park Row
New York,38, New York

MAR 8 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am a senior at Marywood High School in Orange, California. We have recently been assigned topics for a research paper. My topic is "Has the Negro Made A Significant Contribution to Science?".

Would you have any pamphlets or information concerning this topic in any way ? If possible would you have available the number of Negros in the various scientific fields (Medicine, Research, Engineering)? I also would like information, if possible, on the names of prominent Negro scientists, doctors, or engineers and their achievements and contributions to their fields. This would include contributions in the past also.

If you do not have any of this information, could you possible give me the names of any reliable sources to which I could refer for this information?

Any help which you can give me on this subject will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Kristine Lobeck

mfs reg Sent, march 19, 1965

MAR 1 9 1965

Karl Thiele, Pastor
FI 5-4765—LU 4-2124
235 West Zion

the Lutheran Church of the Prince of Peace

BOX 6006
2330 North Quaker
Tulsa, Okla.
74106

March 17, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer,

Praises to you for your expressions in the last few weeks regarding the Alabama situation!

I am at present enrolled in a graduate class at Tulsa University and am planning to write a paper on CORE and its involvement in educational integration here in Tulsa. My request of you is that you furnish me, if you will be so kind, either by sending me material or referring me to materials and books available on the early history of National CORE. I am particularly interested in any early action any CORE chapter did in educational issues and how National CORE became involved in educational matters.

My sincere thanks to you for your assistance. An early reply will be greatly appreciated.

Most cordially,

Karl Thiele

send form letter
+ "13 Questions",
all about Core
Clarke, the Colorline

Type P.S. Only book we know of on CORE is
"Freedom Ride" by James Peck, published by ____.
Simon & Schuster

file - info re CORE 22, March 1965 - M.T.

Sent

2511 Madison Street
Wilmington, Delaware
March 18, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
Executive Secretary, C.O.R.E
New York City, N.Y.

MAR 22 1965

Dear Sir,

I would like to have some information concerning your organization. I am a senior in high school and the information is needed for a term paper. This paper is due one week before Good Friday. The information needed is rather general: the history of your group, some prominent figures, your aims, and some accomplishments.

Thank you for your time and interest.

Respectfully yours,
Miss Anne Church

form letter +
All about CORE
CORE rules for action
13 Questions

info req

March 19, 1965

Mr. Lee R. Baker
Post Office Box 1781
Amarillo, Texas

Dear Mr. Baker:

This is to inform you that we do not have the information you requested in your letter of March 15 in this office. You may obtain it by writing to the:

Voter Education Project
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

NM/cf

Bobbie -
Do you have this info mimeographed?
Nancy

MAR 19 1965

P. O. Box 1781
Amarillo, Texas
March 15, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director, Congress of Racial Equality
New York City, New York

Dear Sir:

Please send me some literature on Negro Registration and voting in the "Deep South", especially in the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia. Information such as, the number of negroes of voting age, number registered to vote, percentage of those registered who actually exercise their right to vote, what means are used by local communities counties, and state officials to deny the negro his right to vote would be most helpful. Also, what has been done, being done or comtimplated by the local, state and Federal Governments to permit the negro to exercise fully his voting rights.

I am a student of government (West Texas State University, Canyon, Texas) and plan to use this information in a class discussion.

Any help you can give me in this matter is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Lee R. Baker

Voter Ed Project
5 Forsythe St, NW
Atlanta Ga.

file info req

Bob Gorl

MAR 2 6 1965

348 Hathorn Hall
Wisc. State Univ.
River Falls, Wisc.
March 23, 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer;

My name is Joanne Jodarski, a student at Wisconsin State University, here at River Falls. I am doing a paper on the Congress of Racial Equality. I picked this topic because I am very much interested in it and would appreciate any information you would send me.

I would like to thank you for all the trouble and inconvenience I have put you to. All information will be well appreciated.

Very truly yours,
Joanne Jodarski

sent 3/26

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

1965 MAR 24 PM 5 30

SF-1201 (4-60)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

NF523 (25)(25)BC548
B PDA220 NL PD TDPD BRUNSWICK ME 24
NANCY MUTARELLI, THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
35 PARK ROW NYK
RECEIVED YOUR LETTER WILL ARRIVE NEW YORK ON SATURDAY TO STAY
THRU THURSDAY APRIL ONE WILL CALL THE OFFICE BEFORE COMING
IN ON SATURDAY
STEVE PUTNAM.

file — info reg

MAR 25 1965

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

James Farmer
national director

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James Baldwin
Roger N. Baldwin
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Allan Knight Chalmers
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Carl Rachlin, Esq.
general counsel
James McCain
director of organization
Marvin Rich
community relations director

19 March, 1965

Mr. J. Stephen Putnam
Senior Center
Bowdoin College
Brunswick, Maine 04011

Dear Mr. Putnam:

You letter of March 3, addressed to Mr. Farmer, has been referred to me in Mr. Farmer's absence from the office.

Regarding your requests concerning your thesis on The History of CORE, it will be possible for you to come to the office for a week at the end of March and have access to the files. The only stipulation being that you work not interfere with our work in the office. It will be possible also for you to consult Mr. Peck's file of CORE-lators.

Thirdly, if schedules of staff members permit they will be able to grant you interviews during April.

Please let us know as soon as possible when you plan to come in.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

NM/mt

THE STUDENT COUNCIL

BOWDOIN COLLEGE, BRUNSWICK, MAINE 04011

PRESIDENT, J. STEPHEN PUTNAM
VICE PRESIDENT, STEPHEN D. BLOOMBERG
SECRETARY-TREASURER, RICHARD T. ANDRIAS

March 3, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
The Congress of Racial Equality
48 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

As a result of a growing interest in Civil Rights both here at Bowdoin and on a national scale, and because of a dinner-lecture-discussion encounter with Bayard Rustin last spring, I requested and was granted permission to write a thesis entitled: The History of The Congress of Racial Equality as an examination of the changing nature of the Civil Rights movement 1942-1965.

Although I realized when I undertook the study that obtaining materials would not be easy I hoped that the Legislative Reference Library in Washington would help me. After three days' study there, however, I found this far from adequate. In spite of several articles by Martin Mayer and an extensive study of periodicals and books in the subject field, I still find myself with too many loose ends. An appeal to radio stations has elicited several profitable replies promising tapes, but most, like Mr. Bert Cowlan, wish me to have your approval before helping me. Furthermore, even with these materials I doubt I will be able to do justice to the topic. Therefore, I am writing to you for help.

In order to write a first rate paper on the organization I feel I need:

1. To have access to the files of the national office in New York and several subsidiary chapters for at least a week at the end of March (March 27 - April 4th). This information would be held confidential and you would have the final say before any material was published.

2. To be able to obtain, at least for reading purposes, a complete file of Mr. Peck's CORElator. Either I or the Bowdoin library would be willing to purchase a set.

3. If possible, to interview some members of the organization during April. I realize that this is a great deal to ask with CORE in the midst of instituting a new program.

My credentials are few. I am an "offay" and, although I hope Bayard Rustin may remember me I doubt it. I know Professor Levine very well and he has recommended me to Alan Gartner. Beyond this I have been an honor history student at Bowdoin and have won a prize for a hundred page study of the Sacco-Vanzetti case written before Russell's Tragedy in Dedham. Beyond this I can offer you no proof of either my skill or intentions.

Because of the immediacy of the Civil Rights problem I feel that this work might have a chance for publication if I can rewrite it this summer in the Army. If so, it should benefit CORE.

I hope you will decide in my favor regarding the above requests. Perhaps, if you find it impossible to agree to all of them, you may, I hope, agree to some. To give you an idea of my feelings toward CORE I am enclosing a preliminary outline and bibliography (now hopelessly eclipsed by further research) for your perusal.

Awaiting your reply, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

J. Stephen Putnam

J. Stephen Putnam
Senior Center
Bowdoin College
Brunswick, Maine 04011

SR. CTR. NOV 30 1964

THE HISTORY OF CORE

The history of CORE as an examination of the changing nature of the historical Negro movement.

In 1942 a group of civil rights advocates attempted to desegregate lunch counters in Chicago using non-violent direct action methods. This was the beginning of the Congress Of Racial Equality. Its motivating spirit was the application of Ghandian methods to the problem of civil rights.

In later periods following the large scale revival of the organization during the "Freedom Rides" of the fifties CORE has become more than another rights splinter group within the Negro movement. It has become more than another group agitating for more legal and technical equality. It has given more to the Negro cause than a new set of tactics. Its objectives and its policies have begun to concentrate on many new objectives with respect to the Negro problem. It is agitating for better schooling in New York, whether or not it is integrated. It is agitating for slum clearance in Roxbury rather than worry particularily about integration. In short, it is agitating for immediate and actual improvement in the situation of the Negro today rather than vague technical and legal equality.

The shift from older more conservative methods of agitation to Ghandian tactics has appealed to many Negroes and whites who feel they must do something and achieve something immediately. The change in objectives, however, is more significant. It illustrates an historical change in

the philosophy of the entire movement. It is a change from the romantic singing of "We Shall Overcome" and achieving legal victories and token integration without alienating the moderate to hard-nosed bargaining and agitation for real gains for the lower class Negro who isn't helped by the integration of medical schools planned for 1960.

The following is a tentative outline, and an extremely rough one, for my proposed paper:

(I) The Nature Of The Older Agitation:
A short examanation of the earlier movements' objectives, methods, and followings

(II) The Changing Conditions Surrounding The Founding of CORE 1910-1942
Changing situation in North as a result of Northern migration: housing, riots, school problems, employment question, (special emphasis on Chicago as example.)
Participation in War effort with mixture of Negroes from all parts of the country. "Cheering crowds soon become riotous mobs."
Continued cases of lynching; the Scottsboro case, communist agitation
Supreme Court decisions including Grovey vs. Townsend (1935) and Norris vs. Alabama, Armed Forces War Dept. Policy (1940)
Executive Order 88002
Hopelessnes of depression was mitigated by 1942. "historical axiom that revolt occurs after worst is over"

(III)The Founders
Mixed color and background
Initial plans for movement
Response from Negroes and whites
Houser

(IV) Early Agitation and Methods Used
Chicago
Other areas
Organization
Involvement in national movements; fair employment, war legislation, N.A.A.C.P.
James Farmer
Housing legislation

(V) Participation From 1946-1957
Was it less?
What leaders remained?
What part did they play in; abolition of white primary, fiar employment, Columbia riot , Poll tax exlusion agitation, Drive to abolish segregation in AFL-CIO, New York social segregation?
Leaders of this era; James Peck, Marvin Rich, James Farmer, Nelson "Speaks for the old CORE"
Communist involvement
- Small but significant gains in housing + public facilities.

(VI) Participation From 1957-1963
The "Freedom Riders"
The "sit ins"
The organizational growth
Various agitations
Teaching the NAACP
New leaders; James McCain, James Farmer and many others
Merely new tactics or new objectives?

(VII) 1963... The New Core
New objectives
some of the fields; in Education more schools less token integration
in Labor more jobs for unskilled and lower class Negroes.
in Housing improve the slums rather than integrate others and forget slums
- beyond legal + token integration the new problems.

New Leaders and new looks on old
Hill and Rustin
Lombard
Gartner
Carey and many others
New Organizational Structure
New Tactics; "stall ins" grocery cart filling, marches etc.

(VIII) ASSorted Issues:
[redacted]
Finances
White vs. Negro involvement
Too much in North?
Cultural tokanism, Baldwin etc.
Influence of Black Moslems

(IX) The Future
Are Negroes ready for change?
Will the movement stay together?
What does "We Shall Overcome" really mean? Negro equality or general social betterment

(X) Conclusion
An Historical Perspective

PRELIMINARY
BIBLIOGRAPHY #1

Apthecker, The Negro in the United States
" " Essays In The History Of The Negro
Baldwin, Nobody Knows My Name, Go Tell It On The Mountain, Notes Of A Native Son
Barker, Following The Color Line
Bibby, Race Prejudice in Education
Butcher, The Negro in American Culture
Brink and Harris, The Negro Revolution In America
Cash, The Mind Of The South
Davis and Dollard, Children of Bondage
Drake and Clayton, Black Metropolis
DuBois, The Souls of Black Folk
Furnas, Goodbye to Uncle Tom
Frazier, Black Bourgeoise
Golden, Mr. Kennedy and The Negroes
Goodman, Race Awareness in Young Children
Harrington, The Other America
Hines, The Third Generation
Hughes, Fight For Freedom
Ginzberg, 100 Years of Lynchings
Javits, Discrimination
King, Why We Can't Wait
StrideStride Toward Freedom
" " , Strength To Love
Logan, The Negro In The United States
Lomax, The Negro Revolt
" " , When The Word Is Given
Myrdal, The American Dilemma
Moynihan, Beyond The Melting Pot
Redding, On Being Negro in America
" " , The Lonesome Road
Roher and Edmanson, The Eighth Generation Grows Up
Rose, They and We
" " , The Negro In America
Tannenbaum, Slave and Citizen
Taylor, Changed Political Thought of the Negro 1910-1940
Udom, Black Nationalism
Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow
Wright, White Man Listen
Zinn, The Southern Mystique

Original Sources

Notes from Library of Congress file on periodical info. of CORE from 1961-1964

Back issues of CORElator 1949-1964 (Hopefully)

Several citations of doctoral theses which I hope to see over Christmas

Hoover Commission on The Riots Sept. 18, 1964

Chicago Commission report on The Negro In Chicago (1921)

Govt. Publications including: To Secure These Rights, 1956 Executive Order and Questions and Answers, Ex. Order no. 11063 and no. 13479, and 10557, Public Law 88-352

Interviews

Also hopefully information from Core files and interviews with prominent leaders in New York and Boston including:

info req

March 30, 1965

Miss Robin Wedberg
8 Willowbrook Road
Storrs, Connecticut

Dear Miss Wedberg:

In answer to your letter of March 22, I am sorry to inform you that we do not have the information on hand which you requested.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

NM/cf

3/22/65

Dear Sir,

Would you please send me information on the organization's feelings toward equal voting rights for Negroes.

Sincerely,

Robin Wedberg
8 Willowbrook Road
Storrs, Connecticut

info req.

March 30, 1965

Miss Sherry Stilwell
Chairman
Walhalla Public Schools
Walhalla, North Dakota

Dear Miss Stilwell:

Your letter of March 17th has been referred to me in Mr. Farmer's absence from the office.

Unfortunately, the letter was addressed to Mr. Farmer in Washington and since it had to be forwarded to our office here it did not arrive until yesterday.

We regret that we were not able to help you in securing information for your debate of March 25th.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICT
NUMBER TWENTY-SEVEN

NELAND J. HAAVIG,
SUPERINTENDENT

WALHALLA PUBLIC SCHOOLS

WALHALLA, NORTH DAKOTA

SCHOOL BOARD
MRS. HELLARD GULLICKSON, PRESIDENT
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CONRAD HERZOG
ALLAN THOMPSON

SCHOOL OFFICERS
WAYNE VIGEN, CLERK
MRS. DORIAN LA ROCQUE, TREASURER

March 17, 1965

Congress of Racial Equality
James Farmer, Director
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

The Junior Class of Walhalla High School is planning a debate (non-partisan) on racial equality next Thursday, March 25. We would appreciate any opinions or views you have on this subject.

Since our debate is scheduled foe next Thursday, we would like this information as soon as possible.

Thank you.

Very Respectfully yours,

Sherry Stilwell

Sherry Stilwell
Chairman

Erroded -
late - Mar. 29

CORE rules for action file - info. reg.
All about CORE
Calendar of Coercion

Sent 4/6

Philip L. Peterson
25 Corey Lane
Watchung, N.J.
March 31, 1965

APR 2 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer,

In conjunction with my studies at Watchung Hills Regional High School, the topics of segregation and freedom marches have come to the attention of myself and my history class. The question of whether or not it is legally and morally right to protest the discrimination in the South has been a constant source of debate in my class.

Since C.O.R.E. has strong feelings in these areas, I feel that your organization would be in a position to help me in support of assistance in liberating the Negro. Specifically, I am requesting and inquiring about any information, as in the form of pamplet or booklet, that you could send to me. If any such information is available, I would appreciate your efforts to make it accessable to me.

Also, any information on segregation, freedom marches, attitudes towards the Southern hostility and, anything else dealing with the South would be greatly appreciated. Prompt return of such information would be extreemly helpfull.

Thank you for any assistance.

Respectfully yours,

Philip L. Peterson.

x Bob - will you see her? please let me know - Nancy

file - life mag

c/o Apt. 6B,
103 East Tenth Street,
N.Y. 3.

Tel: OR 3 7284

April 12th 1965

Mr. James Farmer,
C.O.R.E.,
38 Park Row,
New York 38

APR 14 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer,

I am writing to ask if I might come to see you, or one of your organisation's representatives, some time next week. I enclose a note about myself as introduction and hope that this will explain my visit to the United States,

My organisation, in London, is concerned about the evidence of increasing racial discrimination in Britain and I hope to write a book which (among others that will certainly appear in the next year or so) will help tp persuade the British public of the need for action. From this you will gather that I would like to obtain not only facts relating to discrimination in America but information on methods that have been successful in your own civil rights campaigns. No doubt there is much written material from which to work, but I would appreciate the opportunity of meeting you.

I have altered the attached schedule to spend a further week in New York and am fairly free for the whole of next week. After this, however, I will be leaving for the South and I would welcome an early reply, or telephone call.

Yours sincerely,

Mary Grigg.

Mary Grigg.

Val handled - sent her to work for CJF in Harlem for a week.

2:30 Wed. cancelled

MARY GRIGG

Assistant Secretary, National Council for Civil Liberties, London, England

Author of Penguin Special - "The Challenor Case" - a book about civil liberties in Britain, arising from the conviction and imprisonment of innocent citizens on the evidence of a police sergeant later found to be insane.

Visiting America to gather material on race relations and the civil rights movement, in order to review comparative situations and proposed remedies in Britain.

Seeking to contact people who have been personally concerned in civil rights actions - marches, sit-ins, boycotts. Also with those who are working on specific projects - freedom schools, legal defense panels, draft legislation, educational programmes, voters registration, integrated community groups, action on housing etc. Also with individuals involved in some of the landmark events, such as college enrollment, test court cases.

Programme - provisional dates

New York	March 31,	- April 18.
Southern States Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama.	April 19	- May 2.
California	May 3	- May 10.
Washington	May 11	- May 16.
Chicago	May 17	- May 23.
Return to New York	May 24	
Return to Britain	May 26	

Mary Grigg is married to George Clark who is also in America at the present time to study implications of the Triple Revolution and to make contact with the Peace Movement.

She will be travelling by way of Greyhound Bus Routes in the main and allowance for travelling time should be made on the above schedule.

mfo rey

APR 12 1965

Bruce Hamilton
176 East Prospect Street
Waldwick, New Jersey

James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
New York City, New York

Dear Sir:

I am a senior in high school and I am doing a term paper on the Civil Rights Movement and the American Negro. Would you please send me all available information on these two topics. I would be most grateful for any information and a quick response. Also would you please tell me where I might find additional information.

Sincerely yours,

Bruce Hamilton

Bruce Hamilton

form letter + all about Core
Core rules for Action

500 4/14

info req.

April 14, 1965

Cpl. Richard C. Packman
1973336
"H & S" Co. 2nd Engr. Bn.
2nd Marine Div. FMF
Camp LeJeune, North Carolina

Dear Corporal Packman:

CORE does not have available for distribution pamphlets on the Civil Rights Act of 1964. I suggest that you write to:

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
Room 314
704 - 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

APR 1 - 1965

UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS

April 9, 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer

I would appreciate it very much if I would be able to receive information about the "Civil Rights Act of 1964". All phamplets or information would be greatly appreciated.

Cordially Yours,
Richard C Packman

Cpl. Richard C Packman
1973336
"H+S" Co 2d ENGR. BN.
2d MARINE DIV. FMF
Camp LeJeune N.C.

feb 1970 reg.

201 Fulton St.
Woodbridge, New Jersey
April 19, 65

APR 21 1965

Dear James Farmer,

I am very interested in your work for Civil Rights. In school I have chosen you to back up in a round table discussion. If you don't mind I'd like some information on what you are doing for Civil Rights, and some information in your personal life.

form letter
Biog.
All about CORE
CORE Rules for Action
Calendar for Coercion

Thank you.
Kathy Howarth

- mailed 4/22

info req

April 20, 1965

Miss Susan Saniuta
62 Linden Avenue
Kearny, New Jersey

Dear Susan:

Unfortunately, Mr. Farmer will not return to the office in time to respond to your letter of April 17th. I have checked the files, but we do not have available for distribution a written statement of CORE's position on the question of busing.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

62 Linden Avenue
Kearny,New Jersey

APR 19 1965

April 17,1965

Dear Mr. Farmer,

My history teacher gave me Civil Rights as an oral assignment due in one week's time,and I felt that an answ er to my question from you would be very helpful to our entire class.

Do you feel that foregoing the neighborhood school policy by busing childern from one area to another,will be a suffient enough step ahead in the integration drive to warrant such a change in school policy?

Sincerly,

Susan Saniuta

info
Reg

April 20, 1965

Mr. L. Earl Shaw, Jr.
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27515

Dear Mr. Shaw:

Your letter of April 15th, addressed to Mr. Farmer, has been referred to me for reply.

I am enclosing a CORE literature list, which I regret to say is not complete. We are in the process of revising it now.

We cannot guarantee that in the late summer or early fall Mr. Farmer will be available for an interview, but certainly other CORE officials will be able to meet with you at that time. Please write a few weeks before you plan to be in New York, so that we may arrange appointments.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

APR 19 1965

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
AT
CHAPEL HILL
27515

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

April 15, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Sir:

I am a graduate student in political science at the University of North Carolina. I also hold a Bachelor of Divinity Degree from Yale University. I am writing my Ph.D. dissertation on "A Comparative Analysis of the Major Organizations Involved in the Negro Civil Rights Protest." This letter has two purposes:

1) To inquire about the possibilities of an interview with you and other CORE officials in late summer or early fall; and

2) To request a bibliography of relevant materials, both by and/or about the Congress of Racial Equality.

Thank you very much for your cooperation and prompt attention to this matter. Any suggestions concerning the dissertation or sources of information will be appreciated.

Yours truly,

L. Earl Shaw, Jr.

L. Earl Shaw, Jr.

mfo reg

APR 2 2 1965

6th Street
Hillburn, N.Y.
April 20, 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am a negro student of Suffern High School, Suffern, N.Y.. Our twelth grade History class are doing term papers on different groups around the world. I have choosen to do mine on the organization, Congress Of Ratial Equality. I have found it a most interesting topic.

If possible could you send me some pamphlets to further my research?

How is it possible to become a member of CORE?

Sincerly Yours,
Joanne Van Dunk

All About Core
Calendar of Coercion.
Core Rules for Action -

P.S. To become an associate member of CORE, please mail $3.00 to CORE to the attention of The Organization Dept.

Info req

April 22, 1965

The Rev. Edwin A. Nerger
Chairman
The Mayor's Commission on Human Relations
City Hall
300 East Berry Street
Fort Wayne, Indiana 46802

Dear Mr. Nerger:

We are pleased to enclose several pamphlets on CORE and to put your Commission on our mailing list.

CORE has only one chapter in Indiana, but if there is any way in which they could be of help to you I am sure they would be glad to dooperate with the Commission. The CORE office is at 1654 Broadway in Indianapolis and the chairman is Michael Smith, whose home address is 513 Ransom Street, Indianapolis.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

City of Fort Wayne

THE MAYOR'S COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Rev. Edwin A. Nerger, Chairman
Alvin E. Wesley, Executive Secretary
City Hall—300 E. Berry Street
Fort Wayne, Indiana 46802

April 13, 1965

APR 22 1965

TO: Private and Public Intergroup Agencies

FROM: Fort Wayne Mayor's Commission on Human Relations

Mr. Alvin E. Wesley has recently been appointed as Executive Secretary of Fort Wayne's Mayor's Commission on Human Relations. Mr. Wesley was formerly the Community Relations Representative for the Cinncinnati Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee.

We ask that you include our Commission on your mailing list so that we might receive your newsletter and other informational materials.

As we have not had a professional staff nor office prior to Mr. Wesley's appointment, we are also anxious to receive informational materials that describe the functions and duties of your agency. If you have other information or materials that might aid us in our program, do not hesitate to forward them.

Our address is Room 306, City Hall/ 300 E. Berry St./ Fort Wayne, Indiana 46802

Yours truly,

Edwin A. Nerger

Rev. Edwin A. Nerger
Chairman

file info reg

Rush

nancy

Box 1304
Skidmore, Texas
April 23, 1965

CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Sirs:

I am a Senior at Skidmore-Tynan High School. I am writing a research theme on Negro Leaders. I would appreciate it very much if you would send me some information on the leaders of your organization.

Time is running short and I am very desperate for this information. Please rush any or all information you can find. Thank you for your time and consideration.

Yours truly,

Lillie Boales

LB:mal

form letter
JF biog +
all about Core
Core rules for Act

air mail

info req

April 27, 1965

Miss Cecélia M. Duffy
16251 Barneston Street
Granada Hills, California

Dear Miss Duffy:

Since Mr. Farmer is out of the office, I am taking the liberty of replying to your letter of April 22nd, received today.

Mr. Farmer's schedule is incredibly heavy; in fact he will be in the office hardly at all between now and May 4th. Because of the pressing matters he must take care of in the few hours that he will be here, he will unfortunately not have the time to devote to responding to the questions you asked in your recent letter.

I am sure Mr. Farmer will appreciate your interest in the civil rights movement and CORE in particular, and I do hope you will understand the reasons that make it impossible to respond personally.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

16251 Barneston St.
Granada Hills, Calif.
April 22, 1966

APR 2 6 1966

Dear Sir:

I am writing to ask for your help. I am a high school student and am presently writing a term paper on "The American Negro's opinion of the Catholic Church and Catholicism." I am now gathering opinions of various Negroes — from magazine articles, Negro students I know, and Negro groups and leaders. And so, I am writing to ask you to help me by answering some of the following questions.

What is the general attitude of your group towards Catholics and Catholicism? Do you find a significant gap between the Christian ideals and the practices of Catholics? What has been the response of Catholic clergymen to your group's movement? of the laity? Do you think this response is adequate? What do you think of the "white backlash"

and the "moderate" churchmen? Do you feel that the Ecumenical Council will help the Negro? In general, do you think the Catholic Church has helped the Negro in his struggle for equality? Do you think that Catholics and the Church can do more to help the Negro cause, and what?

The purpose of this paper I am writing is to see "from the other side of the fence" the relation between the Catholic Church and the Negro in his fight for civil rights. I am very interested in this topic; I would very much like to find out about it and would be most grateful for all the help you can give me.

Although I know you are probably very busy, please help me if you can. I need this information within two weeks, before May 4, if at all possible. Thank you very much for your time.

Sincerely yours,
Cecelia M. Duffy

file civil Reg Attorney

51 Delewood Road
Clifton, New Jersey
May 5, 1965

MAY 7 1965

send bio sketch
SW

Public Relations
Congress of Racial Equality
New York, New York

Dear Sirs:

I would like to know if it would be possible for me to obtain information concerning the national director of CORE, Mr. James Farmer. Anything dealing with his background, how he got started in CORE, and his work with CORE would be greatly appreciated.

I'm a student at Clifton Senior High School, Clifton, New Jersey, and I've been assigned the task of writing a report concerning Mr. Farmer. I'd be very grateful if you could help me in my project.

Thank you very much for your co-operation.

Yours truly,

Miss Phoebe Pollinger

Talk with Sharon

Title - info req
Nancy.
May 19th
Deadline

use form letter send bio Sketch

May 10, 1965

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York City, New York

use Stamp

Gentlemen:

I am a Junior at Watertown High School, and I have volunteered to present an oral report on James Farmer and C.O.R.E. My talk will include biographical information on Mr. Farmer and a discussion of C.O.R.E. policies as regards to demonstrations, voting, and job opportunities.

The Boston office of C.O.R.E. has informed me that you have available printed biographical material on Mr. Farmer. I should very much appreciate your sending me such material as you might have about Mr. Farmer.

Any help that you may be able to give me will be gratefully appreciated.

My report becomes due May 19, 1965, and I am sorry if this short notice causes you an inconvenience. Please find enclosed 10¢ stamps to help cover the cost of postage.

Again, thank you for your consideration.

Respectfully yours,

Sharon McDaniel

Sharon McDaniel

Miss Sharon McDaniel
28 Quirk Street
Watertown, Massachusetts 02172

file wfs ref

627 E. Till Rd.
Fort Wayne, Indiana
May 11, 1965

James Farmer, Nat. Secy. of C.O.R.E.
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

MAY 13 1965

Dear Sir:

In our Young Christian Student organization we are presently studying human relations. In order that we will have a better view of what we are discussing, we would like for you to send us some information on the Congress of Racial Equality.

The Young Christian Students is a high school organization for catholic students in which we discuss problems dealing with our present life and the world around us. During each meeting we come up with an action on the problem that we have discussed. To contact your organization was the action for our coming meeting.

form letter!
All about CORE
CORE Rules for Action
12 questions (ask stock room)

Sincerely yours,
Henry Schmitt
627 E. Till Rd.
Fort Wayne, Indiana
46808

wfo
rep

May 13, 1965

Miss Susan Slingsby
1101 Ophir Drive
Los Angeles, California 90024

Dear Miss Slingsby:

Mr. Farmer is out of town and will not return for several days. He is so rarely in the office that when he is here he has scarcely the time to attend to urgent business. I am sorry that he will not be able to send you the material you requested.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

11001 Ophir Drive
Los Angeles, California
90024

MAY 13 1965

May 11, 1965

James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am currently involved in a study of the relationship between the Asian and African diplomatic situation and the Civil Rights Movement. I have a paper to present on this subject in a graduate seminar at UCLA within the next ten days. I would greatly appreciate any thoughts or comments you might have as to the functional or disfunctional effects which the concern by the State Department for the diplomatic situation has had for the Movement.

Sincerely,

Susan Slingsby

Susan Slingsby

info req

May 18, 1965

Mr. J. G. Brown
2639 Harrison Avenue
Baldwin, New York

Dear Mr. Brown:

Enclosed is a copy of a list compiled by SCLC of companies with plants in Alabama. CORE is supporting Dr. King's Alabama boycott, but as yet the specific plans have not been announced.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

Willy

2639 Harrison Ave.
Baldwin, L. I. N. Y.
5/13/65

Gentlemen:

MAY 14 1965

For guidance of a group considering possible actions in the field of religion & race, would you be able & give us any information on plans for boycotting products of Ala. and/or Miss.? We would like a list of products, plus any available explanation of expected benefits or possible drawbacks.

Our meeting date is May 25, so a reply before then would be appreciated. Thank you.

Very truly yours,

J. G. Brown

info req

May 18, 1965

Mr. Ronald Hamowy
Department of History
Brooklyn College
Brooklyn 10, New York

Dear Mr. Hamowy:

I am sorry that we have nothing in our files that is available for distribution on the subjects that you requested in your letter of May 10th.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

Wilen

BROOKLYN COLLEGE
OF
THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
BROOKLYN 10, NEW YORK

MAY 12 1965

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

May 10, 1965

Gentlemen:

I am presently doing a monograph, to be published next year, on the economics of discrimination and wonder if I could call upon your organization for some help. I am looking for material which would permit me to answer the following questions:

To what extent have Negroes encountered particular difficulties (in both the North and South) in getting licenses for business establishments? to practice certain licensed trades? in being granted admission to medical schools? in being admitted to certain unions? in being hired by government agencies?

To what extent have Negroes been the principal sufferers from dislocation consequences following urban renewal? To what extent have Negroes been admitted to participate in the benefits of low-cost housing?

The data I am looking for [redacted] is both quantitative and qualitative. Do you possess a library where such information is available? If not, could you suggest where I might go for this material?

Your prompt attention would be most gratefully appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Ronald Hamowy

info req

May 18, 1965

Mr. Earl E. Ford
410 37th Ave. S.E.
Rochester, Minn. 55901

Dear Mr. Ford:

Please excuse the delay in responding to your letter of April 9. The press of urgent business has made it impossible for us to keep up with our correspondence.

Mr. Farmer asked me to thank you very much for writing. We agree with you that the veterans's situation is not good. Can you give us more information on what you have learned about the matter from your investigations?

I am enclosing a CORE associate membership envelope and some literature on CORE that might be of interest to you. Unfortunately we have no chapters in Minnesota; the nearest ones are in Wisconsin:

Mr. Walter Vaughn,
Chairman, CORE
4080 30th Ave.
Kenosha, Wisc.

John H. Givens, Jr.
9321 N. 17th St.
Milwaukee, Wisc.

Thank you very much for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

MM:mlr
enc.

Administrative Department

George-
Mr. Farmer would like
you to handle this-

410- 37th Ave., SE
Rochester, MINN. 55901
April 9, 1965

nearest C chap
Assoc mem-
C lit

APR 12 [redacted]

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y

more info on vets - what
you've learned from invest

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I would like To see You Get the Negro Veterans organized, or help me do it.

I Sincerely beleive that the Negro Veterans Should have Equal representation in the organization that by act of Congress Are Authorize To Act as Power of Attorneys. I have found them To be insulent, Prejudice and Lily White, American Legion, Veterans of foreign Wars Ect. In most Cases the organzation are Segregated Too Segregated. I have My first Time

II

Mr. James Farmer
of C.O.R.E

To visted a veteran office and see a negro working as a Power of Attorney and I've been to a few of them.

You will notice that the Catholic veterans and Jews are represented in the veteran Administration I am sure they were in Chicago in 1952.

the American Negro- if he joins- will die in the American Legion Segreated.

I will conclude saying if you don't know the rules you can be cheated at the game.

Respectfully Yours
Earl E. Ford

P.S I would like to join CORE!

info req.

May 28, 1965

Mr. Steve Allen
1313 North Vine Street
Hollywood 28, California

Dear Mr. Allen:

Please forgive the delay in replying to your letter of May 14th addressed to Mr. Farmer. Mr. Farmer has been out of the office almost constantly for the past several weeks and I have been able to draw your letter to his attention only now.

Mr. Farmer asked me to write to you and suggest that you contact Mr. Floyd McKissick, National Chairman of CORE for the debate with William Buckley on October 15th. Mr. McKissick's address is: 213½ West Main St., Durham, North Carolina.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

wrote to

Floyd

STEVE ALLEN
1313 NORTH VINE STREET
HOLLYWOOD 28, CALIFORNIA

May
Fourteenth
1 9 6 5

Mr. James Farmer
C O R E
34 Park Road
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Any suggestions re the enclosures?

Cordially,

STEVE ALLEN

SA:za
Encls. (2)

STEVE ALLEN
1313 NORTH VINE STREET
HOLLYWOOD 28, CALIFORNIA

May
Fourteenth
1 9 6 5

Mr. Harry F. Flynn
4319 Irvine Avenue
Studio City, California

Dear Mr. Flynn:

Thank you for your good letter of May 5th. Before responding directly to its comments I will pause just long enough to say a brief prayer for the advent of the day when Conservatives of your sort -- I am basing my evaluation of you on your letter -- become the dominant representatives of the right. You have no idea what a pleasure it is to receive a letter such as yours which looms up out of a lamentable context characterized by charges of treason, threats, insults, curses, slanders and libels.

Just when I begin to feel tempted by the conclusion that, except for a small handful of intellectuals, the American right is actually slipping into outright political lunacy a communication such as yours comes along to restore my faith in the sort of fair and meaningful political dialogue that I fervently believe is necessary to the preservation of our society.

So much for speech-making. As regards the question: who might want to debate Bill Buckley on the effectiveness and legality of Civil Rights demonstrations, I'm sorry to say that as of this moment no names occur to me although I'll be glad to see if I can come up with some suggestions and get them to you in a second letter.

It might be somewhat easier to book a speaker to oppose Bill on Friday, October 15th if you enlarge the subject-matter to be debated. The Civil Rights struggle -- as I

know you are aware -- encompasses a great many more factors than the ethicality of public demonstrations.

I have the idea that if your other speaker is a Negro the discussion -- whatever its boundaries -- will be sharper and more interesting.

As regards the possibility of my own participation all I can say at the moment is though I greatly enjoyed my last set-to with Bill (we are personal friends), and look forward eventually to repeating the experience, it is not possible for me to say at present just what my professional schedule will require of me as of next October. I do know that I will be doing the "I've Got A Secret" program on CBS, which makes it necessary for me to travel to New York every two weeks, but beyond that nothing is definite at the moment. It appears probable, however, that Mrs. Allen and I will be doing a second television show and if this becomes definite I'm afraid it will rule out a great deal of the sort of public speaking that I am presently finding time to do. I suppose, therefore, that all my Conservative friends will be rooting for this second show to go on the air, since it means that Los Angeles residents will be hearing less of my political propaganda in person.

I'll make a few xerox copies of your letter and mine and send them around to some Civil Rights people who might be able to suggest speakers for you.

On another subject altogether: I have a book coming out titled "Letter To A Conservative." It will be published by Doubleday & Company this September. I wonder if your Young Republican group would ever be interested in hearing a non-Republican speaker, not in debate but just in leisurely address, on the subject of right-wing extremism. The point of my book -- and my general thinking -- on the subject is not, God knows, that Conservatives or Republicans are terrible people who ought to be run out of town. I assert, rather, that this nation absolutely requires a vigorous and

responsible Conservative movement and that I would be dismayed were one hundred and ninety five million Americans to awaken tomorrow morning to find themselves doctrinaire Liberals. But I assert further that -- from the viewpoint of their own selfish interest -- Conservatives ought to do more than they have done up to the present moment to disavow the right-wing fanaticism concerning which there has been so much publicity the last few years. A number of Conservative intellectuals are generally familiar with my thinking along this line and I have the impression for the most part they go along with me in this one area although it is naturally awkward for them to say as much in public because by alienating, say, the Birchers or the Liberty Lobby group they would run the risk of offending a sizeable percentage of their subscribers, readers, adherents, political shock-troops, etc.

Rest assured that if you are unable to arouse enthusiasm among your associates about the prospect of my speaking to your group -- or, for that matter, unable to feel any enthusiasm for the idea yourself -- I will quite understand. I suppose if the average Conservative wrote to a group of young Liberals or young Democrats and told them he was available to speak there would be a good chance that their first inclination would be to close their ears to his arguments.

In any event, I look forward to hearing from you.

Cordially,

STEVE ALLEN

SA:za

Mr. Harry F. Flynn
4319 Irvine Ave.
Studio City, California 91604

Mr. Steve Allen
16185 Woodvale Ave.
Royal Oaks, Encino

May 5, 1965

Dear Steve:

Although we haven't talked since the time you did a "Juke Box Jury" for "Peter Potter" with Jayne about five years ago, I have followed your career, particularly your interest in politics, and feel I have something that may be of interest to you.

As an important figure in the Civil Rights Movement, I'm sure you are aware of the discussion between the left and the right concerning both the degree and final efficacy of aggravated demonstrations. Although there's no question for either side as to the need for positive action in behalf of the constitutional rights of every citizen, means do not justify ends. What then are the means amenable to both sides, if any?

You have debated Bill Buckley and I think debates of this nature are good for two reasons: One, they articulate causes for both sides; and two, they bring together both sides in an atmosphere relatively free of emotion-charged animosity.

I represent a group of Young Republicans in the San Fernando Valley who would like very much to see a cool and rational debate between Bill Buckley and a representative of the Civil Rights Movement concerning the effectiveness and legality of the demonstrations now taking place nationally. To make sure that this debate serves not only as a discussion but also as a real "reasoning together", I should like to follow the debate with a cocktail hour for both sides.

We have Bill set for October 15th, which is a Friday. We have not set a hall because we're not sure yet whether he will merely speak or debate. This last, of course, depends on what interest we can elicit from your side of the fence. What do you think? Would someone be interested, yourself, or perhaps even one of the negro leaders of the movement, some of whom I am well aware are very articulate?

Although we are poles apart politically, I am very much in awe of your wide range of talents, your fairness and consistency in political thought, and above all, your sense of humor. I know

how busy you are, but if you can find the time to make some suggestions on this project, we would be most appreciative.

Sincerely,

Harry F. Flynn

HFF:mg
c: file

~~DF~~
info req

June 17, 1965

Mr. Fred Jones
Box 98
Osceola, Iowa

Dear Mr. Jones:

Mr. Farmer is now out of the office and will probably not be able to spend more than a few hours here during the next four to six weeks.

I am afraid he simply will not have the time to give you the information you requested. I will draw your letter to his attention when he returns, however, and I am sure he will do what he can to help you.

Sincerely yours,

NM:vm

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

JUN 17 1965

Box 98
Osceola, Iowa
May 30, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
C.O.R.E. Headquarters
Chicago,Illinois

Dear Sir:

I am presently a senior at Simpson College in Indianola, Iowa, and am doing a directed study paper on the last national political campaign. Any infomation that you could send me concerning your position in the election would play a significant part in the paper that I am seeking to write..

I know that you are terribly busy, but any help that you could render me would certainly be appreciated. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Fred Jones

Fred Jones

info req

June 17, 1965

Miss Barbara Booth
726 Seaview Terrace
Northport, New York

Dear Miss Booth:

Mr. Farmer does not speak from a prepared text, and so we have no copy of the speech he made at Cortland.

Perhaps it was taped by the school, however. I suggest you write to them to see if they can help you.

Sincerely yours,

NM;vm

Nancy M
Administrative Department

126 Seaview Terrace
Northport, N.Y.

JUN 17 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer,

I am a student the State University of New York-College at Cortland. Although I was very anxious to hear you speak here last week, circumstances arose and I was called out of town.

I was, and still am, very interested in your cause. For this reason, I am writing to ask if it is possible to obtain a copy of your recent speech. If this is not possible, I would appreciate any information concerning the recent movements.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Sincerely,
Barbara Booth

w/o reg

193-24 109th ave
Hollis 12, New York
Sept. 6, 1965

Dear Sirs:

I recently returned from a three year stay in France. During this time I read about the contributions of CORE to the civil rights revolution. I would like more information about your organization and activities.

Hearing from you would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,
(Miss) Enid Roach

Queens C
Box 1044
Jamaica

HO 5-9088

info req

September 13, 1965

Mr. Aubrey H. Roden
Associate Professor
University of Alberta
Calgary, Canada

Dear Mr. Roden:

Mr. Farmer has asked me to reply to your letter of September 4th requesting information that would be of use in your graduate seminar on "Remedial Socialization". I am afraid that we have nothing in our files that is available for distribution that would be of help to you.

I suggest that you get it touch with Dr. Myron Woolman, Institute of Educational Research, 2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. and Mr. Alan Cohen, Mobilization for Youth, 271 East 4th Street, New York.

Sincerely,

Nancy Stedman
Administrative Department

SEP 13 1965

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA, CALGARY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY
CALGARY, CANADA

September 4, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

This coming year I am offering a graduate seminar titled, "Remedial Socialization." The emphasis is on experimental educational programs with educationally and socially disadvantaged school-age children and young adults. I hope that during the academic year 1965-66 we will be able to summarize the reported results from the various research programs and draw conclusions in terms of what kinds of approaches are most (and least) effective with what kinds of children, under what circumstances.

I intend to publish the results of the analysis in monograph or book form. Any help which you could extend in the form of research reports, bibliographics, or references of any kind would be most appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

Aubrey Roden

Aubrey H. Roden
Associate Professor

AHR:bjs

info
reg

September 29, 1965

Mr. Lawrence K. Northwood
Associate Professor
University of Washington
School of Social Work
Seattle, Washington 98105

Dear Professor Northwood:

The new direction of the civil rights movement is toward community organization, that is looking into the ghetto, seeking to develop roots there and to help to organize it for effective self-help and political action in the interest of equality. Obviously social workers have many skills in dealing with the problems of deprived communities which can be useful to the civil rights movement in its efforts in community organization.

Increasingly, CORE chapters are establishing community centers in the heart of the ghetto. Volunteer services of social workers at certain fixed hours at these centers would be of immense aid in our work. Some social workers have volunteered their services in such community centers in the South. It is probably even more urgent that their skills be utilized thusly in the northern ghettoes.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:mm

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
SEATTLE 98105

SEP 27 1965

September 21, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

During the past year, more than ever social workers have expressed concern about ways in which they can employ their professional skills to further the objectives of the civil rights revolution. This is complicated by many factors some of which grow out of errors and omissions in their own practice and others which grow out of the confused times and the lack of concensus among civil rights advocates about best courses of action.

I am currently engaged in the preparation of a manual on race and social work which I hope will help clarify the problems and policies in social work practice which involve race differences, prejudice or discrimination and which would point to the need for greater self-awareness and participation on the part of individual social workers and their agencies in the civil rights revolution. The preparation of this manual has some financial support from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and correspondence has been entered into with several noational social work organizations which have expressed an interest in the outcome of the project.

Of necessity, this manual is being prepared somewhat removed from front lines of action, whether in social agencies or community. This letter is one attempt to avoid a grand detached isolation. Consequently, I am writing to a number of social work and civil rights leaders to ask them if they will each provide me with a brief personal statement of the ways in which they think social workers and social agencies can be most effective in accomplishing an appropriate stance on matters of race and the civil rights revolution. What is the best point of entry of social work in this struggle? What should be done by social workers as citizens and in their work? What should be done now to meet the crisis? What is appropriate sustaining program?

I would be glad to get a short paragraph or a long letter with your personal opinions on the subject. The results of the letters will enrich the orientation of the manual. In addition, if I have your permission, perhaps I can quote from your reply in the proper place. Of course, if your wish, your comments may be kept anonymous or confidential.

It is my opinion that there must be closer understanding and work between organized social welfare and civil rights movement. I hope that the manual will help to bring this about, and thereby move us one step closer to resolving the American dilemma. Our schedule is to complete the manuscript by the end of the year. We would, of course, be delighted to get your comments on the first draft, if you have the time for that.

I will look forward to hearing from you in the near future. In the meantime, I hope this letter findsyou in good health and spirits.

Cordially yours,

L. K. Northwood

Lawrence K. Northwood,
Associate Professor

LKN:lt

info reg

October 20, 1965

Mr. H. Freeman
Center for the Study of
Democratic Institutions
Box 4068
Santa Barbara, California 93103

Dear Mr. Freeman:

Mr. Farmer was out of the office when your letter arrived on October 4th and has not yet returned. I have checked with others in the office, but they do not want to speak for Mr. Farmer on this question.

I am sorry that we cannot be of help.

Sincerely,

Nancy Stedman
Administrative Department

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions
THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California 93103

OCT 4 1965

Oct. 1, 1965.

Dear James Farmer:

This is important and rush.

I am out here this term, working on the UN.

But I have persuaded the Center to do a study and possible issue a pamphlet on the civil rights-civil disobedience current movement (nego, student, etc). Bayard will be here, also Judges, lawyers, etc.

I must have a biblio and copies of some of the key articles. The meetings will be toward the end of the month. I should have this ready the latest by Oct. 20-24. Could someone there list (and where possible, phtostat and send me copies of) the articles, books, etc. which you think would most correctly represent the current theory, strategy and evaluation of civil disobedience.

You know I have the historical grounding, but I am not as clear as I should be on the last 10 years or so, and the center Library is not very good for this.

Cordially,

Harold

Ho Freeman

New York office:
136 East 57 Street
New York, N.Y.10022
(212) 753-1340

info ag - anon 11/16/68

NOV 12 1965

Nancy

November 4, 1965
602 Division Street
Chenoa, Illinois

Dear Sir:

I am in the process of writing a research paper for my English course at Illinois State University at Normal. My research paper is on your national director, James Farmer. I would like to have any available information on his duties as the National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality.

I will pay postal charges on any material you may be able to forward to me.

Time is essential. My research so far has provided inadequate information. If you are unable to assist me, please notify me as soon as possible.

My address is

Jody Powell
602 Division Street
Chenoa, Illinois
61726

Yours truly,

Jody Lynne Powell

Jody Lynne Powell

info reg

November 17, 1965

Mr. Roger B. Judkins
1422 Commonwealth Avenue
Brighton, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Judkins:

Mr. Farmer is out of town on an extended speaking tour and will not return to the office until after Thanksgiving. I am therefore taking the liberty of replying to your letter of November 14th.

Because Mr. Farmer's schedule is terribly full through the middle of January, I know he will not have time personally to answer the questions you posed in your letter. I am enclosing two statements by Mr. Farmer that should be of help to you in your term project.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Stedman
Administrative Department

Enclosures (2)

NOV 17 1965

1412 Commonwealth Avenue
Brighton, Massachusetts
November 14, 1965.

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

As a graduate student at Boston University, I am involved in a term project dealing with an analysis of the educational and persuasive activities of CORE since the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

I have been to the Boston Chapter and acquired many useful pieces of literature. I would appreciate any literature from the home office, but more importantly I am also interested in the strategy behind the various 'propaganda' campaigns. (I use the word propaganda in a positive sense;of all efforts to propagate an idea--not in a negative, subversive sense.)

I would appreciate replies to the following questions at your earliest convenience as I would like as much time as possible to digest the material:

--Who are the primary audiences of your educational and persuasive activities?

--What is their purpose now that the 1964 Civil Rights Act is law?

--What are the major policies of CORE upon which these various activities are based?

--How much, if any, have these policies shifted since 1942?

--What are the techniques for implementing particular objectives?

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,
Roger B. Judkins
Roger B. Judkins.

info req

November 24, 1965

Mr. Roger B. Judkins
1412 Commonwealth Avenue
Brighton, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Judkins:

The enclosed article that was published in the Wall Street Journal regarding our community organization projects in the South is the only available material we have for distribution that would be helpful to you. I am sorry that we do not have extra copies of our Annual Reports for distribution.

Sincerely yours,

Lacy Stokes
Administrative Department

Enclosure

NOV 2 3 1965

1412 Commonwealth Ave.
Brighton, Massachusetts
November 21, 1965.

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Miss Stedman:

Thank you very much for the two statements by Mr. Farmer sent on November 17. They have helped me greatly in writing my term paper.

However, there are a few more things I would appreciate your sending me:

--I would appreciate all the past Annual Reports from 1942 on, and other published statements of Mr. Farmer and other officers of CORE.

--What are the plans, if any, to use the mass media in carrying out policies?

--Could you send any literature concerning the past efforts of the New York City CORE chapters against Mayor Wagner and the Police Commissioner? It would offer an invaluable case study for my paper. ✓

--I would appreciate any literature serving to bolster CORE's "new thrust" in the political, educational, economic, and cultural areas.

--What are the current developments of community organization and political organization and action? ✓ Wall St Journal

--Finally, what is the nature of the conflict of ideology between CORE and the NAACP, and other civil rights groups?

I would appreciate this material at your earliest convenience. Thank you very much

Sincerely yours,

Roger B. Judkins

Roger B. Judkins

info req

December 7, 1965

Mr. Lawrence E. Olson
Apt. C-36, Cardinal Court
Illinois State University
Normal, Illinois

Dear Mr. Olson:

I spoke with Mr. Farmer on the telephone before he left on a week's speaking tour, and he asked me to let you know that he is very sorry that he cannpt send you a copy of one of his speeches - he never speaks from a prepared text.

Let me know if you are interested in a copy of a written statement by Mr. Farmer and I will try to send you one.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Stedman
Administrative Department

DEC 6 1965

Apt. C-36, Cardinal Court
Illinois State University
Normal, Illinois
December 2, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Although we have never met, I believe you know one of my professors, Mr. Paul Baker. He suggested to me that you might be able to help me with a paper which I am writing.

I am working on an Independent Honor Study Project concerning general semantics and racial prejudice. By doing a general semantic analysis of some representative statements of various significant figures concerned with race relations, I hope to be able to gain some insight into the problems which arise simply from the language and communication difficulties people have.

This letter is, therefore, a request for a copy of what you consider to be your best speech to date in explaining your position on the civil rights issue.

I would greatly appreciate it if you could send me the speech as soon as possible in order that I might start working on it. A stamped, self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Thank you very much for your time and consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Lawrence E. Olson

Lawrence E. Olson

LEO:jo

info reg

December 8, 1965

Mr. Robert A. Sessions
312 North Second
Barstow, California

Dear Mr. Sessions:

Mr. Farmer will not return to the office until the week before Christmas, so I am taking the liberty of replying to your letter of November 26th, which was received by this office yesterday.

CORE has no official position on the Mormon Church and we have no printed material available for distribution. We are, however, concerned about the Mormon Church's placing of Negroes in a position of inequality.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Stadman
Administrative Department

DEC 6 1965

312 North Second
Barstow, Califo rnia
November 26, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
CORE Secretary
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer,

I am a student at Barstow Junior College, taking a course in political science. I have been assigned a term paper for this class. The topic of my paper will be, "The Stand of the Mormon Church on Civil Rights."

I have read several articles about the Mormon Church and their beliefs about the Negro Race. I understand that the Negro people have demonstrated against the Mormon Church in Salt Lake City, Utah, because of these beliefs. I was wondering if you, or your organization could send me any information about your feelings toward the Mormon Church that might be of help in writing this paper? I would appreciate any opinions or written material that you might be able to furnish pertaining to this topic.

Hoping that I will be hearing from you soon and thanking you in advance, I remain

Robert A. Sessions

Robert A. Sessions

info reg

December 13, 1965

Mr. I. M. Sternberg
Public Affairs Representative
Western Electric Company, Inc.
195 Broadway
New York, New York 10007

Dear Mr. Sternberg:

Mr. Farmer has been out of the office almost constantly during the past few weeks on an extended lecture tour, and since he will be able to spend very little time in the office in the near future, he will not be able personally to answer the questions you asked in your letter of December 1st.

Mr. Farmer asked me to send to you the enclosed paper, "A CORE Charge to the White House Conference", which will certainly provide information on the four questions raised in your letter.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Stedman
Administrative Department

Enclosure

DEC 2 1965

Western Electric Company
INCORPORATED

195 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10007
AREA CODE 212 571-2345

DEC 1 1965

MR. JAMES FARMER
Congress Of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

As a facet of our public affairs function, we attempt to inform our supervisory and professional employees of vital issues concerning the nation. Basically, we do this by writing, publishing and distributing a periodical entitled PUBLIC AFFAIRS MEMORANDUM, devoted to a specific subject. Every effort is made to keep this publication objective so that our employees may arrive at their own independent conclusions.

It is our hope to publish in the near future one such essay on the Negro in the United States. Like other companies, Western Electric has become increasingly concerned with the problems faced by the Negro -- problems which permeate our society -- and we still are probing for answers we do not now have. In recent months much has been said and written about the problems, but not enough thought has been given to their basic causes and what can be done to resolve them.

To help us bring before our management people the facts required to reach enlightened and intelligent judgments, which, we hope, will contribute to worthwhile action, we ask your aid. Would you take some of your valuable time to consider answering four questions? They are:

1. What are the basic causes of the problems faced by today's Negro?

2. What were the five most significant events in 1965 that affected the Negro -- for good or bad?

3. What are the five developments most likely to occur in 1966 to assist the Negro?

4. What do you regard as the single most important action that can be taken to alleviate -- if not eliminate -- these problems?

Obviously, volumes could be written in reply to these questions, but we do not wish to burden you with time-consuming tasks. Perhaps the enclosed examples of recent essays will give you an idea of our approach to national issues and help you formulate your reply.

Very truly yours,

I. M. STERNBERG
Public Affairs Representative

Enclosure
IMS:nw

info mtg

December 17, 1965

Mr. Mahmoud el-Okdah
Chief of Research
Arab States Delegations Office
757 Third Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Okdah:

Mr. Farmer asked me to thank you for your interest in CORE and to forward the enclosed material on our activities to you.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Stedmun
Administrative Department

Arab States Delegations Office

757 Third Avenue • New York, N.Y. 10017
Telephone 421-5353

DEC 14 1965

December 10, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I have been following the activities of the Negro and Civil Rights organizations in the United States for the last four years with great interest.

As I would like to have more complete information, I would appreciate it very much if you would send me some of the publications on the Congress of Racial Equality and its activities.

Awaiting your answer, I remain

Sincerely,

Mahmoud El Okdah

Mahmoud el-Okdah
Chief of Research

MO:ea

wife reg

Dona I. Morris
13 Unwin Drive
Trenton, N. J. 08610

DEC 27 1965

December 21, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am doing a research paper on Negro leaders in civil right. I wonder if you would be able to send me any information on your work in the Congress of Racial Equality. If any printed matter is available, I would appreciate receiving it.

Since this report is due in a relatively short time, I would appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible.

Sent 1/5/66

Sincerely,
Dona I. Morris

info req

JAN 3 1966

1197 Sylvia Rd
Seaford, L.I., N.Y.
DECEMBER 30, 1965

DEAR MR. FARMER:

I am doing a research paper on the civilian review board. Could you please tell me C.O.R.E.'s policy and reasons for it, or tell me who I could get in touch with to find out. Your reply is requested.

Thank you,
Dave Bloom

ans 1/6/66

Congress of Racial Equality 38 Park Row New York City 10038 CO 7-6270

PARTIAL LIST OF INTERRACIAL KILLINGS BY WHITES IN THE SOUTH IN THE LAST TWO YEARS

DATE	NAME	ACTION	RESULTS
Apr. 63	William Moore, CORE Gadsden, Alabama	Shot to death on Freedom Walk	Arrest NO CONVICTION
June 63	Medger Evers, NAACP	Shot at his home for civil rights activities.	Arrest NO CONVICTION
Sept. 63	4 girls, children Birmingham, Alabama	Killed in church bombing.	No arrests NO CONVICTION
	Young boy Birmingham, Alabama	Shot on bicycle from passing car.	Arrest Suspended Sent.
	Young boy Birmingham, Alabama	Shot in back	No arrest NO CONVICTION
	Young man New Orleans, La.	Shot	No arrest NO CONVICTION
	Young man, War Vet. Birmingham, Alabama	Killed	No arrest NO CONVICTION
Jan. 64	Lewis Allen Liberty, Mississippi	Shot at home for having witnessed a white state representative kill a Negro in 61; Killing followed 2 years of constant harassment.	No arrests NO CONVICTION
Feb. 64	3 people Woodville, Miss.	Shot in parked car.	No arrests NO CONVICTION
Mar. 64	Man Natchez, Mississippi	Shot at night in car.	No arrests NO CONVICTION
June 64	Michael Schwerner, CORE James Chaney, CORE Andrew Goodman, COFO Philadelphia, Miss.	Beaten and shot to death for civil rights activities; released from jail into hands of waiting mob.	Several arrests NO CONVICTIONS
July 64	2 men Southwest, Mississippi	Half-bodies found in river during search for missing 3 (above).	Arrests NO CONVICTION
July 64	Lemuel Penn Athens, Georgia	Shot in car from passing car for intimidation	Arrests NO CONVICTION
Sum 64	Man New Orleans, La.	Shot to death at bus stop from passing car.	No arrests NO CONVICTION
Sept. 64	Herbert Orsby Canton, Mississippi	Found drown wearing a CORE tee-shirt; last seen in pick-up truck with white men.	No arrest NO CONVICTIONS
Dec. 64	Frank Morris Farriday, Louisiana	Burned to death in his shop, covered with gasoline, set afire.	No arrests NO CONVICTIONS
Dec. 64	2 people New Orleans, La.	Shot to death in motel	No arrests NO CONVICTIONS
Jan. 65	Ollie B. Shelby Jackson, Mississippi	Shot by police in Hinds County jail for alleged attempt to escape while being transferred to other jail.	No arrests NO CONVICTION
	Marshall Scott, Jr. New Orleans, La.	Put in solitary confinement in New Orleans jail with pneumonia; died.	No arrests NO CONVICTION
Feb. 65	Jimmy Lee Jackson Marian, Alabama	Killed by state trooper in peaceful demonstration for voting rights.	No arrest NO CONVICTION
Mar. 65	Rev. James V. Reeb Selma, Alabama	Beaten to death by group of whites after participating in March for voting rights.	Arrests
Mar. 65	Mrs. Viola Liuzzo	Shot to death while participating in Selma demonstration.	Arrests

[1964]

Wednesday, November 4

3:50 P.M. Idlewild - National Flight #20

4:35 PM. Boston -change

5:20 P.M. NorthEastern #378

6:15 P.M. Lebanon - you will be met

8:00 P.M. Lecture - Dartmouth College
"Civil Rights: Freedom Now"
Stay overnight Cutter Hall

Thursday, November 5

You will be driven from Dartmough
to the Univ. of New Hampshire

1:00 P.M. Lecture - "Civil Rights & the Election"

You will be driven to Boston and
to pick up the shuttle.

Friday, November 6

7:45 A.M. LaGuardia - Eastern #551

10:06 A.M. Raleigh

See attached program

Monday, November 9

10:35 A.M. Eastern #528

1:33 P.M. Newark

6:15 P.M. Idlewild - Mohawk #267

7:29 P.M. Utica

8?:00 P.M. Utica CORE - I have no details

Overnight Utica

Tuesday, November 10

9:30 A.M. Utica College - lecture

Lunch at college

2:00 PM Brief meeting with Campbell Hodges (he hasn't replied to our letteryet)

George Wiley will pick you up either at Utica College or Hodge's, and take you to Syracuse

4:00 P.M. Press. conf. Syracuse

8:30 P.M. Speak

11:25 P.M. American #452

12:21 A.M. LaGuardia

Following is skeletal - I'll give you more details when I have them.

Wednesday, November 11

8:00 A.M.	Shuttle
9:00 A.M.	Boston
10:00 A.M.	Charles Merrill (plus Marv) Commonwealth School 151 Commonwealth Ave. (Alan is trying to set up other meetings during day, esp. with Kivie Kaplan)
8:00 P.M.	MIT
	Overnight with Alan

Thursday, November 12

8:30 A.M.	Breakfast with Henry Morganthau 97 Lakeview Avenue Cambridge - Home phone: UN 4-9040
2:30 P.M.	CORE press conf.
4:00 P.M.	Harvard Business School "The LCivil Rights Movement and its Implications for Management"
	Reception follows
8:00 P.M.	Harvard Dames
	Shuttle to N.Y.

[1964]

Mr. Farmers Schedule — Saginaw, Michigan

SUNDAY NOVEMBER 15

1:30 P.M.	Newark	United Flight #423
3:07 P.M.	Detroit	Changed
4:35 P.M.		United Flight #621
5:35 P.M.	Saginaw	(You will be met)
6:00 P.M.	Annual Frontiers Freedom Banquet - (Bancroft Hotel)	

MONDAY NOVEMBER 16

10:20 A. M.	Saginaw	United Flight #604
11:27 A.	Detroit	Changed

Mr. Farmer's Schedule — Boston, Massachusetts

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 22nd, 1964

4:30 — Newark
~~5:00 P.M.~~ — ~~La Guardia~~ — Eastern Shuttle flight
5:39 — Dennis W. Harry Walker GR2-2129
~~7:05~~ P.M. — Arrive Boston

7:45 P.M. — Arrive Jordan Hall for Ford Hall Forum program
30 Gainesborough Street (New England Conservatory of Music Bldg.)
Tel: KE 6-8660

10:00 P.M. — Meeting ends.

10:30 P.M. — Last shuttle leaves Boston for Newark. No other flights to New York after this time.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 23rd, 1964

7:00 A.M. — first shuttle leaves Boston for New York. Eastern shuttle flights leave every hour on the hour for La Guardia and every hour on the half hour for Newark.

(Mrs. Selma H. Levenberg of the Ford Hall Forum would like you to give her a ring when you arrive in Boston. Telephone: LO 6-2095

Title of your talk: "New Trends in the Civil Rights Struggle".

NOTE - I have changed your flights to better ones, so please have your ticket revalidated at the airport. GL

Sunday, December 6

12:00 noon	Idlewild - TWA #171
1:26 P.M.	St. Louis - Charlie will meet you
	(For CORE activities see attached letter from Oldham)
5:30 P.M.	Liberal Forum - Carlyn Wohl Bldg. 11001 Schuetz Road, St. Louis HE 2-5700
	- Brief meeting with press, followed by buffet supper
8:30 P.M.	"Morality & Tactics in the Civil Rights Struggle"
	Overnight - Oldhams - FO 7-6383

Monday, December 7

12:30 P.M.	Luncheon - Jorx Section St. Louis Bar Association
	"The Law & the Civil Rights Revolution"
3:00 P.M.	TWA #172
5:58 P.M.	Idlewild

Tuesday, December 8

10:30 A.M.	Woody Klein
1:00 P.M.	NYU - University Heights no fx title set
4:30 P.M.	Meet with Currier, Andy Norman, Marv at Taconic
8:00 P.M.	Downtown CORE - Open House

Tues. Dec 8 =
10:00 Get Lear shuttle from La Guardia [1164]
[redacted]
11:10- Larry Levan will meet you & take you to Mayflower Hotel

[redacted]

8:30 A.M. Breakfast meeting at hotel

10:00 Meeting at Howard University, including lunch

4:00 P.M. Get train to Wilmington

5:39 Arrive Wilmington. Mr. Wimbish will meet you [illegible]

6:30 Dinner at Lincoln University G-10

8:00 YMCA meeting

11:29 Train leaves Wilmington for Washington

1:35 A.M. Arrive Washington — to Mayflower Hotel

-Thursday, December 10th-

11:00 A.M. Meeting with Governor Collins, Dept. of Commerce Bldg., 14th Street between "E" and Constitution, Room 5079, Tel. NO 7-5157. Meeting will include lunch.

1:30 P.M. Urban League Meeting, Hotel Sheraton Park, Delaware Room. Discussion: Education and Youth Incentives; Francis Keppel, keynote speaker. Meeting will last until 5:00. 202-2000

8:00 P.M. Community Church (M.L. King, civil rights peace meeting.) ?

-Friday, December 10th-

2[illegible]0AM. Leave from Kennedy Airport, Braniff Flight 01, for Dallas

11:30 A.M. Arrive Dallas.

Steve McNichols

[redacted]

[redacted] 2:30 Dallas CORE HA8-2312

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] arrives in Los angeles

[redacted] ACLU

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
	[redacted]
	[redacted]

[redacted]

7:27 — 224

[redacted]	[redacted]
8:34	Sacramento
[redacted]	[redacted] - met by Vesery
10 or 10:30	meet w Gov Brown
[redacted]	[redacted]
12:14	Sacramento — United 581, 12:50 arr SF
[redacted]	[redacted]
	48
[redacted]	[redacted]

Prof John Leggett
526 - 2080

1:- to 1:30

504 523
7204

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] - Item 4

[redacted]

Sunday, 14 December 1964

9:00 A.M.	Interview: Radio Station [redacted] in your room
10:00 A.M.	Press conference: Ambassador Hotel Press Room
2:00 P.M.	Speech at San Fernando State College
8:15 P.M.	Television interview [redacted] Television ([redacted]) - one hour program
9:30 P.M.	Radio interview [redacted] ([redacted])
	Both of the [redacted] interviews will be at the same place - 6121 Sunset Boulevard
	Reservation at Ambassador Hotel

Tuesday, 15 December 1964

10:15 A.M.	Leave Los Angeles - United Flight [redacted]
11:10 A.M.	Arrive in San Francisco
12:00 Noon	Berkeley - mass rally, [redacted]
3:15 P.M.	Leave San Francisco [redacted] - Flight [redacted]
11:40 P.M.	Arrive Kennedy Airport

[1964]

[redacted]

Fred

(- 4145)

Gail Evans - some questions

[redacted]

YOUR ITINERARY — James Farmer

MARVIN

ALL TIMES SHOWN ARE LOCAL TIMES

LVE/ARV	CITY/AIRPORT	FLIGHT	CLASS OF SERVICE	DATE	TIME	DAY	FREE BAGGAGE
Lv:	New York (Kennedy)	PA 014	First	30 Dec	8:30 PM	Wednesday	66 lbs.
Ar:	Paris			31 Dec	9:25 AM	Thursday	
Lv:	Paris	AF 194	First	01 Jan	11:10 AM	Friday	66 lbs.
Ar:	Tel Aviv				5:20 PM		
Lv:	Tel Aviv	OA 253	First	05 Jan	10:00 AM	Tuesday	66 lbs.
Ar:	Athens				11:55 AM		
Lv:	Athens	AZ 508	First	06 Jan	2:10 AM	Wednesday	66 lbs.
Ar:	Nairobi				8:40 AM		
Lv:	Nairobi	EC 337	First	06 Jan	10:00 AM	Wednesday	66 lbs.
Ar:	Dar es Salaam				1:10 PM		
Lv:	Dar es Salaam	QM 801	First	10 Jan	12:40 PM	Sunday	66 lbs.
Ar:	Salisbury				4:25 PM		
Lv:	Salisbury	RH 822	First	10 Jan	6:00 PM	Sunday	66 lbs.
Ar:	Lusaka				7:10 PM		
Lv:	Lusaka	RH 821	First	13 Jan	8:20 AM	Wednesday	66 lbs.
Ar:	Salisbury				9:30 AM		
Lv:	Salisbury	BA 116	First	13 Jan	9:00 PM	Wednesday	66 lbs.
Ar:	Nairobi				0:35 AM	Thursday	
Lv:	Nairobi	EC 712	First	16 Jan	11:00 PM	Saturday	66 lbs.
Ar:	Entebbe				0:01 AM	Sunday	
Lv:	Entebbe	EC 016	Economy	19 Jan	3:00 PM	Tuesday	66 lbs.
Ar:	Nairobi				6:10 PM		
Lv:	Nairobi	ET 792	First	20 Jan	7:30 AM	Wednesday	66 lbs.
Ar:	Addis Ababa				9:05 AM		
Lv:	Addis Ababa	ET 714	First	23 Jan	12:35 PM	Saturday	66 lbs.
Ar:	Lagos				5:15 PM		
Lv:	Lagos	PA 150	First	27 Jan	4:00 PM	Wednesday	66 lbs.
Ar:	Leopoldville				6:30 PM		
Lv:	Leopoldville	QC 457	First	30 Jan	5:45 PM	Sunday	66 lbs.
Ar:	Lagos				10:25 PM		
Lv:	Lagos	WT 961	First	31 Jan	8:15 AM	Monday	66 lbs.
Ar:	Accra				8:05 AM		
Lv:	Accra	OPEN					
Ar:	New York (Kennedy)						

WORLD'S MOST EXPERIENCED AIRLINE

YOUR ITINERARY --- James Farmer

ALL TIMES SHOWN ARE LOCAL TIMES

LVE/ARV	CITY/AIRPORT	FLIGHT	CLASS OF SERVICE	DATE	TIME	DAY	FREE BAGGAGE
			HOTELS				
	Paris	—	Prince De Galle	—	In: 31 Dec		Out: 01 Jan
	Athens	—	Athens Hilton	—	In: 05 Jan		Out: 06 Jan
	Dar es Salaam	—	Agip Motel	—	In: 06 Jan		Out: 10 Jan
	Lusaka	—	Ridgeway	—	In: 10 Jan		Out: 13 Jan
	Salisbury	—	Jamison	—	In: 13 Jan		Out: 13 Jan
	Nairobi	—	New Stanley	—	In: 13 Jan		Out: 16 Jan
	Entebbe	—	Grand Hotel Kampala	—	In: 16 Jan		Out: 19 Jan
	Nairobi	—	New Stanley	—	In: 19 Jan		Out: 20 Jan
	Addis Ababa	—	Ghion Hotel	—	In: 20 Jan		Out: 23 Jan
	Lagos	—	Bristol	—	In: 23 Jan		Out: 27 Jan

Lagos # Mr. Baker - A. Dir. R Keith Baker - Lagos
Cable AMSAC Lagos
1686-6850

NH-342

[redacted]

Depart N.Y. Dec. 30th 8:30 p.m.

Pan Am # 114

Arrive Paris Dec. 31st 9:25 A.M.

Depart Paris Jan 1st 11:10 AM.

~~Continue to #44~~

Arrive Tel Aviv 5:20 pm 3/1st

(934 call)

Depart Tel Aviv Jan 5th 10:00 AM

Arrive Athens 12:55 P.M. Jan 5th

Depart " Jan 6th 2:10 AM

Arrive Nairobi 8:40 AM

depart " 10:00 AM.

Arrive Dar 1:10 A.M.

Athens Hilton

School at Syracuse
World finance
John Strong-
GR6-557,
X2552

ITINERARY FOR MR. JAMES FARMER

Date		Flight No.	Time	Accommodation
Jan 4	Dep. New York	PanAm 102	20:00 hrs.	
Jan 5	Arr. London		07:35 hrs.	Carlton Towers
Jan 6	Dep. London	BOAC 165	20:15 hrs.	
Jan 6	Arr. Dar Es Salaam (6,8,9 call)		12:40 hrs.	
Jan 7-10	Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania			AGIP Motel
Jan 10	Dep. Dar Es Salaam	Air Mali QM801	12:40 hrs.	
	Arr. Salisbury, Rhodesia		16:25 hrs.	
	Dep. Salisbury	Air Rhodesia 822	18:00 hrs.	
	Arr. Lusaka		19:10 hrs.	
Jan 10-13	Lusaka, Zambia (11,12 call)			Ridgeway Hotel
Jan 13	Dep. Lusaka	Air Rhodesia 821	08:20 hrs.	
	Arr. Salisbury		09:20 hrs.	
	Dep. Salisbury	BOAC 116	21:00 hrs.	
Jan 14	Arr. Nairobi		00:35 hrs.	
* Jan 14-16	Nairobi, Kenya (14,15 call)			New Stanley Hotel
Jan 16	Dep. Nairobi	E. African Airways EC712	23:00 hrs.	
Jan 17	Arr. Entebbe, Uganda		00:01 hrs.	
Jan 17-19	Kampala, Uganda (17,18 call)			Grand Hotel
Jan 19	Dep. Entebbe	EC 016	15:00 hrs.	
	Arr. Nairobi		18:10 hrs.	New Stanley Hotel
Jan 20	Dep. Nairobi	Ethiopian Airways ET792	07:30 hrs.	
	Arr. Addis Ababa		09:05 hrs.	
Jan 20-23	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (21,22, call)			Ghion Hotel

* Bus transportation will be available from Entebbe to Kampala

Jan 23	Dep. Addis Ababa	ET714	12:45 hrs.	
	Arr. Lagos		17:15 hrs.	
Jan 23-~~24~~ 25	Lagos, Nigeria	24-25 call		Bristol Hotel
Jan 26	Dep. Lagos	Nigeria Airways WT 959	12:15 hrs.	
	Arr. Accra		13:10 hrs.	
27-30 Jan ~~26-29~~	Accra, Ghana	→ Leo 28,29 call		Ambassador Hotel
~~Jan 29~~ 30-2	Dep. Accra	Pan Am 151	22:00 hrs.	
	Arr. New York	31-1 call	07:05 hrs.	

[1965]

[redacted]

9:00 - get shuttle from La Guardia to Washington

10:30 - [redacted] Be will go with you to [redacted]

6:00 - Get shuttle from La Guardia to Albany. Mrs. Earl will meet you at dinner to take you to Dr. Walker's for dinner and the night.

[redacted]

10:30 - talk at Community Church on " The Civil Rights Movement - Interpret and Evaluate". Rev. Donald S. Lindsay , 265 Englewood Avenue. Tel: GR 6-0310.

Allen Hartman will meet you at the church.

[redacted]

11:20 - Flight 6202 (Eastern) leaves from Kennedy for Montgomery. Change in Atlanta. See Eastern Flight 6027.

2:30 - Arrive Montgomery (New Agency time). Someone from Tuskegee will meet you.

7:00 - talk at Tuskegee on "Whither the Civil Rights Revolution"

spend night at Tuskegee - arrangements have been made.

[redacted]

9:10 A.M. - Get flight from Montgomery (Delta 6416) change in Atlanta for Eastern Flight 6025, leaving at 11:45 A.M.

2:00 - Arrive San Antonio

[redacted]

7:00 P.M. - talk at St. Mary's University on, "The Impact of the African on the Civil Rights in America". Bob Brischetto, Chairman Dean. Bolcholz Auditorium. Co-sponsored by San Antonio CORE.

Please contact Ronald Watkins when you arrive in San Antonio. He is chairman of CORE, 203 East Commerce Street, San Antonio. Home: Ronald Watkins, 6834 Mimosa. Tel: GR 4-[redacted] (512), Bob Brischetto St. Mary's

[redacted]

9:00-9:30 - [redacted]

Friday, March 5th

12:30 P.M. - Leave San Antonio on Braniff flight #976 for Austin.

1:00 - Arrive Austin. Hotel Commodore Perry has reservation for you.

5:00 - Meeting in hotel with Mr. S. T. Spicer (1007 Rio Grande St., Austin Tel: GR 6-5235)

7:00 - Reception in Dining Hall Building at St. Edward's University.

8:00 - Talk on, "The Unfinished Civil Rights Revolution".

at St. Edward's contact: Mr. Richard D. Hughes. He will probably leave word for you at hotel; he made reservation.

Saturday, March 6th

11:30 A.M. - get Braniff flight #110 for Dallas; change there for Braniff flight #4 leaving at 12:45

4:35 - Arrive JFK.

Abbie Hoffman
Waldorf Astoria - 3:30

Suite Biltmore
2130-3130 - Brown

Hall
UNI
3900

- Speak on "The Civil Rights Revolution and the Police Problem".

- Tel: 617 EL 4-7067
for Marvin

- Possibly there will be a reception at Hale Forest College.

- Dinner (750 - 1,000 people) You are to be main speaker. Topic: "The Degradation of the Civil Rights Movement". See attached letter. "Challenge '66" for more details.

UPI-6380

6:00 — 7 WEST 66th ST, ABC-TV - Mal Good, Producer

3:00
4:30

Mr. Farmer's schedule, cont'd. -2-

[illegible], March 15th

Charles Oldham is arranging a television appearance and will take you out for dinner. No further plans will be made.

Laurence
Kennedy - VI 2-4526 or
Richd Bunce

Tuesday, March 16th

9:45 A.M. - Lv. [illegible], Tel: 967
12:31 - Ar. Kansas City. Rabbi Mesgolies and Chuck Fenton will meet you. Possibly Governor and Mayor will also be on airport.

television and radio appearances have been arranged

8:00 - Beth Shalom Synagogue; Talk on "Where Civil Rights Has Passed, What's Next?". 1 hour. Tel: GR 1-[illegible]. Mr. Fenton: HA 1-[illegible].
~~10:00 Laurence - Kennedy [illegible]~~
Reservation made for you at Hotel Muehlebach.

Wednesday, March 17th

Noon (Approx.) Harvey Kenter from University of Missouri will pick you up at hotel and drive you to Columbia, Missouri.

3:30 - Talk (45 min.) on "The Future of the Civil Rights Movement"; 15 more questions and answers. Addressees: Mr. George Peterkin, 1020 University Avenue; Mr. Harvey Kenter, Missouri Students Association, Read Hall. TEL: Harvey Kenter - GR 3-[illegible].

James H. Rollins, Chairman, Columbia CORE. Tel: GR 3-[illegible]. Wants you to lead sit-in at University housing office because they approve off-campus housing that discriminates. Call him as soon as possible.

If they cannot drive you to Kansas City, you will have to get:

5:47 - Lv. Columbia airport, Ozark #982 for St. Louis.
6:34 - Ar. St. Louis
8:00 ± Lv. St. Louis, Delta #981
8:49 - Ar. Chicago, O'Hare airport. ~~If they drive you to K City.~~

~~9:05 - Lv. Kansas City Municipal~~
~~10:47 - Ar. Chicago, O'Hare airport. Someone from [illegible] College will meet you and drive you to [illegible]~~
~~Tel: Mr. George St. [illegible]~~

Thursday, March 18th

10:00 A.M. - Talk on "The Civil Rights Revolution"; question and answer period.

Small luncheon arranged.

3:35 - Lv. Chicago, O'Hare, American #198
5:29 - Ar. Detroit. Ralph Boscoboli will meet you. (16866 Stanwood, Detroit)
Tel: Bus. - [illegible]; Home: 341-7323.
313 549-7300
~~Ralph has made sleeping arrangements for you at his home.~~
Stay at Ralph's

[illegible]'s schedule, cont'd.

[illegible]

Do not have meeting plans, to my.

[illegible] - [illegible]

[illegible]

Meet with [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] to be [illegible] on North West flight [illegible] (Metropolitan Airport)
Flight [illegible] Ar. Washington, Dulles Int'l. Airport.

[illegible] - Willard Hotel, National Conference on "South African Crisis and American Action". Gov. are principal speaker, with Oliver Tambo and Walter [illegible] Ambassador.

Mr. Moses

703 S O'Henry Blvd

Apt

Dr Elis Laigner

705 Reid St

275-6916

[1965]

[illegible] - [illegible]

[illegible]

1:30 - Dr. [illegible] airport, Eldorado Flight 6987
2:53 - Mr. [illegible], Director of Special Services, Alfred Smith Agricultural College, will meet you.

6:00 - Talk on "The Negro in the Civil Rights Revolution".

Hotel right in town. Call Dr. Washington - 607-607-2813; home 234-2422

[illegible]

10:25 - Dr. [illegible], Eldorado Flight 6431
11:57 - Mr. [illegible] (check airports when you arrive in change to flight leaving at 1:30, if you prefer. It was all booked.)

2:00 - Dr. [illegible] airport, Eastern Flight 4555
3:15 - Mr. [illegible] Evans, assistant Rural Education Institute will meet you.

8:00 - Public Talk on Negroes Participation program, public meeting, expect 2,000 persons. Press conference at 7:30 in Green Room. Personal talk, pertaining [illegible] to your Address only and Impact of Action on civil rights in US.

Sleeping accommodations have been arranged.
Phone 234- in 3-6261 - ask for Alfred conference office.

[illegible]

11:30 - Dr. Eugene Rose on National Flight 6983
12:20 - Mr. [illegible]

[illegible]

waiting on schedule

[illegible]

10:30 - Appointment in office with Mr. Charles Jones Tuskegee

12:00 - Appointment with Dr. Zinn, Cleveland

1:30 - Appointment with Dr. Smith

8:00 - Dinner at White House

Tuesday, noon - speak at Queens College

Core E

[redacted]

Walt Handley will meet you at Sea-Tac - pick up Richard - pub. meeting 4-5 - fly to

Saturday, April 3rd

11:30 A.M. - Lv. [redacted] Northwest Flight [redacted]
3:20 P.M. - Ar. Seattle; [redacted] will meet you at airport and drive you to Western Washington State College, Bellingham, Washington.
6:30 - Dinner

8:00 - Talk a no suggested topic. Reception afterwards.

Spend night at Leopold Hotel and Motor Inn, 1224 Cornwall Ave., Bellingham.

Sunday, April 4th

11:00 A.M. - Lv. Seattle Western [redacted].
1:58 P.M. - Ar. Los Angeles. Ben Smith, Chairman, Los Angeles [redacted], will meet you.
3:00 - Rally.

8:00 - Talk at Temple Isaiah, 10345 W. Pico Blvd., on "The Next Steps in the Civil Rights Revolution".

Spend night at Freedom House, 1010 W. 21st Street, Los Angeles.

Tel 213-747-8921

Monday, April 5th

[redacted]

Lou + Bob Bailey drive you to Palm Sp

4:30 - [redacted] will probably meet you at Freedom House and drive you to Palm Springs. [redacted]

5:30 - Dinner with Board members, Desert Pens [redacted].

8:00 - Speak at meeting open to public.

Tel 714-325-2141

Reservation at Casa Licata, 2135 N. Palm Canyon Dr., Palm Springs.
Owners, Frank and Ruth Licata are offering the room without charge.

Address for Michael Black: 1320 Esmerink Rd., Palm Springs.
Tel: 327-2240.

Tuesday, April 6th

4:30 P.M. - You will be picked up at Casa Licata by someone from the University of California.
8:15 - Speak on "The Civil Rights Revolution in America". She would like you to speak on Selma.

Reservation at Mission Inn, Riverside, Cal.
Adress for Richard Lamb, Chairman, Speakers' Committee:

3645 Park Avenue, Riverside. Tel [redacted] 274 - 1218; [redacted] 222-8779.

[illegible]

10:10 A.M. - John Hyatt will pick you up at Stapleton Int.

11:00 - Speak at Long Beach State College. No topic suggested.

1:00 - Lunch

2:10 - Dr. Los Angeles, Hilton airport 0965
2:15 - Mr. Hunter. You will be met by someone from Colorado Springs U. and driven to Fort Carson. Try to have dinner on plane, as there won't be time before the banquet.
5:00 - Talk on Church Finance Foundation.

9:00 - Plane with band flight engineer.

[illegible] Fernandez Fredericks 482-0525
[illegible] for private lessons this assignment. Charles Ave., 633 S. Colorado Ave., Fort Carson.

[illegible]

7:00 A.M. - Dr. Hunter, Denver 0163.
10:00 - Golfing.
12:00 - Dr. Phillips, Houston flight 0965
2:00 - Mr. Jack Williams. Hunter will meet you.

7:00 - Speak in Kingsburg

Stay in Mr. Hicks' home in Kingsburg. Tel: 731-9649.—

[illegible]

11:00 - In: New Orleans, Delta 0975.
4:15 - Mr. Hunter.

7 Informal ICS meeting Thomas, Bank Street

file - Mr. Farmer's Schedule

Tuesday, April 27th

10:30 - Take shuttle from Newark
11:30 - Gordon will meet you

12:00 - Board meeting

3:30 - Appointment with Mr. Hytis - Community Relations Service, Dept. of Commerce, Office #5079; tel: ST 3-9200 x5023

5:00 - Cocktail party

Wednesday, April 28th

9:30 - "Experts Answer"; panel TV show of USIA (Far Africa). Topic: the Civil Rights Movement. Panel - two students and two African journalists. Mr. Gordon Kelly, USIA Television Service, First floor, Old Post Office Building, 12th and Pennsylvania Ave. Tel: WO 2-2036.

10:30 - You will be met at USIA office at 10:30 and driven to Officers' Club, Washington Navy Yard for luncheon address. This is an all-day conference for senior Personnel Officers and Personnel Directors. (See correspondence). Scheduled from 11:00 - 1:00.

1:30 - Get shuttle

3:00 - CUCRL meeting; Legal Defense Hall, 10 Columbus Circle, Rm. 2030 Jay Rose, Tel: JU 2-2825.

6:15 - New School, 66 West 12th Street, Woody Klein's class in Journalism. Talk on Civil Rights and the Press (TV, Radio, etc.)(what's wrong) (Woody invited you to go to his house for a drink first, but I told him you probably wouldn't have time). Woody's Tel:SA 7-3211; YU 2-4248 address: 1 Wash.Sq.Village So., 4A.

8:00 - Art Show - Graham Gallery, 1014 Madison Avenue.

Thursday, April 29th

9:00 - Meet with Eva Levy and fund raisers at 630 Fifth Avenue

10:00 - James Jacobson, 630 Fifth Avenue, 27th floor

11:30 - Press Conference, office (?)

2:00 - Fanny Peck, 1217 Park Avenue at 95th Street

4:00 - Clarence Hunter, Evening Star, Washington asked for appointment. I will confirm it today when he calls, if you want to see him.

Friday, April 30th

3:00 - Speak at Queens College, "Why Non-Violence?"

file ↓

[redacted]

[redacted]

9:30 : [redacted]
10:05 : [redacted]

11:30 - Luncheon - talk (refer to discrimination in hiring, which is causing a great deal of unemployment among [redacted])

1:00 - Working session with CORE (Joseph Allen & Alfred Blumrosen - co-chairmen)

3:30 : [redacted]
4:05 : [redacted]

[redacted]

6:00 - Leave Indianola, airport to Washington
10:00 : Leave Washington, United flight 960?
1:01 - Arrive Greensboro; you will be met by someone from Bennett College

4:30 - Address at Vespers Service (they have been engaged in a "leadership program involving the students and the community in voting...." civil rights, etc. You should inspire the students to develop leadership responsibility. John G. Gerry, Chaplain; Dr. Willa Player, President

Reception after service.

2 Meeting with local CORE group. They will arrange hotel accommodations for you. Mr. Leitner, tel: 275-6916 — Mrs Thomas 933 E Market St. BR 2-3384

[redacted]

2:20 - Charles Miller will pick you up at hotel.

3 - Meeting with Dr Memorial Hall on "The Future of the Civil Rights Movement"

Spend night at Chapman Inn. Tel. for Charles Miller: 942-1778

[redacted]

10:00 : Leave from Raleigh on Eastern flight 6?6
11:00 : [redacted]
1:00 : Arrive in Charleston flight 617
1:25 - [redacted] Dr. William Henry, President, Jefferson Standard, Executive Assembly on Human Relations will meet you. 75 6-2245-2766
4:00 - Dinner with 8 or 10 people.

[illegible]

7:30 - Talk - no specific topic, but would like you to explain in as much detail as possible the operations of CORE's program in Baltimore. They are preparing a program in the Va. counties, along the lines of the Mississippi COFO program.

Reception after speech - 30 minutes

Speak-night or [illegible]

Drive to Washington

Wednesday, May 5th

8:35 - [illegible]
10:24 - [illegible]
11:10 - [illegible]
12:02 - arrive Kennedy

9:00 Shuttle to NY

Circus 5:00 pm #15 Newark - Syracuse - 6:13

2:00 - Office for taping [illegible]

Thursday, May 6th

8:00 - [illegible]

7:45 am East #673 to Spr
9:49 arrive Wash

10:30 - Meeting in Humphrey's office

1:17 - leave Washington on Allegheny Flight 4026
3:00 - arrive Bradley Field - Mr. Carr
4:00 - News Conf.
5:00 - cocktail party

Train - 4:30

6:00 - dinner

8:00 - talk - "The Future of the Civil Rights Movement"

11:28 - get train to New York
1:22 am arrive Grand Central

Friday, May 7th

11:00 - appointment with James Gray

3:00 - leave from LaGuardia on Allegheny Flight 4026
3:43 - arrive Hartford; you will be met by James P. Noble, Chairman, Lecture Committee, Mt Holyoke

6:00 - dinner

8:00 - talk - "Civil Rights and the Negro" - query afterwards

have not yet heard where you will spend night.

Bookshop Inn, Tel: 413-536-4000 x448

[illegible]

3:30 - arrive Sam H. Delgado will drive you to Worcester

5:00 - dinner

6:00 - talk, "Our Obligations in the Civil Rights Struggle"
~~Sheraton-Lincoln Motor Inn, Worcester~~ Holiday Inn, Framingham - 875-6151

[illegible]

10:00 am get checks from Doreen
11:07 - arrive in Cambridge

[illegible]

10:00 - staff meeting in office

11:30 - appointment with Mr. Douglas, Ford Foundation. He wants to know [illegible] foundations can help in developing programs on civil liberties - [illegible] censorship, [illegible], civil rights, etc. He is in Policy and Planning section. Address: 477 Madison Avenue, corner of 53rd Street.

6:00 - Children for a Better Society, 237 East 104th St. (Second Ave.)
Mrs. Glover; call TR 6-6454

Schedule - James Farmer

Monday, May 9, 1966

9:25 TWA Lv. JFK #Ex #155 (a. m.)
11:25 Arrive Denver

12:40 p. m. Lv. Denver Central #66
1:13 p. m. Arrive Colorado Springs

3:00 p. m. requested arrival time

8:00 p. m. "The Civil Rights Revolution"
Shove Chapel
Colorado College
Colorado Springs, Colorado

Contact: Mr. Robert Sears
731 North Weber
Colorado Springs, Colo.
% Mr. Colvig (Advisor)

Bus: 473- 2233 x 262
Home: 635-4268

Requested that you be met at the airport.

Overnight: Imperial 400 (Requested)

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

11:50 a. m. Lv. Colorado Springs - Continental #232
12:15 p. m. arrive Denver

2:45 lv. Denver United #359
3:47 Arrive Los Angeles Angeles

4:30 lv. Los Angeles - Pacific #754
5:02 arrive Santa Barbara

I requested that you be met

Overnight: Peppertree Inn (Requested)

Wednesday, May 11, 1966

Early afternoon arrival had been requested.

4:00 P. M. The Civil Rights Revolution (1 hour)

The University of California
Santa Barbara, California

Contact: Robert C. Seda, Asst. Subcommitte on Lectures, Assemblies Committee
P. O. Box 11811
University of Calif., Santa Barbbra

Bus; 968-1511 Home: NO 8 -5684

9:11 lv. California Greyhound
11:33 Arrive San Luis Obispo, California

Hosts: Mrs. and Dr. Glen Noble, (George Houser's sister)
1327 Foothill Blvd, San Luis Obispo (805) 543-5470

Schedule James Farmer

Thursday, May 12, 1966

lunch: Faculty staff luncheon with guest speaker

afternoon: Visit to social studies class

8:00 p. m. Civil Rights Revolution (hour program followed by informal reception)

Contact: Miss Choo Bauer, Activities Advisor
California State Polytechnic College
San Luis Obispo, California

Business: (805) 546-2476

Auditorium: 546 -2476

Car will be reserved for you.

Drive to Los Angeles. Check with Miss Bauer re routing.

Friday, May 13, 1966

8:30 a. m. lv. Los Angeles TWA #174
1:41 p. m. arrive St. Louis

2:35 p. m. leave St. Louis Eastern #654
3:15 p. m. arrive Evansville, Indiana

You will be met by Dean Nicholas C. Brown, Dean of the College

4:00 P. m. speak informally to interested students and teachers at coffee hour in 1 lounge of the Student Union Bldg.

8:00 p. m/ Freedom -- When? (one hour)
Evansville College, Evansville, Indiana

Phone: bus: (312) GR 6-1341 x 27 or 28
Home: [redacted] 424-4937
Auditorium: 476-1341 x 74 or 75

Overnight: Greer Hotel

Saturday, May 14

10:15 a. m. Leave Evansville Delta #568
11:03 a. m. arrive Indianapolis

12:00 noon Leave Indianapolis TWA 454
2:32 arrive JFK

NOTE: DO NOT FORGET ARVIND'S Resumes for colleges.

file if added

[4965]

ITINERARY - JAMES FARMER

Monday, May 10th

11:30 - appointment with Mr. Staples (details on previous itinerary)

8:30 - talk, Citizens for a Better Society, 237 East 199th Street (2nd Ave.) get memorandum from him before.

Tuesday, May 11th

10:00 - appointment with Mr. Jacobson, 630 Fifth Avenue, 27th floor (Rockefeller Center) CI 5-6600

3:00 - meeting with fund raisers, Ruder & Finn, 130 East 59th St.

6:00 - get United flight #439 from Newark (have dinner enplane)
7:21 - arrive Cleveland; met by Mr. Bragg, Akron [illegible]

8:00 - talk at Buchtel High School, Akron (discuss Louisiana and refer to their boycott of real estate board and urban renewal)

spend night at Mayflower Hotel in Akron

Wednesday, May 12th

3:00 - Mr. Bragg will drive you to Kent State University. You are to arrive by 4:00.

6:30 - dinner with executive heads of Kent State (Your talk is sponsored by Kent State NAACP, Jean Duvall, Chairman, Speakers Committee)

8:00 - Speak at University Auditorium (contrast discrimination in North with that in South; contrast moral convictions of northern and southern civil rights worker; refer to some of greater achievements of civil rights groups).

9:30 - informal reception with students and faculty.

spend night at Kent Motor Inn; tel: 673-3411. Tel. for Miss Duvall: 673-2141.

Thursday, May 13th

12:20 - leave cleveland on No. Central flight #343
1:57 - arrive Lansing; you will be met by someone from Michigan State University. E. Lansing: Probably Robert L. Green, Assistant Professor, College of Education.

4:00 - talk - discuss civil rights problems in North & South (voting, housing, employ.) (tel. for Mr. Green: 332-5586)

6:00 - talk, banquet, Community Services Council, Lansing YWCA. Mr. Ross topic, "Civil Rights - North and South", 20 min. Fund Raising for CORE.

8:30 - Church rally, Union Baptist Church; fund raising for CORE.

~~spend night at Holley Center as guest. Tel: 257-3090~~

332-5586

[redacted]

3:00 - Mrs. Dwight Green Flint Alumnae Chapter of Delta Sigma Theta will pick you up at Rolling Center; Mrs. Bennett is program chairman.

8:00 - speak at Union Chapel, A.M.E. Church - no topic specified. Tel 238-8031

(From the correspondence it had appeared that the Mass Adult Education Program of the Flint Board of Education was sponsoring your talk, and I have been informed that it is the Alumnae Chapter mentioned above)

Reservation at Downs Hotel - Tel 232-5131

[redacted]

11:00 - Leave Flint on United Flight #964 — 10:03 Lv Flint Un # 762
11:27 - Arrive Detroit — 10:27 Detroit, Willow Run
12:10 - Leave Detroit, United Flight #618 — 1:25 Detroit, Willow Run
1:22 - Arrive Newark — 3:20 Newark Un # 484

Sunday - nothing on calendar

Monday - office

SCHEDULE - MR. FARMER

Monday, May 17th

9:00 - take shuttle from LaG. to Washington

11:00 - Press Conference on NFSP Challenge; NFSP Headquarters, 926 Penna. Ave.

6:15 - Bank Street College; talk on where the Movement is now and where it is heading;

Tuesday, May 18th

10:30 - Meeting with Granville Clark; Hotel Westbury, 69th Street and Madison.

5 Blyden Jackson

7:00 - Meeting in office with Mr. Gallagher of Metropolitan Opera and 3 others. Tel: (home) RA 6-3102 ; (office) RA 3-9150.

Wednesday, May 19th

6:10 - Eastern flight #20 from Kennedy
6:50 - Arrive Hartford; Michael Messner, Program Adviser, Student Union Board of Governors of the University of Connecticut will meet you.

8:00 - Talk on "The Civil Rights Revolution in America". Tel: GA 9-9321 or 429-9321.

10:15 - Hartford, Allegheny flight #945
11:06 - Arrive Newark

Saturday, May 22nd

5:00 PM Shuttle from LaG. to Washington
6:00 - You will be met at airport by someone from National Capital Area Civil Liberties Union

7:00 - Dinner Washington Hilton for annual Oliver Wendell Holmes Bill of Rights Award. This year 3 agencies will receive award: Legal Aid Agency, Georgetown Univ. Law School Legal Interns, Legal Aid Society. Topic up to you; occasion is to show need for expanding legal assistance to the deprived. ed Mary Cheeseeth, Executive Secretary; tel: EX 7-8226.

Sunday, May 23rd

6-8 - Downtown CORE fundraising concert and party; talk on Africa & civil rights 20 West 10th Street. Helena Lewis; tel: GR 4-2227.

Monday, May 24th

3:00 - Speak at Bayside High School

file - JT Schedules

[redacted] - [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

4:15 - [redacted], Air Canada Flight [redacted]
5:15 - [redacted]

[redacted]

3:40 - [redacted], [redacted] Flight [redacted]
3:56 - Arrive Rochester - Ride will be met by someone from State University of New York, College at Cortland, probably Mr. Griffen, Assistant Professor of Education

8:00 - Talk (Its supposed topic, but subject is involved in Pagans County Library Project)

Spend night at home of Mr. Griffen. Tel: 756-6317; college phone: 607-756-6911.

[redacted]

3:00 - Leave, by car, for Riverside College
4:00 - Mr. [redacted] will meet you in Bronco Hall, Administration Building.

4:30 - Press Conference

8:00 - Talk - "The Civil Rights Crisis"; school phone:UE 3-4200; Mr. [redacted]: 422-9961.

spend night at Gayle Hotel

[redacted]

9:35 - Leave Gayle Albany, [redacted] Flight [redacted].
10:35 - Arrive [redacted]

4:00 - Appointment in office with Stewart Meacham, American Friends Service Committee, about his work there.

[redacted]

8:00 - Speak, Unity House (Quaker)

ITINERARY - JAMES FARMER

Friday, May 28th

3:15 - 33 East 67th St.(American Trade Union Council); Mr. Barbedo will drive you to Unity House, Pennsylvania

8:30 - Panel discussion: "Challenges to Organized Labor: Who Have Needs" - Mr. Spector will give you more details. They would like you to stress impact of civil rights movement on trade unions and also refer to trip to Israel and Africa.

They will provide a car to drive you back to New York that evening.

Saturday, May 29th

8:55 - Leave on Delta flight #7973 from Newark
9:45 - Arrive Atlanta
10:30 - Leave on Delta flight #725
11:34 - Arrive Jackson; Dick Jewett will meet you and drive you to Brandon.

8:18 - Leave Jackson, Delta flight #783
9:05 - Arrive New Orleans
11:20 - Leave, Delta flight #90
3:46 - Arrive Kennedy

Sunday, May 30th

2:00 - Hotel Americana; Bridge Street AME Church of Brooklyn - civil rights luncheon. Royal Ballroom. Speak on any topic you want - perhaps referring to civil rights in the North and the role the church and "ordinary" people can play. Hotel Americana: Broadway and 52nd St.
Dr. Roscoe C. Henderson, Pastor; Mrs. Addie Walton, Chairman
(Correspondence with Mrs. Juanita Berry; tel: CL 2-3936)

Monday, May 31st

9:30 - Get train to Philadelphia
11:05 - Arrive 30th Street, Phila.; Mr. Alston will meet you at Information Booth.

1:00 - WCAU-TV - one hour panel discussion

5:00 - George Washington Motor Lodge, cocktails, dinner, speak. (til 8:30)

10:00 - Rally, So. Phila. AME Church (until 11:00)

11:40 - Get train for New York
12:36 - Arrive New York

Tuesday, June 1st

1:30 - Appointment in office with Bern Keating of Playboy; interview on proposed reforms in law enforcement. (Rachlin was supposed to be present, but because of staff conference cannot; should we ask someone else?

file

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

10:00 - [redacted] Ann # 773
12:40 - [redacted] - Cleophus Robinson LU7-9008

[redacted]

9:30 - [redacted]
3:00 - [redacted]

4:00 - Meeting in office

George

file V

ITINERARY - JAMES FARMER

Saturday, June 12th

9:13 Eastern flight #61, Kennedy
10:05 Arrive New Orleans

12:00 Plaquemine

Sunday, June 13th

7:35 A.M. - Leave Baton Rouge, Eastern flight #790
8:03 - New Orleans
8:45 - Leave N.O., Delta flight #976
1:11 - Arrive Kennedy

Monday, June 14th

11 - 1 Picket Coliseum, AMA, for Medical Committee

3:00 Appointment with Helen Dudar, N.Y. Post, arranged by Val

NOTE: Lisa Howard called; she set up an ABC-TV show for you to talk about the Gandhi award. Said that they will call to make the definite appointment. If this is not all right with you, please call me at UL 2-6130 and leave message.

file

ITINERARY - JAMES FARMER

[illegible], June 16th

6:00 - Eastern Flight #111, Kennedy
6:45 - Upon arrival you will be met and driven to Hempstead tel: 667-9123

c/o Rev Peters
Gulfside Assoc
PO Box 186

[illegible], June 17th

Sat
4:31 am
- Leave New Orleans, Delta Flight #954
- Arrive Louisville; Mr. Stanley will meet you; stay at local Sheraton; (Mr. Stanley is the editor of the Louisville Defender)

502 587-6061

[illegible], June 18th

10:00 - Talk, Cox Room, Sheraton; no suggested topic; Anti-Poverty, Pub.Accom.

2:20 - You will be met by persons from Lexington CORE and driven to Lexington. They want to arrange a meeting with the school board and the mayor for that evening.

Spend night at Julia Lewis's, 405 Robertson Avenue; tel: 254-0231

606

[illegible], June 19th

6:30 AM Leave Louisville, Eastern Flight #320
11:00 - Arrive Washington

2:45 Hall of Nations, Walsh Bldg, Georgetown, 36 + N ST.

3:00 - Leave Washington, Eastern Flight #325
4:40 - Arrive Atlanta
5:15 - Leave Atlanta, Delta Flight #808
9:13 - Arrive Meridian

Sunday, June 20th

Monday, June 21st

8:55 AM Leave Meridian, Delta Flight #808
9:40 - Arrive Atlanta
10:20 - Leave Atlanta, Delta Flight #820
1:08 - Arrive Kennedy

JF Item

[redacted] - [redacted]

[redacted], June 22, 1963

10:00 - [redacted]
11:00 - [redacted]
11:30 - [redacted], [redacted], [redacted]

[redacted], June 23th

4 hour for Hyden at home?

[redacted], June 27th

5:35 - Leave [redacted], United Flight [redacted]
6:27 - Arrive [redacted] Raleigh; have called Floyd to have someone meet flight.

[redacted], July 5th

8:15 PM - Leave Raleigh Eastern Flight 8510 ; present flights on stewart for reservation

11:19 - Arrive Lufkenville

full
UF item

[1965]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] - [redacted]

[redacted], July 26, 1965

3:45 - Leave for rally in Elizabeth, N.J.
Tel: 201-289-9656 or EL 4-9811 or EL 3-9386

[redacted], July 27th

[redacted], July 28th

8:05 A.M. - JFK, Delta 0917
9:43 - arrive Atlanta
11:30 & leave Atlanta, Eastern 773
1:11 - Tallahassee - Spiver Gordon will meet you.

Press Conference; speak at public meeting at Rev. Jamerson church.

Spend night at Spiver Gordon's. Tel: 224-6725

Tuesday, July 27th

8:30 A.M. - Leave Tallahassee, Eastern flight 6694
9:27 - Arrive Atlanta
10:55 - Leave Atlanta, United flight 8466
2:14 - Arrive Pittsburgh; Nicholas Flournoy will meet you; [redacted] tel:361-7662

6:30 - Press Conference, Bethel AME Church (Tel: 683-2160)

7:00 - Meeting at Bethel AME Church

Mr. Barnet from Indiana College will meet you at the Church and drive you to Indiana. Spend night at Holiday Inn, Indiana, Penna.

Wednesday, July 28th

11:00 - Speak at Indiana State College; "The Civil Rights Revolution" (Dr. Trevor Bailey, Dean, invited you. Tel: 463-911

Lunch with William J. Richard, Jr. of Westminster Foundation and group of local people, students and faculty. Tel: 463-0731

Mr. Barnet will drive you to Pittsburgh.

6:35 - Leave Pittsburgh; United flight 0117
6:54 - Arrive Chicago
7:50 - Leave Chicago; United flight 0409
8:54 - Arrive Des Moines; Mr. Martin Hunsberger, United Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers, District Council 3, will meet you.

[redacted]

Spend night on Savory Hotel, Des Moines.

[redacted]

2:00 - Address Leadership Conference of [redacted] on Savory Hotel; on stage there will be a press conference either before or after talk.

8:00 - [redacted] fund raising meeting in Grand Ballroom of Savory; co-sponsored by the women and Des Moines [redacted]. Mrs. [redacted] of Des Moines [redacted] is planning it. Mrs. [redacted]'s tel: 270-0273.

Spend night on Savory Hotel

[redacted]

9:30 - Leave Des Moines, United flight 0666
10:15 - Arrive Chicago
[redacted] - [redacted] 10th flight [redacted]
[redacted] - [redacted]

(There is a possibility that fund raising appointment will be made for you in the afternoon in Chicago, in which case exhibit will have to be changed.)

11:20 - leave Chicago Un # 466
1:14 - arrive Cleveland
7:30 - lv Cleveland United #352
8:37 - an Newark

[redacted] - Jenny Smith

[redacted], August 3, 1965

12:00 - Leave La Guardia on shuttle for Washington

1:45 - [redacted]-TV one-hour panel discussion with Shriver and one others on the Poverty Program; 3151 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W. Use Harrison Street entrance to studio. Tel: 244-3151; Mr. [redacted].

[redacted], August 5, 1965

7:00 - Meeting [redacted] Office, 926 Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E. Tel: 544-4550.

[redacted], August 4, 1965

10:00 - Interview in office; [redacted], [redacted]; doing feature article on [redacted] will probably take several hours.

8:00 - TV taping (Jay Kennedy) on politics; no other details known as yet.

[redacted], August 5, 1965

12:00 - Shuttle to Boston
1:00 - You will be met by a staff member of Harvard International Seminar
1:30 - Lunch at Harvard Faculty Club, 20 Quincy Street

2:30 - Talk (45 minutes followed by question and answer period) in Room 311 Lamont Library. Topic not specified - civil rights generally.

5:00 - Get return shuttle
6:00 - Arrive LaGuardia

[redacted], August 6, 1965

Friday, August 6th

9:00 - Leave La Guardia, Eastern shuttle

11:30 - Meeting with President

1;45 - Leave Washington, National flight #268
2:37 - Arrive Newark
4:30 - Leave Newark, Delta flight #927
6:48 - Arrive Shreveport

[redacted], August 7, 1965

11:00 - March, Minden, Louisiana

3:07 - Leave Shreveport, Delta flight 0423
4:04 - Arrive Dallas
4:45 - Leave Dallas, American flight 0291
9:45 - Arrive Kennedy

[redacted], August 11, 1965

Neptune Inn, Paramus, N.J.; Martha Hitt benefit (Bergen Co. [redacted])
Will check on exact time and let you know.

Schedule

ITINERARY - JAMES FARMER

Monday, August 23rd

7:30 A.M. - Leave Newark, TWA flight #421
8:29 - Arrive Chicago

9:30 - Trial; Meet Mr. Schwartzman at: 26th Street & California, Criminal Court Building, 4th floor, Branch 46, Jury Court. It will take 45minutes. (no trial)
Tel for Schwartzman 782-9266 (Held Sept. 13E for this)

See page 3 for other appts

Tuesday, August 24th

8:55 A.M. - Leave Chicago, United flight #101
10:45 - Arrive Los Angeles; met at airport by someone from American Federation of Teachers. — Pete Schnauzer (Admin. Asst.)

12:00 - Talk; AFT Convention, Golden State Room, Statler-Hilton.; no topic; Civil Rights Luncheon, Charles Cogen, President

3:15 - RUTH ASHMUN SHOW, station KNX; live; short talk and telephoned questions. Lasts until 3:55. Columbia Square. You will be driven from Sunday Don Smith will meet you at KNX
Program for Los Angeles CORE; stay at Statler Hilton
Tel: [redacted]; CORE - 1115 West Venice Blvd., Tel: RE 5-8276 - DON 938-1155 (Ask for 1420 (CORE)
(Charlene's - cocktails + dinner)

Wednesday, August 25th

1:00 - Leave L.A. American flight #44
6:38 - Arrive Washington, Dulles Airport — Gordon will meet you

Thursday, August 26th

11:00 - Board Meeting, Center for Community Action Education; new address: 2900 M Street, N.W. Tel 333-1505

5:00 - Leave Washington, American flight #987
6:05 - Arrive Cincinnati; someone from CORE will meet you.

Fund raising rally planned. Leonard Ball has made plans for you to spend night at TERRACE Hilton

Friday, August 27th

12:25 - Leave Cincinnati, Lake Central flight #
2:57 - Arrive Akron
3:40 - Leave Akron, United flight #706
4:03 - Arrive Youngstown; met by someone from Warren CORE.

7:00 - Fund raising program, Kenold Auditorium, W.G. Harding High School, Elm Rd. N.E.
Spend night ~~either at Hotel Warren (399-1556) or Governor Hotel (391-2517)~~
Imperial 400 Motel, 415 E. Market, Warren

Wednesday, August 25th

1:00 - Leave L.A. American flight #66
6:32 - Arrive Washington, Dulles Airport

Thursday, August 26th

11:00 - Board Meeting, Center for Secondary Active Education; new address:

3:00 - Leave Washington, American flight #987
6:05 - Arrive Cincinnati; someone from CORE will meet you.

Food raising rally planned. Eleanore Bell has made plans for you to speak at [illegible]

Friday, August 27th

12:25 - Leave Cincinnati, Lake Central flight #
2:57 - Arrive Akron
4:00 - Leave Akron, United flight #106
4:02 - Arrive Youngstown; met by someone from Warren CORE.

7:00 - Food raising program, Lincoln Auditorium, W.C. Harding High School, Elm Rd. N.E.
Spend night at [illegible] Motel, Boardman (off-[illegible]) or Poultney Motel ([illegible])

MONDAY, August 23rd, cont'd.

12:00 - Lunch with Mr. Johnson, 1820 So. Michigan Avenue; tel: GA 3-1000

2:30 - Appointment with Ralph Helstein, Pres., United Packinghouse Workers 608 Dearborn Street; tel: WE 9-5343.

(Dick Gregory was out of town - try calling him Sunday or Monday a.m. (324-0938)

4:00 Klutznick 1 Wacker Dr (State Room 3330

Reservation at Conrad Hilton, 720 South Michigan Avenue

243-6861

Call Paul Hall
HY9-6600
N.Y.C.

Sinatra
Hollywood 9-1250
Otis 3-3-5

Saturday, August 28, 1965

8:25 A.M. - Leave Youngstown, United flight #698
9:58 - Arrive Newark

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ITINERARY - JAMES FARMER

Friday, September 17, 1965

3:05 - Leave Washington, NW flight #307
4:00 - Artive Pittsburgh; Met by Dr. Charles Bookart, 115 Maple Ave., Clairton, Penna.; tel: 233-9498.

6:30 - Banquet, Holiday Club. Clairton High School Cafeteria, tel: BE 3-9200

Spend night at Hotel Hilton in Pittsburgh.

Saturday, September 18th

10:00 - Leave Pittsburgh TWA flight #496 (A.M.)
11:00 - Arrive Newark

Sunday, September 19th

11:00 - Meeting with Floyd McKissick in Washington; Gordon Carey is setting up place, etc. Gordon's Telephone number: 202-462-6526.

[redacted]

file - JF Sched

Mon Oct 4

5:15 - Depart; Allegheny flight 9797
6:33 - Arrive Williamsport; John Pagano of Bucknell Student Forum will meet you

8:30 - Program; no suggested topic; telephone for Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa. JA 4-4-1364.

Hotel:

Tuesday, September 5th

9:05 - Leave Williamsport, United flight #648
9:52 - Arrive Elmira; Michael Canning or Robert Sullivan of Mansfield State College will meet plane and drive you to college in Mansfield, Pa.

2:00 - Address; Straughn Auditorium, Mansfield State College; topic-"Civil Rights" School telephone: 717-662-3121; Mr. Sullivan's telephone: 662-2223 or 2213
662-3469

7:30 - Leave Elmira; Mohawk flight 973
8:21 - Arrive Cleveland
9:30 - Leave Cleveland, Allegheny flight 978
10:30 - Arrive Erie, Penna.; Dr. Richard Dover, Chaplain of Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa., will meet plane and drive you to David Mead Inn in Meadville.

Wednesday, September 6th

10:40 - Chapel Program, 20 minutes, speak on "The Civil Rights Crisis"
Telephone number for College: 814-337-4-1251 (ask) Home telephone for Mr. Robert Gaves with whom there has been correspondence: 29931

8:15 - Public Lecture in Ford Chapel; topic - "The Civil Rights Challenge to the College Student"

Spend night at David Mead Inn

Thursday, September 7th

11:35:- Leave Erie Lake Shagral flight #716
12:25 - Arrive Pittsburgh;

Reservation at Pittsburgh Hilton; check in by 6:00 P.M.

Friday, September 8th

9:30AM - Mr. Ed Rosenoff of Washington & Jefferson Student Council, Washington, Pa. will pick you up in lobby of hotel and drive you to college

College telephone: 412-223-6400; Dr. Mitchell's home phone: 412-223-1664

11:00 - Address in Washington & Jefferson College Chapel on "The Civil Rights Revolution" - 50 minutes

12:00 - Lunch

1:00 - Informal question & answer period with students

3:15 - Leave Pittsburgh on TWA Flight 900
5:52 - Arrive JFK

[redacted] - [redacted]

[redacted], October 11, 1966

7:30 - [redacted], 30th flight A&I
8:30 - Service Champs

9:30 - Social Hour Mr. Schwartzman at: 30th Street & Philadelphia, Standard Oil Building, 4th floor, Branch 66, Jury Room. Tel: [redacted]

Spend night at

Call Mr. Schuler at [redacted] on Thursday or Friday to confirm above plans. It is possible, though improbable, that you won't have to go.

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[illegible]

8:00 - Speak at Fellowship Baptist Church in Plainview on Hempstead Turnpike & Manetto Hill Rds. Rev. Harold Robinson, Pastor. Ben Smith will drive you back to Los Angeles afterwards.

Spend night at

[illegible]

2-6 - Reception in Home - L.A. area; tel: [illegible] Ben Smith [illegible]

You will be driven to Loyola University [illegible]

8:00 - Talk, "The Civil Rights Crisis" in Dr. Rohrer's Auditorium; host is Jim Jorstem; tel: OR 9-1370, home [illegible] SP 5-4000 x 326

Spend night at

Sunday, October 17th

11:00 - Leave Los Angeles on United flight 9007
11:30 - Arrive San Diego;

Monday

10:30 - Leave San Diego, Delta flight 6021
11:04 - Arrive Los Angeles
11:50 - Leave Los Angeles, American flight 936

Tues

[illegible]

8:53 - Arrive Boston; Go by taxi to Kenmore Hotel
2:45 - Ed Segal & Prof Zinn will pick you up at Hotel if any probs arise call Barbara Frazin 262-4300 +760
4:00 - Speak at Boston University; "How the Civil Rights Revolution Succeeds" Kenneth Feinberg & Alvin Segal of Brandeis Congress are your hosts. Tel: 262-4300.

[illegible]

BU Stud Act.

[redacted]

11:00 - Leave San Angelo on United flight #567
11:25 - Arrive San Diego; Phil Hamm or Kenneth Pennington of San D. CORE will meet you

12:00 - Press Conference, at Jeanville (CORE: 264-9710)

Holly; Jeanville

Spend night at Kingsman Hotel, tel: 232-0161

[redacted]

3:00 - Someone from San Diego College will pick you up at hotel

3:00 - talk, San Diego State College; "The Negro Revolt: San Angelo & Afterwards" Many Colleges to here. Call: 264-6281; home: 466-6748

10:20 - Leave San Diego, Delta flight 6021
11:05 - Arrive L.A.
11:20 - Leave L.A., American flight 936
6:15 - Arrive Boston

[redacted]

Call -

Arrive Boston; take taxi directly to Hotel Kenmore

2:45 - Al Segal & Prof. Zinn will pick you up at Hotel (tel:262-1200 x750, Miss Preston)

4:00 - Speak at Boston University; "Can the Civil Rights Revolution Succeed?" Kenneth Pennington & Alvin Segal of Student Congress are your hosts. After the talk you will be met by someone from Boston CORE.

8:00 - Project "Booster" Rally

2:30 - press conf. issue = school busing

3-4 reception

[redacted] - [redacted]

[redacted], October 23th

12:00 - [redacted]

6:15 - [redacted]
7:30 - [redacted]

9:00 - [redacted]

Spend night at Dr. Erich's home; tel: 645-9837

Tuesday, October 24th

9:00 - Press Conference

10:30 - Convocation; talk - no suggested topic - Hamline Univ

12:00 - Lunch in Student Center

1:30 - Taped interview with writer who writes for religious publications

3:30 - Leave Minneapolis, Western flight #35
4:32 - Arrive Sioux Falls, South Dakota; Fred Hirschmann of Yankton College will meet you and drive you to Yankton, S.D.

8:00 - Talk; no suggested topic

Spend night at Skyline Motel in Yankton

Wednesday, October 27th

Meet with students in the morning 665-3661

1:11 - Leave Sioux Falls, Bonniff flight #325
2:34 - Arrive Omaha
3:10 - Leave Omaha, United flight #262
5:19 - Arrive Chicago
6:45 - Leave Chicago,
7:36 - Arrive Detroit; you will be met by someone from Albion College, Albion, Mich.
Spend night at Campus - NA9-6363

Thursday, October 28th

11:00 - talk, "The Civil Rights Crisis" Tel. # for College: EL 9-2077

2:30 - You will be picked up by R. Beverley Quinnesec College) for your talk at First Congregational Church in Grand Rapids

8:00 - Talk at Church; Dr. Holloway is minister; no suggested topic [redacted]
reception at home of Mrs Marcus 825 Morris St SE
Spend night at Pantlind Hotel in Grand Rapids

[redacted] - [redacted]

[redacted], November 2nd

12:00 - Meeting with F.D.R., Jr.

3:00 - Leave Newark, Allegheny flight 0877
3:12 - Arrive Rockford, Illinois; Mr. Robert Nash from Mt. Morgenstern Rockford will meet you and drive you to the Rockford Inn Motel, R.F.

8:00 - Talk; "The Civil Rights Crisis"; Tel: 979-6000

Spend night at Motel Inn

Wednesday, November 3rd

9:12 - Leave Rockford on Allegheny flight 0750.
10:31 - Arrive Newark

5:00 - You will be picked up in the office and driven to Livingston, N.J. for speaking engagement, Livingston Education Association

6:00 - Talk, Livingston High School, Memorial Park Drive; be suggested topic

You will be driven back to New York

Thursday, November 4th

11:00 - Mr. Miller will be in to take pictures for your portrait

12:30 - Lunch, Bill Sutherland

[illegible], [illegible] 14th

11:30 - [illegible] to his office on Bulldog Hill, [illegible]

12:00 - Speak at Ohio Wesleyan in Delaware, Ohio on suggested topic [illegible], Wednesday Delights, in your home (Do not use your name or [illegible] College - This is not a [illegible] [illegible] with plus correspondent) Johnson Hall Chapel in beautiful Ohio in Beautiful Delaware; tel: [illegible]

Lunch with students and faculty

3:00 - persons from Ohio Wesleyan will drive you to English Department on Schedule You will be met on Bulldog Hill, Administration Building by Dr. Richard Rumble, Director of Office of Public Information, [illegible] home - 237-1604. Mr. Rumble is expecting you about 3:00.

Dinner with students and faculty; personal invitation from Jason Flory

8:15 - Address, no suggested topic

Spend night at Mrs. Wilson's home

Thursday, November 16th

12:05 - Leave Columbus, United flight 9765
1:26 - Arrive Chicago
3:00 - Leave Chicago, American flight 0815
5:03 - Arrive Ft. Worth, Texas; you will be met by Mark L. Hodges from Texas Christian University

7:30 - Talk, "The Civil Rights Revolution" [illegible] MA 6-3661

Spend night at Texas Hotel BR CB w/in Spent Here

Friday, November 17th

12:05 - Leave Dallas, American flight 0139
1:17 - Arrive Phoenix
3:00 - Leave Phoenix, American flight 0126
3:12 - Arrive Las Vegas; Dr. Jerry Gaudinski, Chairman, Nevada Southern Univ. Lecture Series, will meet you

8:00 - Talk, "Freedom - Then?", Tel: 736-[illegible]; Dr. Gaudinski's home: 736-[illegible]

Spend night at Thunderbird Hotel

Saturday, November 18th

9:30 - Leave Las Vegas, United flight 0060
5:13 - Arrive JFK

Sunday, November 19th

Evening - Washington

[redacted]

[redacted]

11:45 - Meeting with Dr. [redacted], President of [redacted]

1:30 - Banquet, University of Rochester; toi: [redacted]

3:30 - Speech at U. Of Rochester; host: Mr. [redacted]. Subject: "Reaction to the Challenges to Contemporary Society"; discuss [redacted] in civil rights movement - SNCC's motion, [redacted] civil disobedience.

6:00 - Dinner with Miss Hannah Storrs, Chairman, [redacted]

9:00 - Rally and private party for hospital workers

Spend night at TOny's

Saturday, November 20th

9:50 - Leave Rochester, American flight #350
10:47 - Arrive LaGuardia

Sunday, November 21st

3:00 - Leave JFK, American flight #311
4:15 - Arrive Chicago; met by Robert Lucas, Chairman, [redacted] Tel: 427-8240
436-4383
Mr House - RA6-1982
684-1898 (Rome)

8:00 - Fund Raising Rally Tel:

Stay at Robert's Motel

Monday, November 22nd

4:30 - You will be picked up by someone from the U. of Chicago

5:00 - Cocktails, U. of Chicago; Guy S. Mahaffey and Leonard Goodman (Student Gov't) are hosts Tel: MI 3-6000 x 2276

6:30 - Dinner with students and faculty

8:30 - Lecture, Mandel Hall; "Prospects of a Revolution"

12:05 - Leave Chicago, American Flight [redacted]
1:50 - Arrive Los Angeles; Mr. [redacted], Program Chairman, Associated Students of Whittier College; spend night at [redacted]

Tuesday, November 23rd

10:00 - Talk, Whittier College, "The Negro Revolt - Dimensions"; tel: [redacted]

3:00 - Leave Los Angeles, American flight #30
10:30 - Arrive JFK

[redacted]

[redacted] - [redacted]

[redacted], December 3rd

9:50 - Leave Kennedy, Americom flight #213
11:25 - Arrive Detroit, Metropolitan Airport

8:00 - Meeting, Receptis; Telephone, Ralph Rosendale; 261-7373 (home)
269-7500 (office)

Friday, December 3rd

10:45 - Americom flight #730 from Metropolitan Airport
12:30 - Arrive Syracuse

Saturday, December 4th

5:00 - Leave Syracuse, Mohawk flight #54
5:43 - Arrive Hancock

[1965]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted

8:00 - Speech; First Methodist Church; theme of Conference is "New Dimensions in Human Relations"; you may choose your own topic.

- WEL:GE 2-3400 (Mrs. Bentley); GE 2-0677 (Mrs. Hume, Ways Chairman)

After speech, Robert Jackson, Tri-Cities CORE will drive you to Richland. Spend night at his home, WEL: 946-2265.

(5)

Saturday, December 11th

Meetings, Tri-Cities CORE; them by car or plane to Seattle

6:00 - Cocktail party ($25 per person, sponsored jointly by local CORE and CORE)

8:00 - Dinner ($10 a plate - approx. 400 people; also jointly sponsored)

Spend night at Olympic Hotel

Sunday, December 12th

11:05 - Leave Seattle, Northwest flight 828
11:50 - Arrive Spokane; met by James E. Chase, president of Spokane CORE, and he will drive you to Washington State University in Pullman. Mrs. Margaret Lehan, Executive Secretary of Spokane Human Relations Council, will also go with you to Pullman.

2:30 - Speak at Washington State University; then return to Spokane (WEL: ED 3-4044)

7:00 - Speak at Unitarian Church, Spokane (WEL: Mh 4-4332). Sponsored by Spokane Human Relations Council.

Reservation at Davenport Hotel, WEL: 389-4th 4-2121.

Monday, December 13th

12:20 - Leave Spokane, Northwest flight 928
4:40 - Arrive Minneapolis
5:05 - Northwest flight 226
9:10 - Arrive Newark

Tuesday, December 14th

10:30 - Interview, WNBC (Columbia N.) on role of religion in civil rights; M. Schab (In your office)

12:00 - Address luncheon meeting of Association of Reform Rabbis (Rabbi Bernard Mehl introduce you), House of Living Judaism (10th floor), 838 Fifth Ave. (Schab to)

[redacted]

564-4141

[redacted]

[redacted] - [redacted]

Thursday, January 4

A.M. - Leave for Washington

12:30 - Lunch, Room 101 Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.

2:00 - Seminar on Manpower Policy and Program; title of your speech: "The Negro in the Changing Labor Force"; Chairman, Edward D. Hollander; Moderator, Eric Peliser (Prof. N.Y. State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell)

4:00 - O.E.O.

5:30 - Meet Mr. Old Coyote, Hotel Hilton dining Room (16th St. & Pennsylvania) (Tel: 393-3975, Mrs. Emery)

[1966]

[redacted] - [redacted]

[redacted], January 10th

9:45 - Leave ATL, DAL Flight 627
9:50 - Arrive Columbus; you will be met by [redacted], Deputy of Appalachia College

Reservations at Howard Johnson Motel: 614-[redacted]

[redacted]
[redacted], January 11th

9:00 - Speak at Otterbein College on "The Civil Rights Revolution"
Tel: 882-3601

9:45 - Leave Columbus, Delta Flight 0622
9:50 - Arrive Detroit, Metropolitan Airport
9:55 - [redacted] Detroit, Miller Room, Fourth Concourse 0000
9:59 - Rendezvous; you will be met by Ralph Miller, Assistant to the President of Personnel and Results Assoc., Director of Special Programs, Eastern Michigan University

8:00 - Speak on "The Civil Rights Revolution"; Tel:349-8725

Reservations at Holiday Inn

[redacted], January 12th

7:30 - Leave Baltimore, North Central flight #803
8:00 - Arrive Detroit
9:15 - Leave Detroit, United flight #324
10:30 - Arrive Newark

3:30 - Meeting with Study Session, CBS, in Washington

[illegible]

[illegible] - [illegible]

▲

[illegible]

12:05 - [illegible]
12:55 - [illegible]

[illegible]

9:55 - [illegible]
10:47 - [illegible]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[1966]

ITINERARY - JAMES FARMER

Thursday, February 3rd

10:31 - Leave on Adirondack Trailways from Port Authority Terminal (40th St.)
12:05 - Arrive in New Paltz, N.Y. YOu will be met by someone from the State University College. Tel: AL 6-2531 x489

Lunch and lecture at the College. See enclosed letter for suggestions on topic of speech. If you must arrive in N.Y. before 7:30 they will drive you, otherwise you can get the 5:45 bus that arrives in N.Y. at 7:20.

Friday, February 4th

11:00 - Center Board meeting in Washington

Saturday, February 5th

10:00 - Meeting with Mr. Ben Bradley, Washington Post; 1515 L Street, N.W. RE 7-1234

Sunday, February 6th

1:10 - Leave Washington, Piedmont flight #41
3:10 - Arrive in Winston Salem where you will be met by someone from Winston Salem State College; Miss Ruth Mosby, hostess. Tel:725-3563

4:00 - Speech; "The New Birth of Freedom for the American Negro"

10:05 - Leave Greensboro, Eastern flight #597
12:44 - Arrive JFK

Monday, February 7th

11:00 - Appointment with Jerry Cohen in office

2:00 - Appointment with Roy Wilkins, 20 W. 40th St.

Tues.:
10:45 - 1812 K St., NW
- Leo Bernstein

[1960]

Wednesday, February 10

8:00 a.m. - shuttle from LaGuardia to Washington

9:30 - Mayflower Hotel, Citizens Crusade against Poverty

4:00 - State Department, Rm. 6236, Address by Governor Williams

? Sheraton Park Hotel, meeting with Mr. Goethals, Mr. Mullerson Miss Aronson for Staping.

Room reserved for you at Sheraton Park

Thursday, February 11

12:30 - lunch with Gov. Williams, Rm. 6236, State Dept.

2:00 - shuttle to New York

6:00 - in office, meeting with 25 African journalists

Friday, February 12th

4:45 ~~- Depart flight 9961 for Philadelphia~~

5:15 ~~- Arrive Phila., [illegible]~~

6:00 - press conference

7:00 - Sheraton Hotel, Parlor A, 3rd floor, 1700 Kennedy Blvd.
Founder's Day Banquet A.M.E. Church

room reserved for you at the hotel for the night

9:00 - Eastern - 5

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

ATRAN CENTER FOR JEWISH CULTURE
25 EAST 78th STREET • NEW YORK 21, N. Y. • LEHIGH 5-3700

May 3, 1961

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

Dear Jim:

I was happy to see that you are part of the program at the Fourth National Trade Union Conference on Civil Rights at Unity House.

I will need material for the press and realize that the category in which you are speaking should develop some interesting news for us. I would appreciate getting from you by the Monday prior to the Decoration Day weekend a one-page paragraph of quotable material so that I may be able to prepare it for release and have it on tape.

With many thanks and best personal regards,

Fraternally yours,

WLK:db
oeiu-153

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Director, Public Relations

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NATIONAL TRADE UNION COUNCIL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

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March 10, 1961

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Jim:

We are delighted that you have accepted our invitation to serve as a member of the panel on the Sit-Ins at the 4th JLC National Trade Union Civil Rights Conference.

The panels are scheduled to convene on Sunday, May 28 at 2:30 P.M. We hope it will be possible to arrange a meeting of the panel members prior to the session and will contact you on this at a later date.

We sincerely hope that you will be able to attend the entire Conference. Other features of the Conference include addresses by George Meany and Arthur Goldberg and general session panels on the United States and the New Nations of Asia and Africa as well as on Anti-Semitism - Sixteen Years After Hitler.

Would you let us know at your earliest convenience if you and your family will be able to spend the weekend with us so that we can make reservations for you at Unity House.

Sincerely,

Chas. S. Zimmerman

Charles S. Zimmerman, Chairman
JLC National Trade Union Council
for Human Rights

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JLC NATIONAL OFFICERS · ADOLPH HELD, Chairman · DAVID DUBINSKY, Treasurer · ISIDORE NAGLER, Secretary · NATHAN CHANIN, Chairman, Office Committee · JACOB PAT, Executive Secretary · BENJAMIN TABACHINSKY, National Campaign Director · EMANUEL MURAVCHIK, National Field Director

[redacted] February 27, 1958

[redacted]

Mr. Abolph Held and Mr. Charles S. Rosenzweig
Jewish Labor Committee
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Messrs. Held and Rosenzweig:

I am in receipt of your letter of February 24th inviting me to participate in a [redacted] and other prominent speakers [redacted] May 25, at your conference at Camp [redacted] and, May 26-28. It is a pleasure for me to accept your invitation.

I look forward to the occasion on May 25th, and hope that it will be possible for me to spend the entire weekend at the conference. It should be a very significant conference, at this stage of the nation's history.

Sincerely yours,

[redacted]

JH/jl

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JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

NATIONAL TRADE UNION COUNCIL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

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February 23, 1961

Mr. James Farmer, Nat'l. Dir.
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

The Jewish Labor Committee National Trade Union Council for Human Rights will hold its 4th National Trade Union Conference at Unity House, the ILGWU vacation resort in the Pocones, Decoration Day weekend, May 26-30.

Several hundred trade union leaders from all over the country will come together to discuss the problems and responsibilities confronting us at this crucial stage in the struggle for civil rights and equality.

Our civil rights conferences have been important landmarks in developing programs to combat intolerance and discrimination. The program, as in previous years, will include both general and panel sessions. Panel discussions have provided a valuable opportunity for an interchange of ideas and experiences and have frequently given rise to new JLC activities. A panel devoted to the meaning of the sit-ins and other protests against segregation and discrimination is planned for Sunday afternoon, May 28.

On behalf of our organization, we cordially invite you to participate in this session. We would be most honored if you would accept this invitation and we hope that you can spend this weekend with us as guests of our Committee. Your participation will add immeasurably to an understanding of this issue.

We would appreciate it if you would kindly let us know if you can attend.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Adolph Held, Chairman
Jewish Labor Committee

Charles S. Zimmerman, Chairman
JLC National Trade Union
Council for Human Rights

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May 15, 1961

327-6667
Rock Hill
To
N.Y.

Mr. Marvin Rich
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Marv:

Enclosed is the letter and the Unity House leaflet describing transportation to the Conference. We would certainly appreciate it if you would make the travel arrangements for Robert McCullough and let us know when he will be arriving. Send the bill to us and we'll take care of it.

Thanks for your help.

Sincerely.

Jake

Jacob Schlitt

P.S. Enclosed is a copy of the newsrelease based on our telegram to Attorney General Kennedy.

Encs.
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Unity House
IS EASY TO REACH

FROM NEW YORK

By Car - Over George Washington Bridge - Route 46 to Dover - Route 10 through Morris and Livingston to Route 206 and south for Stanhope. Keep straight ahead in Route 521 - Camp Taft Bridge - 7 miles on Route 209 to Bushkill Station light - Right up the hill to Unity House.

By Car - via Lincoln Tunnel - Route 3 to Route 46 then proceed as above.

By Bus - Via Gray Line South Bus DIRECT TO UNITY HOUSE, Leaving 7 East 17th Street every day at 10 a.m. and 1 p.m. - and 6 p.m. on Fridays. Make bus reservations in advance. For fares and information phone MUrray Hill 2-1050. Pick-up also made in Newark.

By Limousine - Door-To-Door pick-up service from points in Manhattan, Bronx, and Brooklyn direct to UNITY HOUSE. For fares and reservation information phone MUrray Hill 2-1050.

By Train - Take D. L. & W. Railroad at Hoboken (Reached by Hudson Tubes or Ferry) to East Stroudsburg, Pa., changing to Delaware Valley Bus to UNITY HOUSE. For train schedules and fares call COlumbus 5-7000.

FROM PHILADELPHIA

By Car - Route 611 to Delaware Water Gap. Left to Route 402 to Marshalls Creek. Right on 209 to Bushkill. In Bushkill turn left at blinker light, up the hill to UNITY HOUSE.

By Limousine - Door-To-Door Limousine service direct to UNITY HOUSE. Advance reservations necessary. Phone PU 9-4415, DE 3-7465.

* * * * * * *

Unity House operates on Daylight Saving Time.
The above transportation lines are operated by public carriers.
Unity House assumes no responsibility for schedules, fares, baggage or strikes.

For Information, Reservations and Details
UNITY HOUSE
Forest Park, Pa. - Phone Bushkill 8-6644
- New York Office -
1710 Broadway, N. Y. 19
Columbus 5-7000
- Philadelphia Office -
929 N. Broad Street
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Lazy days and restful nights in this thousand-acre woodland paradise high above sea level . . . three-mile private lake . . .

HELP FOR MAMA: Completely supervised day camp for children over 4 . . . children under 4 taken care of during parents' meal times . . . Specially prepared meals in children's dining room . . . personal laundry facilities. . .

GAMES AND SPORTS: From swimming and tennis to bocci and canoeing . . . basketball, shuffleboard, baseball, cardrooms . . . outdoors or indoors . . . just name it and you'll find it at Unity House . . .

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TIMES SQUARE IN THE POCONOS: Just built . . . the last word in modern theatres . . . star shows . . . movies . . . name acts . . . personalities . . .

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393

WALTER L. KIRSCHENBAUM, Public Relations Director

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy was urged today (Monday, May 15) to commence an immediate "intervention, vigorous investigation and prosecution" of racial bigots who brutally assault participants in the "Freedom Riders" bus excursion through the South this weekend. The Attorney General was also urged to "assign a personal representative to accompany those upholding constitutional rights."

The telegram signed by Jacob Pat, Executive Secretary of the Jewish Labor Committee, to Attorney General Kennedy is as follows:

"BRUTAL TREATMENT OF CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY'S FREEDOM RIDERS IN ALABAMA AT HANDS OF BIGOTS AIDED AND ABETTED BY LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS CALLS FOR YOUR IMMEDIATE INTERVENTION, VIGOROUS INVESTIGATION AND PROSECUTION. WE URGE ASSIGNMENT OF A PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE TO ACCOMPANY THOSE UPHOLDING CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS. LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS, INDIVIDUALS OR GROUPS RESPONSIBLE FOR THESE ACTS OF BRUTALITY AND INTIMIDATION SHOULD BE BROUGHT TO IMMEDIATE JUSTICE. THE USE OF NAZI SLOGANS BY ATTACKING HOODLUMS ALSO CALLS FOR THOROUGH INVESTIGATION BY YOUR DEPARTMENT. NOT ONLY DOES AMERICAN PRESTIGE ABROAD SUFFER FROM THESE ACTS OF BRUTALITY, BUT EVERY TENET OF DEMOCRACY IS CHALLENGED. YOUR IMMEDIATE ACTION WILL BE DEMONSTRATION TO OUR CITIZENS AT HOME AND TO OUR ALLIES ABROAD THAT AMERICA CONDEMNS AND ACTS AGAINST THESE ASSAULTS ON OUR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS."

- 30 -

5/15/61

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NATIONAL TRADE UNION COUNCIL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
ATRAN CENTER FOR JEWISH CULTURE
25 EAST 78 STREET • NEW YORK 21, N. Y. • TELEPHONE LEHIGH 5-3700

May, 1961

Dear Friend:

We are delighted that you will be attending the JLC's Fourth National Trade Union Conference on Civil Rights at Unity House Decoration Day Weekend, May 26 - 30.

Unity House is 85 miles from New York and 105 miles from Philadelphia. It is located near Bushkill, Pennsylvania, off Route 209 (northeast of Stroudsburg, Penna.).

The enclosed brochure gives travel directions to Unity House from New York and Philadelphia.

By bus from New York: Campus Coach

Leaves from	7 East 15th Street, NYC
Friday, May 26	10 AM, 1 PM, 4:30 PM, 6 PM
Saturday (and Sunday)	10 AM, 1 PM
Round Trip fare	$7.60

Campus Coach provides direct express service to the door of Unity House (running time 2½ hours).

Reservations must be secured in advance, by mail or in person, specifying date and time of departure and enclosing a check for $7.60. If you enclose a self-addressed envelope, tickets will be mailed to you the same day.

Return reservations may be made with the Unity House bell captain. (Buses return daily to New York from Unity House.)

Door to door limousine service is available:

In New York, call MU 2-1050

In Philadelphia, call FU 9-4415 or DE 3-7445

Looking forward to greeting you at the Conference.

Sincerely,

Chas S. Zimmerman

Charles S. Zimmerman, Chairman

Enc.
OEIU-153

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE NATIONAL OFFICERS • ADOLPH HELD, Chairman • DAVID DUBINSKY, Treasurer
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BENJAMIN TABACHINSKY, National Director • EMANUEL MURAVCHIK, National Field Director

Jewish Problem

November 20, 1963

Miss Elaine Abramson
40 Stiles Avenue
Morris Plains, New Jersey

Dear Miss Abramson:

CORE has substantial numbers of Jews active in our local chapters and active in giving us financial support. However, I do not believe we have any information appropriate to the theme of your convention "The Role of the American Jewish Teenager in the Civil Rights Dispute". I believe that our only comment would be that we believe that all Americans have an equal obligation to participate in the civil rights movement. For your information I am enclosing a copy of "All About CORE" and a recent CORElator.

I would suggest that you contact the American Jewish Congress, The American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League for more specific information about the role of Jews in civil rights.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:lp

encl:

Core

OCT 29 1963

Elaine Abramson
40 Stiles Ave.
Morris Plains, N. J.
October 27, 1963

CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I am writing to you in behalf of the Morristown chapter of the UNITED SYNAGOGUE YOUTH. We are holding a convention on Novmeber 29, November 30, and December 1. We have chosen for the theme of this convention "The Role of the American Jewish Teenager in the Civil Rights Dispute."

We would appreciate it if you would send us any information referring to the above topic, or any other possible sources of information we could use for discussion material.

Sincerely,

Elaine Abramson

Elaine Abramson

Jewish problem

November 27, 1963

Mr. Norman Thomas
CONFERENCE ON THE STATUS OF SOVIET JEWS
16 East 85th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Norman:

Please excuse the delay in answering your correspondence about the Conference on the Status of Soviet Jews. I'm sure you are aware that I have been out of the office a great deal of the time. I was also sorry not to be able to attend the Conference in October.

If it is not too late, I would most gladly join in signing the resolution adopted by the Conference.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:lp

OK

OCT 23 1963

CONFERENCE
ON
THE STATUS OF SOVIET JEWS

16 EAST 85TH STREET
NEW YORK 28, N. Y.
BUTTERFIELD 8-7646

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MR. NORMAN THOMAS
MR. ROBERT PENN WARREN

MOSHE DECTER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

October 18, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Although you were unable to attend this Conference on October 12, I hope I can assume that you would be interested in learning at least minimally of its results. Speaking for the other Sponsors and myself, as well as for the participants, let me just say that we all found it an unusually informative and productive meeting which contributed to bringing this problem to the attention of American and world public opinion.

For your information, I enclose a list of the participants. I also enclose a copy of the Resolution adopted by the Conference. Since this Resolution is going to be brought to much larger public attention in various ways, it would be of great value and help if you also would adhere to it. May I ask you, then, to drop me a note indicating your adherence.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Norman Thomas

Norman Thomas

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MR. NORMAN THOMAS
MR. ROBERT PENN WARREN

MOSHE DECTER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS ATTENDING THE
CONFERENCE ON THE STATUS OF SOVIET JEWS
October 12, 1963

Dr. Markus Barth -- Professor of Theology, Pittsburgh Theological Seminary
Mr. Paul Barton -- Chief, Economic and Social Affairs, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
Miss Particia Blake -- Writer, Life Magazine
Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski -- Director, Research Institute on Communist Affairs, Columbia University
Dr. William C. Davidon -- Associate Professor of Physics, Haverford College
Dr. F. W. Dupee -- Professor of English Literature, Columbia University
Dr. Samuel Eilenberg -- Professor of Mathematics, Columbia University
Mr. Ralph Ellison -- Novelist
Dr. Alexander Erlich -- Associate Professor of Economics, Columbia University
Dr. Victor Erlich -- Bensington Professor of Russian Literature, Yale University
Dr. Merle Fainsod -- Director, Russian Research Center, Harvard University
Professor of Government, Harvard University
Dr. Louis Fischer -- School of Politics, Princeton University
Rev. George B. Ford -- Pastor Emeritus, Corpus Christi Church
Mr. Seymour Freidin -- Executive Editor, Foreign News, New York Herald Tribune
Dr. Maurice Friedberg -- Professor of Russian Literature, Hunter College
Mr. Oscar Gass -- Economic Consultant
Mr. Mark Gayn -- Political Analyst, Toronto Star
Mr. Robert Gilmore -- Executive Director, Turn Toward Peace
Mr. Erich Goldhagen -- Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Hunter College
Mr. B. Z. Goldberg -- Journalist
Dr. Marshall I. Goldman -- Associate Professor of Economics, Wellesley College
Mr. Leo Gruliow -- Editor, Current Digest of the Soviet Press
Rev. Blahoslav S. Hruby -- Associate Editor, Religion in Communist Dominated Areas
Dr. Homer A. Jack -- Executive Director, National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy
Dr. Norman Jacobs -- Director of Publications, Foreign Policy Association
Dr. Peter Juviler -- Assistant Professor of Political Science, Hunter College
Dr. Arcadius Kahan -- Associate Professor of Economics, University of Chicago
Dr. Abraham Kaplan -- Professor of Philosophy, University of Michigan
Dr. George Katkov -- Research Fellow, St.Antony's College, Oxford University; University Lecturer in Soviet Institutions, Oxford University
Mr. Alfred Kazin -- Literary Critic
Mr. Stanley Kunitz -- Poet
Mr. Joseph P. Lash -- U. N. Editor, The New York Post
Dr. Abba P. Lerner -- Professor of Economics, Michigan State University
Dr. Daniel Lerner -- Professor of Sociology, M.I.T.

Mr. Edward Lewis -- Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
Dr. C. Eric Lincoln -- Professor of Social Relations, Clark College
Mr. Robert Lowell -- Poet
Dr. Leon Lipson -- Professor of Law, Yale Law School
Rev. John A. Lucal S.J. -- Associate Editor, America Magazine
Dr. Rufus W. Mathewson, Jr. -- Associate Professor of Russian Language and Literature, Columbia University
Dr. Seymour Melman -- Professor of Industrial Engineering, Columbia University
Mr. Franklin P. Mewshaw -- Executive Assistant in Corporate Information Department, C.B.S.
Dr. Ernest Nagel -- John Dewey Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University
Dr. Jan Papanek -- Vice-Chairman, International League for the Rights of Man
Mr. Alan Reitman -- Associate Director, American Civil Liberties Union
Dr. Alvin Z. Rubinstein -- Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania
Mr. J. B. Salsberg -- Writer
Mr. James H. Scheuer -- Former President, Citizens Housing and Planning Council of New York City

Dr. Samuel L. Sharp -- Professor of International Relations, The American University
Dr. Gene Sosin -- Director of New York Bureau, Radio Liberty
Mr. I.F. Stone -- Editor, I.F. Stone's Weekly
Miss Marie Syrkin -- Associate Professor of Hunanities, Brandeis University
Mr. David C. Williams -- National Director, Americans for Democratic Action (ADA)
Dr. Avrahm Yarmolinsky -- Former Chief of Slavic Division, New York Public Library

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MOSHE DECTER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

AN APPEAL OF CONSCIENCE

FOR THE JEWS OF THE SOVIET UNION

/Statement adopted by the Conference on the Status of Soviet Jews, Carnegie International Center, 345 East 46th St., New York City, October 12, 1963./

Having heard careful and objective evidence about many aspects of the life of Jews in the Soviet Union, we are moved to express unanimously our grave concern and to make the following appeals:

We appeal to all those in the U.S.S.R. who genuinely desire the eradication of the evils of Stalinism and who, with us, thirst for truth, justice and decency.

We appeal to the Soviet authorities to act in this matter on the basis of their own ideological, constitutional and legal commitments.

We fervently hope that the following specific steps may be taken:

1. Jewish education in all its forms should be permitted.

2. Jewish cultural instututions should be reopened and Jewish artistic life -- literature, theatre, music, in Yiddish and Hebrew -- should be allowed to develop fully.

3. Central institutions to serve the religious needs of Soviet Jewry should be established; obstacles to the performance of sacred rites should be removed.

4. Formal religious and cultural bonds with Jewish communities abroad should be allowed, official exchange visits permitted, and the right to make religious pilgrimages to the Holy Land granted.

5. Permission for Jews to leave the U.S.S.R., so that they may be reunited with families in other lands from whom they have been separated, should be implemented.

6. The anti-Jewish character that so strongly colors the official campaign against economic crimes should be eliminated.

7. A vigorous educational campaign against anti-Semitism should be undertaken.

We issue this appeal in all solemnity as a matter of urgency and elementary decency. We cannot keep silent so long as justice is not done on this problem.

RCvt-10/12/63

Jew problem

THE MOST WIDELY QUOTED PERSONAL JOURNAL IN THE WORLD—
THAT GAVE BIRTH TO "ONLY IN AMERICA," "FOR 2C PLAIN,"
"ENJOY ENJOY", "CARL SANDBURG" AND "YOU'RE ENTITLE."

MAY 1 1964

THE CAROLINA ISRAELITE
HARRY GOLDEN, EDITOR

April 30, 1964

Mr. Emil Greenberg
50 Court Street
Brooklyn 1, N. Y.

Dear Emil Greenberg:

I was heart-sick when I read the story of the Lubavitcher Yeshiva on Bedford Avenue - the Negro teenagers who brutally assaulted those ten-year-old children as they came out of the Hebrew school.

Your letter was one of many in similar vein, "What do you think of your Civil Rights fight now?", etc.

And yet this terrible incident calls for a maximum of maturity - intellectual maturity. What is involved is an untruth we ourselves have fought against for centuries -- the identity of an entire race of people with the delinquency of one or several of its numbers.

When I spoke at UCLA last month there were two Nazi Party pickets outside with placards "Jack Ruby and Harry Golden - Jews." I laughed at it of course, but that's the whole point of the story, is it not? There was a story in our papers some

More

PLEASE REPLY TO BOX 2505, CHARLOTTE 1, NORTH CAROLINA / TELEPHONE 375-6624

some time ago of a father who was convicted for raping his daughter. It never entered my mind for a single moment that Southern white Baptists rape their daughters. All I thought of was a poor mentally-ill human-being who needs institutionalization and treatment. When I read of the terrible incident outside of the Lubavitcher school in Brooklyn, I did not think of the Negro people, but of a group of juvenile delinquents who need treatment and perhaps punishment too. I understood, too, that the ignorance of the young Negroes on top of their frustration, could possibly result in a lashing out against what their instinct tells them is the weakest point of the white structure arrayed against them, the Jews.

We all need understanding now.

Thanks for writing me.

Sincerely,

Harry Golden

APR 28 1964

April 27, 1964

Mr. Franklin D. Moran
1200 South Shannon Avenue
Indialantic, Florida

Dear Mr. Moran:

You say the Negro "extremists" and J. Edgar Hoover's statement have made you lose interest in the Civil Rights fight? You give up easily, don't you?

Who else is put to the scrutiny and the test you put on the Negroes? They have opportunists and crooks and fools in the same proportion we have.

The fact that this great mass movement has produced so few fellows who pull the emergency cord in the subway, is a great tribute to the Negroes.

The other day a fellow was convicted in a Southern town for having raped his daughter. It never entered my mind for a single moment that white Protestant Anglo-Saxons rape their daughters. All I thought about was of a poor mentally-ill individual.

Yet you are willing to identify some of the best people this civilization has yet produced with a fool who pulls the cord in the subway?

About the "Communism" charge, the FBI may have information not available to the rest of us. It would have been better, however, if Mr. Hoover had publicly revealed the extent, the incidence, and the names involved. I know that Martin Luther King and Roy Wilkins and Jim Farmer are as vigilant against Communists as Mr. J. Edgar Hoover and they have been as effective as the FBI itself.

More

I am sorry that you lost interest in "their" cause.
I hope I never lose my own interest and my own affection
for the white Protestant Anglo-Saxons even though a few of them
do try my patience occasionally.

Sincerely,

Harry Golden

cc: Roy Wilkins
Jim Farmer
Martin Luther King

Jewish Problem

CY8-3921

7/30

make new appt.

22 June 1964

David George Kin, Esq.
Counselor at Law
788 East 182nd Street
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Kin:

Your letter of January 27 arrived while I was out of the office. Unfortunately, it got set aside with some other correspondence and has only come recently to my attention. However, it seems that I am reading it at a most opportune moment. I know that you are aware of the recent press reports of increasing tension between the Negro and the Jewish communities. Rabbi Schrage was in my office only a few weeks ago to discuss means of alleviating this situation.

Unfortunately, much of the newspaper reporting has been inaccurate and exaggerated. The stories of the blood brothers are almost entirely fabricated from small shreds of truth. Likewise, Rabbi Schrage's Maccabees have been much aligned and misrepresented. Nevertheless, there is a real problem and an increasing danger of alienation between Negroes and Jews. I am concerned with this problem as are others in CORE.

If after this long delay you would still be interested in an appointment, I would be more than happy to see you. If you would call my secretary I am certain that we can arrange an appointment after July 15.

I was also most interested in the novel to which you referred about the Negro president. If it has been published I should certainly want to obtain a copy. I will look forward to hearing from you and want to thank you for your patience as well as for your support and interest in our common cause.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

Sardar

CYPRESS 8-3921

DAVID GEORGE KIN
COUNSELLOR AT LAW
788 EAST 182ND STREET
NEW YORK CITY

Jan 27, 64

Dear Mr. Farmer:

For many years I have been interested in cementing closer social and cultural relationships between Negroes and Jews. As the cultural director of the United Synagogue of America, in charge of Youth programs, I laid stress on the arguments of Rabbis during the Civil War period that no Jew was free as long as a single black man was enslaved. I dramatized the story of Harriet Tubman ("the black Moses") and traced the Old Testament background of Negro Revolt in America through the medium of cartoon talks, radio round-table discussions etc. Recently a number of United Synagogue Rabbis went to Birmingham to demonstrate their solidarity with their black brothers in the South. I have just finished a novel which deals with the election of a Negro president of the United States in the year 1984. The black president's name is Frederick Douglass Farmer (it was originally Farmer) and he is married to a Jewish woman, who thus becomes the first First Lady of Jewish origin. My purpose, of course, was to depict a utopian America in which all racial, religious economic and social barriers have been removed and total democracy has become a recognized way of American life.

But I am not only a creative artist but a man of action. I am a veteran of many political battles on the Civil Rights front. My organization, "The American Jewish Alliance" crowned its 40th-year activity by driving Father Coughlin off the air-waves. My book opposing Senator Wheeler of Montana drove this all-powerful pro-fascist legislator out of politics (by his own admission in his autobiography just published).

I am eager to get back into the wars and strike a blow for Negro liberation. A man must

(2)

CYpress 8-3921

DAVID GEORGE KIN
COUNSELLOR AT LAW
788 EAST 182ND STREET
NEW YORK CITY

either 'not or burn', and to Conrad, and I am all aflame with the messianic desire to forge the unity of Negro and Jew in America in their common struggle against racists and anti-Semites. It is only the Jew's economic potency (as Booker T. Washington said, which places him on a higher social level in America). But his status is just as perilous as that of the Negro - perhaps more so - as long as the democratic process fails to function because of racial, religious and economic inequality. The liquidation of European Jewry is proof of that.

I am certain that it can happen here; and it is bound to take place if our business cycle of 'boom and bust' functions as usual. I am therefore eager to organize a common front of Negroes and Jews against the forces of neo-fascism and racism which will become more powerful and vociferous as labor, both black and white, demand their place in the sun. (In my novel it is the merger of the Negro Revolution in the People's Revolution which finally results in the election of a Negro President).

I am eager to discuss with you the organization of the Union of Negroes and Jews for Civil Rights as a subsidiary of CORE. All funds collected from Jewish businessmen etc will go to CORE, including a possible allotment from the Eleanor Roosevelt Foundation or some other philanthropic agency. One of my main concerns is the rise of Negro Anti-Semitism in Harlem which can be combatted through Good Will meetings in churches etc.

I hope you will grant me an interview in the near future so that we can discuss this matter further.

Sincerely,
David George Kin

Frank Horne
Hotel St. George
Bklyn 11201

File Jewish Prob

7 1964

October 5, 1964

Mr. James Farmer, Director
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

Dear James Farmer:

It continues to be a pleasure to witness the effects of your vigorous and sound leadership.

Looking to the future, I am sending on to you a copy of a recent piece by Shad Polier that you might not have had an opportunity to peruse.

If you have to skim through the first few pages, I would urge that you consider the proposal he makes on the last couple of pages. Such a combination of groups as he suggests might well be able to work out some kind of compromise with leadership of the Mother Church regarding governmental aid to education in city, state and nation.

Further, it would appear time for the leadership in the fight against the segregated "neighborhood school" to join forces at some point with those who are concentrating their fight upon breaking open the restricted housing market. On the one hand we will have to fight in the next Congress for the adoption of a real comprehensive housing bill which would include adequate programs of public low-rent housing and urban renewal. It would mean also a struggle to get the President's order on non-discrimination in housing extended to cover the lending institutions including the Savings and Loan Associations, Home Loan Bank, and FNMA.

As one channel for such a fight you at least have one tool at hand in the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing.

By the way, CORE made the first approach to my agency - The City Housing and Redevelopment Board - by a group representing the Brooklyn chapter. The New York Urban League keeps fairly regular contact with this Agency, which handles the entire slum clearance and urban redevelopment program for the city as well as a large program of middle-income housing, rental and cooperative. We would like to look forward to other chapters of CORE as well as other Civil Rights groups getting into the middle of this picture with both feet.

Finally, I recall your challenging statement made to a CORE group on the boardwalk outside the Democratic Convention. I remember your saying that CORE would have to continue every effort to keep Lyndon Johnson from moving to the Right. I, therefore, was a little puzzled to note CORE units picketing and even heckling Goldwater and other GOP campaign meetings. My own personal thought was that they could not help Barry anymore if he had hired them himself. As an old observer of many political wars, I would have thought that they would have been picketing Johnson if they were trying to "keep him from moving to the Right" although I do not really believe that such action would affect the campaign much either way. But your "minions" would at least be bi-partisan if they picketed both - or neither.

Naturally, these are all personal opinions of an old war-horse who can still smell the powder but not run in the fight. It's presumption to think that you even have time to read all this but do believe that I offer it out of long experience and thinking as deeply as I can.

Best of luck to your continuing labors.

Sincerely yours,

Frank Horne

enclosure

The Jew and the Racial Crisis

An Analysis of
Negro-Jewish Relations Today

By Shad Polier,
Chairman, Governing Council
American Jewish Congress

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
15 East 84th St., New York

WE ARE IN FOR A PERIOD OF INCREASING ANTI-Semitism among Negroes. This development was almost inevitable. It is important to understand its significance for the Jewish community. It is most important, however, to understand how the Jewish community should and should not deal with this phenomenon.

The points of friction which provoke and exacerbate Negro anti-Semitism are obvious enough. The relationship of landlord and tenant, of shopkeeper and customer in the slum areas, of employer and employee in households and in many marginal industries—all these provide tinder easily ignited in the superheated atmosphere of the Negro revolution. The resentment and hostility by Negroes against white persons in these dominant positions should come as no surprise to anyone.

Regardless of the merits of the particular landlord, the particular merchant or the particular employer, he represents to the Negro the white exploiter, the white who lives and battens upon the Negro's helplessness. In striking back or—more accurately—striking out against the Jew, the Negro is assaulting a white world which he believes has shortchanged him and which he believes is determined to take advantage of him.

A degree of bitterness naturally inheres in this racial conflict. One of its natural byproducts is the Black Nationalist movement. It would be almost inconceivable that this particular form of extremism should not develop under the terrible pressures of a people seeking freedom and equality.

It may perhaps help us as Jews to understand this movement. Offhand, we may regard it as utterly alien to Jews. Yet let us remember a phenomenon in recent Jewish history. To the British people, the Stern gang in what was then Palestine was no less extremist than the Black Muslims are in the eyes of the American people. Nor does it change matters to say that the Stern gang was fighting for political freedom, or that it was fighting to open the doors so that Jews who had survived the hell of Nazism could enter into the promised land. The Negroes are also fighting for entry into a promised land and to escape the degradation and deprivations of second-class citizenship.

The Jews of Israel overwhelmingly repudiated the Stern gang and placed their trust in the Haganah. So, too, the overwhelming majority of the Negroes of America repudiate Elijah Mohammed and Malcolm X, his former disciple and now the would-be new prophet of Negro nationalism. Instead, the American Negro turns for leadership and places his trust in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, in the NAACP, in CORE, in the Urban League, in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. None of these organizations is tainted with anti-Semitism at the national level. On the contrary, as national organizations they are profoundly concerned over the development of anti-Semitism. They realize the corrosive and negative consequences of anti-Semitism among Negroes. Their national leaders—the responsible heads of the Negro struggle for civil rights—are fully aware of the Jewish contribution to that struggle, and the tragic consequences that would result if Negro and Jew were to be pitted against one another.

NEGRO ANTI-SEMITISM, like anti-Semitism elsewhere is essentially the result of a search for a scapegoat, for some one upon whom the Negro's sense of frustration can be vented. Certainly it should come as no surprise that anti-Semitism is seized upon by Negro demagogues who employ it in their unprincipled fight to achieve and hold positions of leadership in local communities. In my view, however, Negro anti-Semitism is neither pervasive nor likely to be enduring. Like Black Nationalism, it touches only a tiny fraction of Negroes. Like Black Nationalism it is, I believe, a passing phase.

I do not dismiss Negro anti-Semitism. But I am equally concerned lest Jews react to it by alienating themselves from the struggle for racial justice.

Jews can point to the fact that their national organizations have joined together with all of the other liberal forces in this country to secure the enactment of anti-discrimination legislation. We can point to the fact that in the fight for the enactment of an adequate Federal civil rights bill Jewish organizations have been among the important voices supporting such legislation. We can point to the fact that no rabbis have in-

voked the word of God to excuse segregation. We can point to the fact that those Jews who have abused their positions as landlords, as merchants or as employers have acted no differently from any other white persons.

It is important that Jews point to these things. But it is equally important for Jews to realize that it will take time for these things to be seen by Negroes and to be listened to by Negroes. What troubles me is the danger that the individual Jew will become bitter, that he will become hostile, that he will divorce himself from the great struggle which is not a Negro struggle but an American struggle—the struggle for human equality and human dignity. Such bitterness, hostility and alienation can only be self-defeating. It can serve only to fuel the fires of anti-Semitism. Out of that crucible will pour anti-Negroism, a product no less terrible than anti-Semitism. The victim will not be the Negro, he will be the Jew—corrupted and scarred because he will have forsaken the most precious precepts of his religion.

There is one aspect of the racial crisis which, it seems to me, may become the touchstone of the Jewish response to the Negro struggle for full equality and dignity.

There is no Jewish hostility to the upward movement of the Negro toward full participation in the economic benefits of American society. In part this is accounted for by our position in the economic structure, as a result of which the Negro is not a competitor for jobs. There is, however, an even more fundamental reason for the absence of hostility. We Jews believe that there is room in America to provide a full economic life for everyone. Indeed, we welcome the Negro's emergence into fuller participation in our economic life, just as we urge that our country's doors be open to persons of other lands who seek to enter to enjoy a better life, although relatively few Jews will seek entry.

What I have said of employment is, I believe, essentially true of housing. I should doubt that Jews are concerned by the movement of Negroes into their neighborhood because they are Negroes. They are

concerned lest the onward movement of Negroes bring persons of a lower economic and social status and threaten the spread of slums. I venture to say, however, that the reaction would be no different if those who were moving into the neighborhood were white persons of the same economic, social and educational level as Negroes.

But there is one area of integration in which there is deep concern and great apprehension on the part of many Jews—the current turmoil over efforts to end racial imbalance in the public schools. Here again, I am confident, the problem is not one of color.

No matter how much we Jews have been affected and influenced by the attitudes of our countrymen, we remain relatively immunized to racial prejudice. This is true because, unlike some others, we cherish our history of oppression and teach it to our children. We make it a part of our most sacred holidays. We humbly remind ourselves and teach our children that we were once "slaves unto Pharoah." We believe in the good things for all men regardless of their race, their color or their creed.

But there is a great distance between the Seder table and the public school. Because we are human, we are unwilling—or at least reluctant—to extend benefits to the children of others if we think it will be at the expense of our own. We have, I believe, fallen into the trap—together with the rest of the white community—of believing that public school integration in the North must necessarily be harmful to our own children. This approach on the part of the white community, of which we Jews are a part, seems to me to reflect a misconception of American society—a lack of understanding of the potentialities of American life, a lack of confidence in the possibilities of our country.

This attitude, which we too often share with the rest of the white community, rests upon a basic fallacy. It is comparable to the gross error of the Marxists who regarded class war as inevitable because they thought there was just so much wealth and income to go around. They reasoned, therefore, that progress could be achieved only by class war in which the proletariat, the disposed, would take over the instruments of production. The Western world has shown that in

an advanced economic society there is an alternative which provides both the blessings of plenty and the blessings of freedom and human dignity.

Today, particularly in education, the white community has fallen into the same conceptual error as far as public school integration is concerned. The white community has been increasingly aware of the inadequacies of the present educational system. It has drawn the conclusion—a false conclusion—that our public schools, already inadequate, will be gravely and inevitably damaged by introducing into white schools Negro children who have been socially, economically, educationally and emotionally disadvantaged.

What the white community—and this includes the Jewish community—fails to see is that it is not a question of just so much education to go around, but rather that our society is rich enough and skilled enough to provide quality education for all children without penalizing any of them. But to do so, we must greatly strengthen our school system, build new school buildings in areas where *de facto* segregation will be minimized, provide more and better teachers, auxiliary services for remedial reading, enriched programs for integrated schools and similar services. The fact is that with enough will and enough funds, miracles can be wrought in giving equal and quality education to every child.

THE APPROACH to this problem requires first and foremost a change of attitude. We Jews should be the first to realize this. For we know—or should know—that the problem America faces today in the North in school integration is basically no different from the problem the people of Israel face as they seek to absorb and to prepare for equal citizenship the children of families from non-European lands. Those children and their parents have come to Israel with all of the economic, social, and educational handicaps with which the Negro has come into our Northern cities. Indeed, in terms of dimensions, our American problem is relatively small. More than half of all the children in Israel below high school are from disadvantaged homes and family backgrounds.

There is, of course, a difference in the situation in Israel. It is illustrated by a recent conversation between Moshe Kol, head of Israel's Youth Aliya movement, and an American visitor, non-Jewish, to whom he had explained what Israel is doing for children from Arab lands. The visitor listened and exclaimed, "Why, you have just the same problem we have." To which Kol replied, "But there is a difference; we welcome these children and their families. They are our brothers."

Israel, with all of its tremendous economic problems, has chosen to tax itself heavily to provide the funds, the plant, the services and staff to solve its integration problem, which has many times the dimensions of our problem here. Israel has done so without lowering educational standards and without taking anything from pupils who do not need the extra help that is given to Israel's own disadvantaged children. Israel is doing so not only out of a sense of brotherhood but because it realizes the consequences of grudging, half-hearted measures.

Cannot we Americans, Jews and Gentiles, white and Negro, learn from Israel's example? Is it not clear that massive financial resources are required to enable us speedily and effectively to provide integrated education now? Has it not become apparent that we can no longer regard Federal aid to education as an issue to be resolved some day rather than today?

Would it not be well for Negroes and whites to join together not only for public school integration but also for good integrated schools? Would it not be constructive if the Negro community issued a statement addressed to the Catholic cardinals, archbishops and bishops who have doomed Federal aid to education by laying down the condition that parochial schools must also benefit? Has the moment not come to stop fighting over what is not enough and rather join hands to provide a full educational fare for all children?

We can make an important contribution as a Jewish community if we take the leadership in seeking to form a coalition of whites and Negroes to secure the means needed to solve this vital and critical problem of *de facto* school segregation. For the time has ar-

File - Jewish problem

CONFERENCE
ON
THE STATUS OF SOVIET JEWS

16 EAST 85TH STREET
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MOSHE DECTER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

September 13, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

SEP 14 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

You will, I am sure, recall having signed last year a simple seven-point Appeal of Conscience for Soviet Jews. This was in response to a letter from Martin Luther King and Norman Thomas, acting for this Conference. We then hoped that the ultimate list of signatories would appear as an advertisement in a national newspaper, and this was indicated in the letter of solicitation. Until now, no funds have been available for this purpose. But now they are, in the following circumstances.

The American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry (not to be confused with this Conference, of course), which represents the overwhelming bulk of the American Jewish community, is sponsoring a "National Eternal Light Vigil" in Washington, D.C. on September 19. Among the speakers will be such signatories of the Appeal of Conscience as Mr. James Roosevelt, newly appointed Ambassador to the UN Economic and Social Council, Mr. Bayard Rustin, the civil rights leader, Mr. Michael Harrington, the socialist leader and writer.

The American Jewish Conference plans to insert the Appeal in the Washington Post on September 16. The advertisement will carry a brief notice of the Vigil and its program. But there will be an absolute and unmistakable indication that the signatories are on record as supporting only the Appeal and not the Vigil.

I am certain you will be gratified to learn that the Appeal will at long last see the light of day, and in a noteworthy place. As soon as offprints of the advertisement are ready, I shall be glad to send you a copy.

Sincerely yours,

Moshe Decter

Moshe Decter

file - Jewish problem

yes

APPEAL OF CONSCIENCE FOUNDATION

32 Court Street, Brooklyn, New York 11201

Rabbi Arthur Schneier
President

Dr. Harold A. Bosley
Vice President

Rev. Thurston N. Davis S. J.
Vice President

Hon. Francis E. Dorn
Secretary-Treasurer

SEP 8 1 1965

September 17, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
C.O.R.E.
2090 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

The plight of Soviet Jewry has been of deep concern to men of conscience. In January of this year 100 distinguished Americans of all faiths joined in an Appeal of Conscience, urging the restoration of cultural and religious rights to the three million Jews of the Soviet Union. It appeared as a full page ad in the New York Times, and subsequently was inserted into the Congressional Record, copy of which I am enclosing.

In the past few months, the Soviet Government has shown sensitivity to world wide public indignation and has made some token promises for corrective measures, yet to be fulfilled.

We appeal to you to join with us as a signatory in this humanitarian plea, which we plan to publish in the New York Times and other media, on or about October 4th. We would appreciate your approval of the ad facsimile on the enclosed response card.

With best wishes, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

Rabbi Arthur Schneier
President

Encls.

You are not forsaken, Soviet Jewry

Our prayers are with you for a New Year of peace. Our hopes are that the Soviet Government will by official policy improve your position as equal citizens of your country.

We welcome the promises made by the Soviet Government to permit the printing of 10,000 prayer books, the granting of resident permits for 20 students at the Moscow Yeshiva and the promise to make matzoth available.

In addition to the fulfillment of these promises, we hope that in the coming year 5726 these essential religious and cultural rights will also be restored to Soviet Jewry:

—Jewish education should be allowed.

—All restrictions placed on synagogues throughout the Soviet Union should be lifted.

—Central institutions to serve the religious needs of Soviet Jewry should be established.

—Obstacles to the acquisition of consecrated burial grounds and to the performance of sacred rites, such as religious burial and circumcision, should be removed.

—The publication of sufficient quantities of prayer books, Hebrew Bibles and the production of religious articles, such as prayer shawls, phylacteries and mezuzoth, should be permitted.

—Permission to Jews to leave the U.S.S.R. so that they may be reunited with their families abroad should be granted.

—Jewish cultural institutions enabling Jewish artists in the theatre, music and literature to develop Jewish culture in the Yiddish and Hebrew language should be re-established.

—Religious and cultural ties with Jewish communities outside the U.S.S.R., official exchange visits and religious pilgrimages to the Holy Land should be permitted.

YOU ARE NEITHER FORSAKEN NOR ABANDONED. REMAIN STRONG. KEEP YOUR FAITH IN YOUR HERITAGE.

For further information write to:
The Appeal of Conscience Foundation. 32 Court Street, Brooklyn, New York 11201. Rabbi Arthur Schneier, President; Dr. Harold A. Bosley, Rev. Thurston N. Davis, S.J., Vice Presidents; Hon. Francis E. Dorn, Secretary-Treasurer.

Jewish Affairs

September 21, 1965

Mr. Jacob Birnbaum
Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry
44 Whitehall Street Suite 705
New York, New York 10004

Dear Mr. Birnbaum:

I will be glad to have you add my name to those who are to be listed in the New York Times ad. Regarding the plight of Soviet Jewry.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF/blc

"I AM MY BROTHER'S KEEPER"

Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry

44 WHITEHALL STREET • SUITE 705 • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10004

Telephone
(212) HA 5-5225-6

SEP 20 1965

Jacob Birnbaum
National Co-ordinator

Glenn Richter
New York Co-ordinator

Newton Greenberg, Esq.
General Counsel

Morton Dolinsky
Publicity

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Rabbi Steven Riskin
David Scheinfeld, Esq.
Professor Israel Wohlgelehnter
Professor Michael Wyschogrod

September 15, 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

After a long period of silence and inaction, public awareness concerning the plight of Soviet Jewry is now beginning to spread. A mounting wave of protest since last year has begun to achieve some small but significant results, significant particularly in that they reveal an acute Soviet sensitivity to world public opinion on what is considered a moral issue by people of conscience.

We should like to state immediately our belief that the fate of Soviet Jewry hangs to a considerable degree on the development of reasonable and relaxed Soviet-American relations. We are therefore careful to disassociate our statements and actions from suspicion of connection with the cold war. Our program is thus presented in a moderate tone, though we will not compromise in disseminating the facts in a complete and unsparing manner.

We should like to call your attention to the fact that the Soviets are commencing a propaganda effort designed to inflate their recent "window dressing" concessions--or better, promises of concessions--and that they are meeting with some success. We believe that at this time, we are compelled to mobilize a much larger force of public opinion than hitherto. In this manner we shall be able not only to counteract this propaganda effort but, above all, prepare the ground for important breakthroughs.

We expect that a major advertisement in the New York Times will be helpful in this respect. We are enclosing the draft of such an ad for your consideration. You will notice that it is divided into two parts, the first of which is largely composed of a reproduction of the heart of Lord Russell's recent message to a Conference of Intellectuals in Stockholm. We are certain that you consider Lord Russell's statements

(over, please)

quite appropriate and we should be most grateful if you would consent to associate yourself with them by appending your signature.

I would mention here that our movement--supported by faculty and clergymen--is now well-known to the State Department, to the American Conference on Soviet Jewry, to various Congressional leaders and to the experts as a responsible and dedicated group. We are, of course, in regular and frequent contact with experts. As regards the financial and technical aspects of the ad, we are receiving some assistance from a few business men, formed into a group known as the American League for Russian Jews.

For a number of reasons, it would be important to have this advertisement inserted at the end of September. We should therefore be most grateful if you would kindly inform us of your decision by September 27th.

Sincerely yours,

Jacob Birnbaum

Jacob Birnbaum
National Coordinator

JB:gr

A CALL TO THE SOVIET RULERS ON BEHALF OF SOVIET JEWRY

The famous philosopher, Bertrand Russell, so highly regarded in your country has in recent years persistently called on you to "restore the dignity of the Jewish people" within your borders. In his latest call--his message to the Stockholm Conference on Soviet Jewry this April, Lord Russell insists that "the plight of Soviet Jewry is a moral problem demanding the sympathy and constructive assistance of all impartial people" who are sensitive to the problems of suffering minorities everywhere. The situation of Soviet Jewry should therefore be taken out of the context of the cold war, he suggests. He appeals to you, the Soviet rulers, to understand that the situation gives an unnecessary weapon to your enemies and gravely handicaps attempts to foster co-existence. Lord Russell believes action in four areas is essential--

1. Reunification of Families

> "The reunification of families is a matter of the greatest urgency. Many Soviet Jews are elderly and wish to join their relatives, from whom they have been separated for a long period. The USSR is now the only country where serious steps have not been taken to end this situation. Other Communist countries, such as Poland and Bulgaria, have allowed reunification on a generous scale and continued to permit Jews to rejoin their families in Israel and other countries. The Soviet Union has given official recognition to the principle of family reunification, but this has not been extended on a wide scale. . . .
>
> It is distressing to see Soviet Jewish citizens who apply to join relations resident abroad subjected to bureaucratic harassment as if the motives for their applications were politically suspect."

2. Restoration of Jewish Culture

> "A basis for the restoration of Jewish culture destroyed by Stalin in 1948 was put forward by the Soviet Writers' Union in 1956. . . . It included the establishment of a Yiddish publishing house and a Jewish theatre; the publication of a Yiddish newspaper and a quarterly Yiddish literary magazine; the convening of an all-Russian conference of Jewish cultural workers in the Soviet Union; the preparation for publication of works by Jewish writers in Yiddish; and the setting up by the Soviet Writers' Union of a special commission for the restoration of Jewish literature in Yiddish. . . ."

3. Religious Freedom

> "In the Soviet Union, the position of Judaism is most unfavorable when compared with the Russian Orthodox Church, Islam, Baptists, Roman Catholics and Buddhists, all of whom have their national organizations, theological seminaries, journals and religious publications. Soviet Jews should be permitted facilities similar to those enjoyed by a group roughly comparable in size [such as] the Soviet Baptists. . . ."

4. Government Campaign Against Anti-Semitism

> "There is a carefully documented evidence of the existence of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. It is a matter of the deepest concern that this has often been condoned or encouraged by officials, as in the case of many publications issued with official sponsorship. . . . Anti-Jewish stereotypes are given wide currency in the Soviet Union.
>
> I should welcome a vigorous campaign by the Soviet mass media against anti-Semitism, in the same way as the authorities have organized public education against other social evils such as alcoholism and hooliganism. I look to the restoration of the dignity of the Jewish people. . ."

We, the undersigned--of various political and religious beliefs--are compelled to voice our deep concern. President Johnson recently remarked that this situation constitutes "a moral and emotional barrier" between our two countries.

We call on you to face the fact that your status as a civilized society is being seriously affected.

We call on you to face the fact that there is a Jewish problem in the Soviet Union and that world opinion expects a great country such as yours to take the necessary steps to resolve that problem, namely--

1. to permit Soviet Jews to recreate all necessary facilities for the unhampered enjoyment of their cultural and religious heritage
2. to encourage the integration of the Jewish citizen into Soviet society by immediate curtailment of -
   a) subtle discrimination in education and employment
   b) public expression of spite and hatred so often revealed in the Soviet press and so-called "Scientific" atheist literature
3. to permit -
   a) the reunion of war-torn families by enabling Soviet Jews to rejoin their families outside the Soviet Union
   b) the emigration of those Jews who, culturally and religiously, cannot fit into your society.

We ask you: If other Communist countries such as Poland and Rumania can permit a Jewish communal structure and the right to emigrate, why not the Soviet Union?

We ask you: If all other groups within the USSR are permitted minimum cultural and religious rights, why not the Jews? Surely a great society is not afraid of a few hundred synagogues, elementary Jewish educational facilities, books, newspapers and theaters?

We would reason with you: Have you not enough internal and external problems? Why complicate matters for yourselves by promoting a policy that, witting or unwittingly, is conducive to the moral cancer of anti-Semitism within your society and damages its reputation in the eyes of the world?

We say to you: "The restoration of Jewish dignity" would be a superb victory for those forces which are fighting for social rationality within their societies all over the world.

(signatures
of
intellectuals)

APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC

Lord Russell's insistence that this is a "moral problem" is particularly significant coming as it does from a known friend of the USSR. Our generation suffers from a universal guilt, stemming from the horrors of the last world war and the loss of one third of our people. Any kind of further destruction of the Jewish people--whatever its form--must make the burden of that guilt a truly terrible one.

We appeal to all Americans to join our protest, through their Synagogues and Churches, their community centers and their youth groups. It is of special importance that professional, academic and student circles be alerted to these injustices.

We request that a day be fixed which will be designated by American and Canadian mayors as "A DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH SOVIET JEWRY," a day on which hundreds of thousands throughout the land should appear in front of their City Halls to stand in a silent vigil of appeal to conscience.

This goal implies a grass roots movement and, in the coming months, important steps will have to be taken towards its realization. In line with our past activities, we are preparing ourselves for an even more significant role than hitherto.

During the past year, our two organizations have, separately and jointly, engaged in intensive campaigns of information combined with a series of public demonstrations, including the famous Jericho March around the Soviet UN Mission. Many organizations have done good work for the cause, but our are the only ones which are exclusively occupied with it. We have acquired a reputation for the solid and responsible nature of our work.

Our dedicated personnel--all volunteers--deem themselves to be highly privileged to be involved in this work of redemption and are ready to put their special experience at the disposal of groups working on Soviet Jewry programs at any level, as part of our drive to create a grass roots campaign.

With this, our goal of mass protest, we feel that there is now no alternative but to enter into a new and greatly expanded phase of activity. However, in order to continue our work and to expand it, we need money and we need volunteers.

We challenge those who consider themselves fighters for justice to give us their moral and financial support!

SIGNATURES: Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry — American League for Russian Jews

American League for Russian Jews
in cooperation with the
Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry
44 Whitehall Street, suite 705
New York, N.Y. 10004 HA-5-5225

I believe that your activities are worthy of the utmost support and I have pleasure in enclosing the sum of _____ dollars (check/cash) to further your work.

I am/am not in a position to volunteer my services occasionally/part-time/full time.

Name.....

Address.....

Phone.....

Jewish Prob

THE MUTUAL SAVINGS BANKS OF NEW YORK CITY

A Survey of the Exclusion of Jews at Top Management And Policy Making Levels

A Survey Conducted by the
New York Chapter of
The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York, N. Y. 10022

October, 1965

THE MUTUAL SAVINGS BANKS OF NEW YORK CITY

A Survey of the Exclusion of Jews at Top Management And Policy Making Levels

Introduction

"Top executive posts in business and industry today constitute almost the only sector of American industrial life from which religious and ethnic minorities remain substantially excluded." This was the major finding of a December, 1963 American Jewish Committee report on Patterns of Exclusion in the Executive Suite: The Public Utilities Industry.

The following study by AJC's New York Chapter of top management and policy making personnel in the city's mutual savings banks shows that this virtual exclusion is no less pervasive in 1965.

Findings

Eighty-two percent (82%) of New York's 50 mutual savings banks have no key Jewish officers at all, and 60% have no Jewish trustees. Less than 2.5% of the more than 400 officers and under 3.5% of the approximately 750 trustees are Jews.

Boards of Trustees

Discriminatory practice in selection of trustees is not now specifically regulated by state banking laws which set only purely formal qualifying standards of age, residence and financial responsibility. Yet the absence of Jews as trustees appears to violate the spirit of the state's general policy against discrimination and is even contrary to the explicit criteria of the Savings Bank Association of New York State governing selection of trustees.

These criteria, as expressed in the Association's recent pamphlet, Building a Base for the Future -- A Timely Savings Bank Message, asserts that:

> "In keeping with the spirit of community service in which savings banks were founded, their trustees have always been selected on the basis of proved leadership in the community and in their own fields of endeavor. They are men and sometimes women, in many walks of life: leaders in business, the professions, education, finance, and in government at all levels. Many possess business and professional skills that are directly pertinent to the management of the bank, but more important is their dedication to the community and its people whose interest the bank serves."

On the basis of similar standards, Jews have been appointed or elected to the Board of Directors of almost every non-sectarian philanthropic and community service agency in New York City. In light of the quantity and quality of Jewish participation in the city's

business, professional, financial and communal life, it is hard to explain the serious absence of Jews from policy-making positions on savings bank Boards of Trustees. The evidence suggests that insensitivity and indifference, if not deliberate exclusion, have hardened over the years into de facto discrimination.

The Absence of Jews from Key Officer Positions

The same pattern of exclusion exists in the hiring of bank officers. Almost 25% of the population of New York City are Jews, as are 50% of its college graduates. This figure attests to high qualification, as a group, for executive positions. Such statistics are cited simply to indicate that there is a reservoir of available talent which is not being drawn upon. They do not suggest that any device such as a quota system is called for. On the contrary, recruitment and promotion on the basis of individual merit is the concern.

The History and Status of Savings Banks in New York City

The first mutual savings bank in New York City was founded in 1817. A historian of the industry describes its founders as "philanthropically minded people" whose purpose was to take "measures to alleviate the prevailing poverty." Early savings banks were considered to be a service for the working classes to

provide the means, through encouragement of thrift, for broadening the base of participation in the capitalist economy.

Today, 50 mutual savings banks have headquarters in New York City, with a total of 215 offices and deposits of $25. billion in eight million savings accounts. The largest have assets comparable with important commercial banks; their aggregate assets equal about half of the $54. billion total for all United States mutual savings banks combined.

Savings bank funds are chiefly invested in mortgages on residential and commercial properties, in Federal, municipal and corporate bonds, and in stocks. The state's construction industry and home-owners rely heavily upon savings bank financing, as do Government and corporate borrowers. At the same time the savings banks are custodians of the savings of millions of individual depositors.

Self Perpetuation of Trustees

The trustees of New York savings banks are elected for life terms, or until they reach a mandatory retirement age stipulated in the by-laws of individual banks. Vacancies are filled by vote of the remaining trustees. There are no stockholders. Depositors have no vote. (In the case of mutual insurance companies, in the

State of New Jersey, the Legislature has recognized that self-perpetuation and inadequate representation of trustees is against the public interest. The governor now appoints several trustees who represent policy holders and the public.)

Historically, founders of savings banks have been community leaders and men of substance, serving without compensation and part-time, administering the deposits of the public as a quasi-public service. As the banks grew, they hired full-time paid officers. Today, the trustees of the larger savings banks draw fees comparable to those of directors of important stock corporations.

The Character of the Trustee

The characteristics of a trustee are defined by William H. Kniffin in The Savings Bank and Its Practical Work:

> "The service of a trustee, therefore, is to be of a philanthropic nature, similar to that rendered by the officials of a church or a school district. The element of personal gain is foreign to the office and 'What do I get out of it?' wholly outside the vocabulary of the savings bank trustee who serves in keeping with the spirit and letter of the law."

> "No man can buy his way into trusteeship in a mutual savings bank. He can only gain this honor by so conducting his personal and business affairs that his name shall be a synonym for honesty and integrity, and thereby win for himself the right to care for other people's savings. In fact it is distinguished from other moneyed corporations where-in stock ownership carries with it voting power and voting power control. The man who

> aspires to bank directorship needs only to buy enough stock, or control its voting power, to elect himself; but in the savings bank, the proposition is rather like this: Become a leading citizen and wait until they elect you!"

Exclusion as a Status Denial

Since qualifications for trusteeship are often expressed in these terms of character, prestige and community standing, the absence of Jews on savings-bank boards could be taken to suggest that they are deficient in these qualities. Furthermore, the archaic attitude that excludes Jews as savings bank trustees inevitably keeps the ratio down in top staff positions.

New York Mirrors National Picture

These facts of exclusion are most dramatic in New York City, with its large Jewish population and their great commercial achievement and prestige, but they also support findings of restrictive patterns in many financial institutions and leading corporations elsewhere in the United States. Another American Jewish Committee-sponsored study, Discrimination Without Prejudice, completed in 1965 at the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, found that although Jews comprise 12 to 15 percent of the graduating classes of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration -- a favorite recruiting ground for large corporations -- Jewish students receive few of the desirable job offers.

This study concluded that:

> "In the United States, Jews are no longer disadvantaged with respect to education or income. Their training and educational background are conspicuously under-utilized, however, in the executive ranks of most major corporations. The evidence need not be recapitulated here; every serious effort to collect data on this subject has yielded the same general conclusions."

Recommendations

Mutual savings banks are chartered, supervised and governed by the executive and legislative branches of state government, whose public policy is unequivocally opposed to discrimination and restrictions based upon race, creed, color or national origin. Conformance to this important policy is essential.

We call upon the trustees and officers in the mutual savings bank industry to institute a review of practices that have systematically excluded Jews from important positions. We recommend immediate initiation of a program of remedial action.

The American Jewish Committee stands ready to render whatever aid is necessary to carry out a program of change and offers its consultative services to interested banks.

Description and Contents of Pictorial Panel

IN CELEBRATION of CIVIL WAR CENTENNIAL with HIGHLIGHTS FROM JEWISH PARTICIPATION IN THE CIVIL WAR

CONTENTS:

10 - Portraits
6 - Documents
Dedication: "Highlights from Jewish Participation in the Civil War"

Portraits and Captions:

1 - ISIDOR BUSH (1822-1898), editor, abolitionist, and leader in B'nai B'rith.

2 - SOJOURNER TRUTH - Held in slavery in New Paltz, N.Y. Freed in 1827 - Travelled and preached and organized against slavery. Participated in Woman's Rights Conventions.

3 - ERNESTINE ROSE - Ardent abolitionist and pioneer champion of a free public school system. Susan B. Anthony nominated Mrs. Rose one of three to head Honor Roll of Woman's Suffrage Movement.

4 - AUGUST BONDI - 21 year old veteran of 1848 German Revolution, answered call for anti-slavery settlers in Kansas - fought alongside John Brown and in the Union Forces.

5 - SIGISMUND KAUFMANN (1825-1889), '48er, Republican Party leader and abolitionist.

6 - RABBI DAVID EINHORN (1809-1879), a leader of Reform Judaism and abolitionist preacher, editor and writer.

7 - LEOPOLD KARPELES (b. 1838), awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for bravery at the Battle of the Wilderness, May 6, 1864, as color-sergeant of the 57th Massachusetts Infantry.

8 - BREVET BRIGADIER-GENERAL FREDERICK KNEFLER (1833-1901), highest ranking Jewish officer in the Union Army.

9 - FREDERICK DOUGLASS - Foremost Negro Abolitionist - declared himself "devoted to the rights of all mankind without distinction of color, class or clime."

10 - ABRAHAM LINCOLN - a painting in 1863 by S. N. Carvalho.

(more)

Documents and Captions:

Identification of document	Caption
1 - Jacob Levy...	The certificate by which Jacob Levy, Jr., of New York (d. 1837) freed four of his Negro slaves on March 6, 1817.
2 - Lincoln - letter...	Lincoln on May 13, 1862 acknowledged the prayers for the Union cause of the Congregation Mikveh Israel in Philadelphia.
3 - Jewish Messenger - (Anglo-Jewish newspaper) re: petition on anti-Semitism.	Rev. Arnold Fischel, representing the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, protested discrimination against Jewish chaplains to the Senate Military Affairs Committee and to Lincoln, who promised to change the situation.
4 - Jewish Messenger - Editorial "STAND BY THE FLAG" call for support of Union and Republic.	Part of the editorial in The Jewish Messenger that was widely commended in the general press in the North but aroused the indignation of Confederate Jews in Louisiana.
5 - A Communication - Slave Immigration...	Title-page of a pamphlet by Solomon Heydenfeldt (1816-1890), published in 1849 in Montgomery, Alabama, opposing importation of slaves into Alabama because of "the unproductiveness of slave labor."
6 - Women's Convention - 1863	Title-page of the proceedings of a convention called by leaders of the Women's Suffrage Movement to organize the Women's Loyal National League in support of Lincoln, the Union forces and freedom of the Negro people. MRS. ERNESTINE ROSE served on the resolutions committee. The excerpts are from a speech by MRS. CHALKSTONE.

HIGHLIGHTS FROM JEWISH PARTICIPATION IN THE CIVIL WAR

The Civil War Centennial throws open the treasure chest of our history. Searching it, we discover how and why the robust, indestructible roots of our Nation, sustained by the good earth of liberty, have withstood storm and stress. The Civil War was a storm that almost split the Union: Launched as a war to extend and perpetuate slavery, it was transformed into a crusade from which our Republic emerged freed of the shame and the shackles of slavery. President Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation released the Negro people and all of our country's human and natural resources for the triumph of democracy and for civic, cultural and economic growth after the war.

Americans of many origins - descendents of early settlers, immigrants from various lands, and the Negro people themselves - fought for abolition of slavery before the war and risked their lives on the battlefields in the Republic's defense.

In this panel - presented as our contribution to the celebration of the Centennial - we have selected for honor a cross-section of those Jewish men and women who contributed to the glorious heritage which inspires and guides us for the further development of democracy. They represented the majority of the Jewish people - 200,000 - in 1861.

About 25,000 Jews lived in the South. Some - Judah P. Benjamin is an example - were among the 250,000 Southern slave holders who established the Confederacy and started the Civil War. The Confederate armed forces enrolled 1,300 Jews; note, however, that 6,500 served in the Army and Navy of the Union. Hundreds attained officer rank, the highest Brevet Brigadier-General Frederick Knefler; 20 were colonels and lieutenant-colonels.

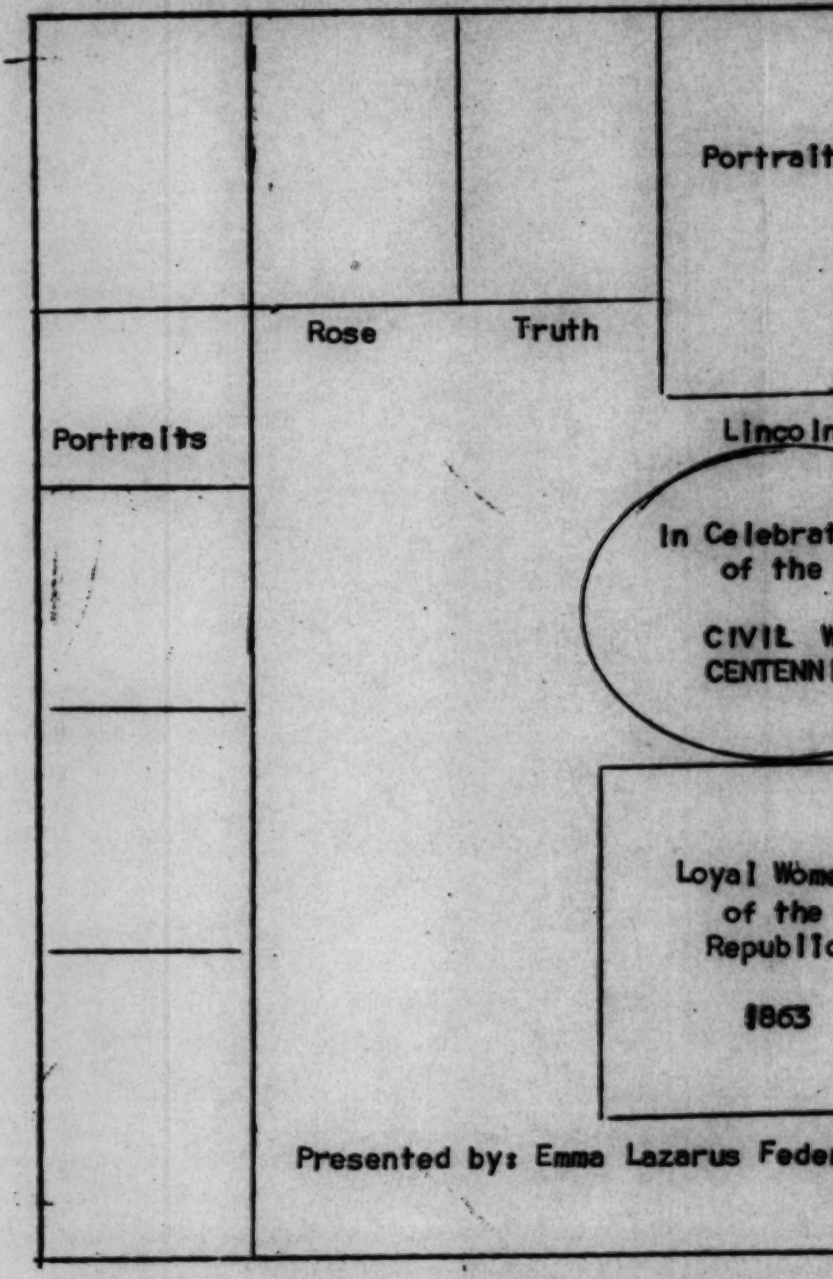
Jews backed the Government and the armed forces in innumerable ways on the home fronts: in production, in financing the war, in morale-building activities. They raised funds to aid soldiers and soldiers' families. The Jewish Hospital in New York was placed fully at the disposal of the wounded. Hundreds of Jewish women were among those who sewed, rolled bandages, and performed other needed tasks. Jewish women worked with the Sanitary Commissions that were the predecessors of the Red Cross.

At the top of this panel we honor two of the great leaders of the Negro people, Sojourner Truth and Frederick Douglass. As leaders also in the woman's suffrage movement they frequently spoke from one platform with Ernestine Rose at abolitionist and woman's suffrage meetings.

May the Centennial serve to guide and move all patriotic Americans, Negro and white together to achieve, without delay, fulfillment of our Constitution and Bill of Rights - equal opportunities for all with bigotry toward none.

Approximate appearance of Pictorial Panels

5x



anels
5x6 feet on heavy poster paper

Portrait

Douglass Bush

Highlights

Lincoln

Celebration
of the
CIVIL WAR
CENTENNIAL

yal Women
of the
Republic

1863

us Federation
of Jewish Women's Clubs

MOTHERS

Negro and white, of all religious faiths and origins

Join the Youth Movement for Freedom and Equality

The Negro student movement for equal service at lunch counters of the WOOLWORTH and other chain stores in the South has become an epic struggle for freedom that has inspired youth all over the country. We welcome this glorious movement as the most precious of all the Mother's Day gifts we have received this year. Nothing can be more rewarding, bring more happiness to mothers than the realization that their children cherish the life we have given them and that they are willing to fight for their right to live in freedom and dignity.

The best of our youth are picketing, marching, speaking, singing, fearless of arrest and jail to gain their inalienable rights

TO LEARN TOGETHER • TO SIT AND EAT TOGETHER • TO USE THE LIBRARIES, MUSEUMS AND GALLERIES WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION • TO PLAY AND WORK TOGETHER

Jim Crow and anti-Semitism, discrimination against Puerto Rican and Mexican Americans, like termites in our homes, attack the very foundations of our democracy. If we have learned anything from the Hitler-nazi horror we must know that Aryanism—the theory of a superior race—drummed into the minds of the German people brutalized the youth, and was followed by destruction of democracy in Germany, the annihilation of six million Jews and the nazi war for conquest of the world.

In the United States every family has already paid a heavy price for the "legalized" practice of discrimination in the South. Through laws which limit the voting rights in their States, Southern Congressmen managed to get elected and re-elected until they have acquired the seniority which entitles them to head the most important Congressional Committees. Bills vital to the health, welfare and peace of our nation are strangled in these committees.

We Need Federal Aid for Better Schools
But the small block of entrenched Southern Congressmen, elected by a small portion of the eligible voters in their states, have prevented the passage of a bill for Federal Aid to Schools by insisting upon segregated schools.

We Need An Adequate Housing Bill
But the same Southern white-supremacists in alliance with reactionary Northern Congressmen defeated or made small change of every housing bill that has come up in Congress.

We Need A Federal Health Program
A better social security program for the aged, including medical aid. We need relief from paying ⅓ of our income for taxes.

We Need Legislation for Peace
Laws to protect children from milk poisoned by strontium 90 and others dealing with various dangers of nuclear fallout and testing. **Nineteen** such bills are gathering dust in committees.

The Committees are chaired by Southern and reactionary Northern Congressmen who cooperate at all times to gain each other's support for bills that benefit big business at the expense of the people.

1960 IS THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF WOMEN'S RIGHT TO VOTE — HIGH TIME WOMEN USED THAT VOTE FOR FREEDOM, FAMILY WELFARE AND PEACE

Thanks to the wise and courageous women who fought for women's right to vote we have that inalienable right today. It is now up to us to use that vote for freedom and peace when we go to the polls next November. Measure Presidential and Congressional candidates by how they stand on the two most crucial issues of our time: FREEDOM AND PEACE. Vote only for those Presidential and Congressional candidates who agree to work and vote for all measures to:

1. **STOP DISCRIMINATION AND ESTABLISH FULL EQUALITY FOR THE NEGRO PEOPLE AND ALL AMERICANS.**
   - **Abolish the Poll Tax.**
   - **Guarantee the voting rights of the Negro people in the South.**
   - **Desegregate the public schools (in accordance with the Supreme Court decision) and all other government and public institutions.**
   - **Outlaw anti-Semitic and all group libel literature.**
2. **STOP THE ARMS RACE, OUTLAW NUCLEAR POWER FOR WAR AND BRING PEACE TO OUR COUNTRY AND THE WORLD.**

THE NEED OF THE HOUR IS

A Mothers March for Freedom and Peace

Think About It • Act Upon It • In Your Neiborhoods
At Places of Work and in Your Organizations

Issued by the Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish W omen's Clubs—160 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.

Ruth Rosenwald
17 Guyer St.
Westport

What They Say About

THE NEW GERMANY AND THE OLD NAZIS

"An important book . . . Astonishing . . . Tetens has assembled facts that bear out the accuracy of his book's theme."
THE NEW YORK TIMES

"An impressive array of facts . . . Tetens presents extensive proof about the resurgence of Nazism."
ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH

"Outrageous . . . Tetens has produced one of the best works on West Germany to come out in recent years."
THE LOS ANGELES MIRROR

"A sickening jolt . . . Tetens documents all too convincingly the fact that many of Hitler's eager helpers have regained places of power in West Germany."
CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

" . . . The evidence adduced by Tetens should be helpful as an antidote to excessive American complacency about the new democracy in Germany."
William Halperin, Prof of History,
CHICAGO TRIBUNE

"Tetens is well qualified for such a study. A journalist and scholar . . . he has long been a close student of German affairs and has been relentless in his warnings against the Nazi menace . . . It can only be hoped that our law-makers, as well as their constituents, will carefully read and take to heart Mr. Tetens' timely and disturbing book."
Hans W. Gatzke, Prof. of History,
BALTIMORE SUN

"Dr. James Bryant Conant . . . confidently told a Harvard audience: "Nazism is dead and buried" . . . To these sanguine proclamations, T. H. Tetens offers a piercing rebuttal."
NEWSWEEK

"The evidence is irrefutable . . . Tetens' book contains a wealth of material indispensable to everybody seriously interested in the mysteries of the eternal *querelle allemande.*"
THE NATION

"Tetens blames this alarming state of affairs on the allied authorities, meaning primarily the United States, and he is probably right."
THE ATLANTIC

"Definitely a terrifying book . . . convincing even against the will of the reader."
THE CHRISTIAN HERALD

"An indispensable guide to the current Bonn scene."
THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY

"Enough to curl the hair of any conscientious citizen . . . a book that will not make either Konrad Adenauer or our State Department happy, but it is one that Americans ought to read."
INEZ ROBB

" . . . The strongest possible case against present conditions of West Germany . . . It will be up to the German government and the German people to answer it not by words but by deeds."
MAX LERNER

"A frightening book . . . Tetens points out very convincingly . . . that there is a terrifying residual of anti-Semitism, of Nazism and of militarism still left in Germany, to which the West Germans themselves, and certainly our government, have not given sufficient attention."
DAVID SUSSKIND

"Before JFK gives West Germany nuclear weapons he should read T. H. Tetens' book THE NEW GERMANY AND THE OLD NAZIS—and be enlightened."
WALTER WINCHELL

T. H. TETENS

Foreign Affairs Analyst

Forty years experience in international relations. A leading expert on German political thought and geo-politics, on pan-Germanism and Russo-German relations. Served during the war as consultant to government agencies and with the White House. From 1946 to 1948 with the U.S. War Crimes Commission in Washington. Is founder and director of the Library on Germanic and Related International Problems, formerly quartered at Columbia University.

A naturalized American, Tetens was born in Berlin where he worked during the 1920's as an economist and newspaper editor. When Hitler came to power, he was put in a concentration camp. In 1934, he escaped to Switzerland where he wrote for leading newspapers. Since 1938, Tetens and his family have lived in the United States.

AUTHOR

Has written numerous articles and several books during the last thirty years on the German question, international affairs, and post-war developments:

Wither Hitler? (1935)

Christianity-Hitlerism-Bolshevism (1937)

Know Your Enemy (1944)

Pan-Germanism in the U.S.A. (1945)

Peace Through Capitalism (1950)

Germany Plots with the Kremlin (1953)

The New Germany and the Old Nazis (1961)

LECTURER

Has appeared on T.V. and radio programs, has lectured before university groups, civic and fraternal organizations; is skilled in conducting lively question and answer periods. Topics:

1- Can We Trust Germany?

2- Divided Germany and the Cold War

3- The New Germany and the Old Nazis

4- The Common Market—Blessing or Danger for America?

5- After Adenauer—What?

turn

THE NAZI-AMERICAN ALLIANCE - B E T R A Y A L

1. While our soldiers were fighting the nazis, while the millions of Jews, resistance fighters, radical christians were being cremated; behind our President's back, Dulles was negotiating with Nazis in Switzerland...

2. Hitler's intelligence agent, Reinhard Gehlen, was hired(1945) immediately by the U.S. and is today our chief agent in Europe. With his help and 6,000 SS men, the groundwork was laid for our Central Intelligence Agency.

3. The Nazi geo-political strategists, heirs to the pan German tradition of world conquest, were hired by the U.S. to work with our State Department and Pentagon in Washington...General Heusinger, for one...who was retired with honors only two years ago on April Fools Day and is now in Bonn building a three million man army.

4. The Nazi Geo-Political Center in Madrid has designed the blueprint for international fascism and the destructionof the United States..through its agents in our government, through its scientists in our country, through its ecclesiastical representatives in the U.S., it has managed to wield power through our greatest ethnic group, the German Americans, who are dedicated to Germany's revival and to the manipulation of the U.S.racist and economic power.....

5. The aims of pan Germanism are to divert and weaken U.S. power, by deploying it around the world, particularly in a remote Asian war, while draining our economy to build their own country so they can peacefully pursue markets in Africa, Latin America and Europe..with an eye to a temporary rapprochement with the Soviet Union . In addition, their theories of racial supremacy are used to encourage the fascist elements in the U.S. so that our country is divided and in turmoil for a rightist takeover.

6. The powerful German lobbyists, with vast sums of money are able to support these ventures in a country that is historically more racist than Germany itself.

7. The Nazi genocidal techniques have been integrated into our war making machine, into our universities, into our mass media propaganda and have gained acceptance as we have avoided ratifying the genocide treaty created by the United Nations.

8. Rather than expelling Nazis from our country we encourage them to immigrate here so that they can organize among our people...Among the nazi collaborators on our soil is one Sigmund Von Braun, who was kicked out of England for his Nazi associations and is now the permanent observer for West Germany at the United Nations. We should demand that this racist be bounced from the U.S! If England can do it, so can we...and this could be the beginning of a campaign to rid our country of these German Nazis who lend encouragement to our native nazi movment.

9. An expose should be made about the silence of the major Jewish organizations around the subject of German rearmament, the hiring of Nazi strategists in our own government..vis a vis the State Department bribe to Adenauer to pay Israel and give some of those funds to Jewish organizations in the U.S. This blood money silenced what might have been an effective opposition to the fascist devalopments were seeing today.

Documentation for these statements can be found in the works of T.H.Tetens, the author of "The New Germany and The Old Nazis" (Random House), "Germany Plots with the Kremlin", Mr.Tetens was born in Germany, escaped from a concentration camp and was brought to the U.S. by FDR in 1938. He became an adviser to Bernard Baruch and was given a wing in the Department of the Interior under Harold Ickes and worked on the U.S.War Crimes Commission

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

7/5

June 28, 1963 Room 274

JUL 1 1963

Mr. James Farmer
Executive Director
Congress on Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

This is to confirm my invitation of this date to a meeting in the office of the Vice President, Room 274, Executive Office Building, on Friday, July 5, 1963, at 10:30 A.M.

I look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

Hobart Taylor, Jr.
Executive Vice Chairman

HOTEL ASSOCIATION
OF NEW YORK CITY
INCORPORATED
141 WEST 51ST STREET NEW YORK 19, N. Y. TELEPHONE CIRCLE 7-0800

NOV 12 1963

November 6, 1963

Mr. Jon Schaefer, Field Secretary
CORE
38 Park Place
New York, N.Y. 10038

Dear Mr. Schaefer:

Your letter of October 25 has been discussed with the members of the labor-management committee.

The committee reaffirms its readiness to meet with a committee of CORE to discuss the meaningful solutions which the hotel industry and the union have worked out jointly to deal with the problems of discrimination and the steps taken to implement these solutions.

We still feel, as we said at our last meeting, that our discussion could be most profitable if CORE was represented by authoritative spokesmen for the organization and not by persons working in the industry whose approach is likely to be conditioned by subjective factors. We have no objection to such persons being present as observers.

For your information we wish to record that our joint committee is working energetically to break down barriers to full integration in the hotel industry.

However, it needs to be understood that the situation in the ho tels is different from that prevailing in many other industries. Negroes and Puerto Ricans make up a large percentage of the present work force in hotels. They constitute two-thirds of the crews in the housekeeping department. They are represented in varying degrees in the kitchen, mechanical, dining room, bar, banquet, front service and clerical departments.

The joint committee agrees that one of our major and immediate objectives must be to stimulate the promotion to better jobs of Negroes and Puerto Ricans presently employed, with emphasis on those departments where integration has lagged.

By action of management and the union, application forms have been circulated among the workers, with special attention to Negroes and Puerto Ricans, on which they are asked to register their desire to move into other jobs of their choice.

To overcome reluctance or doubt meetings are being held with these workers in the hotels to encourage them to apply, and steps are being taken to create on the job training opportunities to qualify them where necessary.

To intensify this program management and union have jointly set aside the month of November 20-December 20 for an "Equal Opportunity Survey" of the union's entire membership. The purposes are, first, to impress on all hotel employees the desirability of providing equal employment opportunities in the hotel industry, regardless of race, creed or color; second, to encourage workers from minority groups to apply for training and advancement, and, third, to ascertain exactly how many of these minority group workers are employed in each department of each hotel.

We set forth these facts as a background for what we hope will be fruitful discussions with CORE on a common objective. We feel that this letter will be of interest to the Board of CORE and have taken the liberty of sending a copy to each member listed on your letterhead.

Sincerely,

/s/ *Daniel C. Hickey*

Daniel C. Hickey, President
Hotel Association of New York City, Inc.

/s/ *Jay Rubin*

Jay Rubin, President
New York Hotel Trades Council

JAN 7 1964

NO 1/13

CITY OF NEW YORK

JOIN

JOB ORIENTATION IN NEIGHBORHOODS

280 Broadway

NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

DAVID D. JONES
ACTING DIRECTOR

566-4273

January 6th, 1964

Hon. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Enclosed please find a dais guest card which inadvertently was not included in the invitation previously sent you.

Sincerely yours,

Genia Bonne

Genia Bonne
Director, Neighborhood Organization
(JOIN)

GB:nb
Encl.

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

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1966 MAY 23 PM 5 27

VUA071 NBA413 SYE286
SY NNY588 NNZ18 NNZ18 LONG PD FAX NEW YORK NY 23 NFT
JAMES FARMER, CORE
38 PARK ROW NYK

THE NATIONAL MARITIME UNION IS SHOCKED AND DEEPLY DISTURBED BY REPORTS OF YOUR ACTION IN OPPOSING THE PASSAGE OF THE BILL (A.I. 5139) WHICH WOULD HAVE PREVENTED THE USE OF SUBTERFUGE TO DENY PARTICIPATION BY MINORITY GROUPS IN APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING PROGRAMS IN THE STATE. OUR UNION WHICH WAS FOUNDED IN 1937 ON THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUAL JOB OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, COLOR OR CREED, STRONGLY TAKES EXCEPTION TO THE POSITION TAKEN BY YOU AS PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK STATE AFL-CIO. WE WERE NEITHER CONSULTED NOR ADVISED PRIOR TO YOUR ACTION AND DO NOT FEEL BOUND BY YOUR HASTY AND ILL-ADVISED MOVE TO OPPOSE THE BILL IN THE NAME OF ORGANIZED LABOR. WE ARE NOTIFYING THE NATL. ASSN, FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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PEOPLE, THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, THE URBAN LEAGUE AND THE VARIOUS NEWS MEDIA THAT THE NEW YORK STATE AFL-CIO DOES NOT SPEAK FOR THE NATIONAL MARITIME UNION ON THIS MATTERM WE WISH TO STATE UNEQUIVOCALLY THAT THE NMU NOT ONLY APPROVES THE PRINCIPLES EMBODIED IN THE BILL BUT STRONGLY URGES THAT THE STATE LEGISLATURE GO EVEN FURTHER TO INSURE THE RIGHT OF MINORITY GROUPS TO BE SELECTED FOR APPRENTICE TRAINING WITHOUT RESTRICTIONS AS TO RACE, COLOR OR CREED.

JOSEPH CURRAN PRESIDENT NATIONAL MARITIME UNION

6/20/63
10:15 A.M.

TELEGRAM

XKKX

KENNETH ODONNELL
WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON D.C.

WILL BE PLEASED TO ATTEND PRESIDENT"S MEETING
SATURDAY JUNE 22, 10:30 A.M.

JAMES FARMER
CORE

$1.20
.5 tax
1.20.

assasination
The xxagixxdxxxk of the President is a tragedy for his family and for all

Americans. We share Mrs. Kennedy's grief and anguish. We believe that

this dxxk assasination was the result of the President's efforts to brng about

a more democratic xxd America. Our prayers go out to Lyndon Johnson in the

difficult days ahead. fxxxhx

Kennedy
not only but 11/22/63

and We hope that the nation will rededicate itself to those ideals of his.

James Farmer
CORE National Director

5

5-18-5

Pres. Kennedy

MEMORANDUM

TO: Chapter Chairmen

November 27, 1963

FROM: James Farmer, National Director

CORE members throughout the nation were shocked, angered and saddened by the untimely death of President John F. Kennedy. We were disturbed by the murder of the man charged with the assassination. The entire nation has been shaken by these events. This period of mourning calls for calmness and dignified resolution in pressing for the passage of the civil rights bill which was originally introduced by the late President.

President Johnson has indicated publicly and in a telephone call to my home the evening of Sunday, November 24, that he intends to "pick up the ball" and work forthrightly for the pending civil rights legislation. Mr. Johnson deserves the support of all of us as he assumes the difficult responsibilities of carrying out the late President's programs. I have pledged him my support, as have the other civil rights leaders, in working toward the goal of full equality.

Even as we mourn the tragic death of Mr. Kennedy, we must not cease in our efforts to insure equality in the North and in the South. We must continue our programs in each local community and we must expand our efforts in the months to come. The job has just begun.

Our CORE chapters felt it inappropriate to engage in direct action projects immediately in the wake of the President's death. I concurred in that feeling. Now, during the period of mourning, each local community will have to decide on the basis of the situation in its own locale whether or not--and what kind of--an action program is appropriate.

One thing is clear, however. It is of the greatest importance that in the immediate future any CORE demonstrations be carried out with the utmost dignity and discipline and adherence to the CORE Rules for Action. The sad events of the past weekend are at least in part the result of the climate of hatred and violence generated throughout the southland by the Barnetts, the Wallaces and the ex-general Walkers. The violence recently encountered in Dallas by Adlai Stevenson had prompted him to caution President Kennedy against going there.

In this climate of opinion, it is urgent that CORE groups across the country rededicate themselves to nonviolence. I urge that all chapters during the month of December initiate special workshops stressing the practice of nonviolence in all phases of CORE activity.

It would, of course, not be appropriate at the present time for CORE chapters to launch attacks on the policies of the late President or of the new Administration. I would, likewise, strongly urge that CORE not engage in projects which involve civil disobedience before Christmas. At this particular time, as the entire nation calls out for a return to law and order, it would be extremely difficult to interpret to the public acts of civil disobedience--even though civil disobedience can in no way be equated with lawlessness.

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

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1963 DEC 7 PM 12 48

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12/9

VUA030 NBB 149 AB 164
A LLM 124 DPR PD ATLANTA GA 5 1124A EST
JAMES FARMER, CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 PARK ROW NYK
FOR AN ASSESSMENT OF PRESIDENT JOHNSONS OVERALL POSITION ON
THE CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUE APPRECIATE YOUR VIEWS ON FOLLOWING POINTS:
1. AFTER TALKING WITH THE PRESIDENT, WHAT IS YOUR FEELING AS
TO HIS SINCERITY AND INTENTIONS CONCERNING CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION?
2. HOW DO YOU FEEL THE PRESIDENT WANTS THE ISSUE OF CIVIL RIGHTS
SETTLED? DOES HE PREFER CONFERENCE TABLE, LEGISLATION OR WHAT?
3. DID YOU GET ANY IMPRESSION FROM HIM AS TO HIS ATTITUDE ABOUT
DIRECT ACTION DEMONSTRATIONS? 4. WHAT DO YOU FEEL THE PRESIDENT
SINCERELY WANTS TO HAPPEN IN THE WAY OF INCREASED RIGHTS FOR
NEGROES IN AMERICA? WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR RESPONSE BY NOON
MONDAY DECEMBER NINE EITHER BY COLLECT WIRE OR PHONE TO TRINITY
6-7373. MANY THANKS

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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AL KUETTNER UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL ATLANTA GA
(58).

1. After talking with the President I am convinced of his complete sincerity and firm convictions regarding importance of civil rights legislation.

2. I feel that the President, in discharging his own official responsibilities in this area, will choose to operate at the conference table and through legislation. This, of course, is entirely proper for the President.

3. We did not discuss direct action demonstrations.

4. I feel that the President wants an end to racial discrimination in all public areas of American life -- especially employment, education and public accommodations.

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

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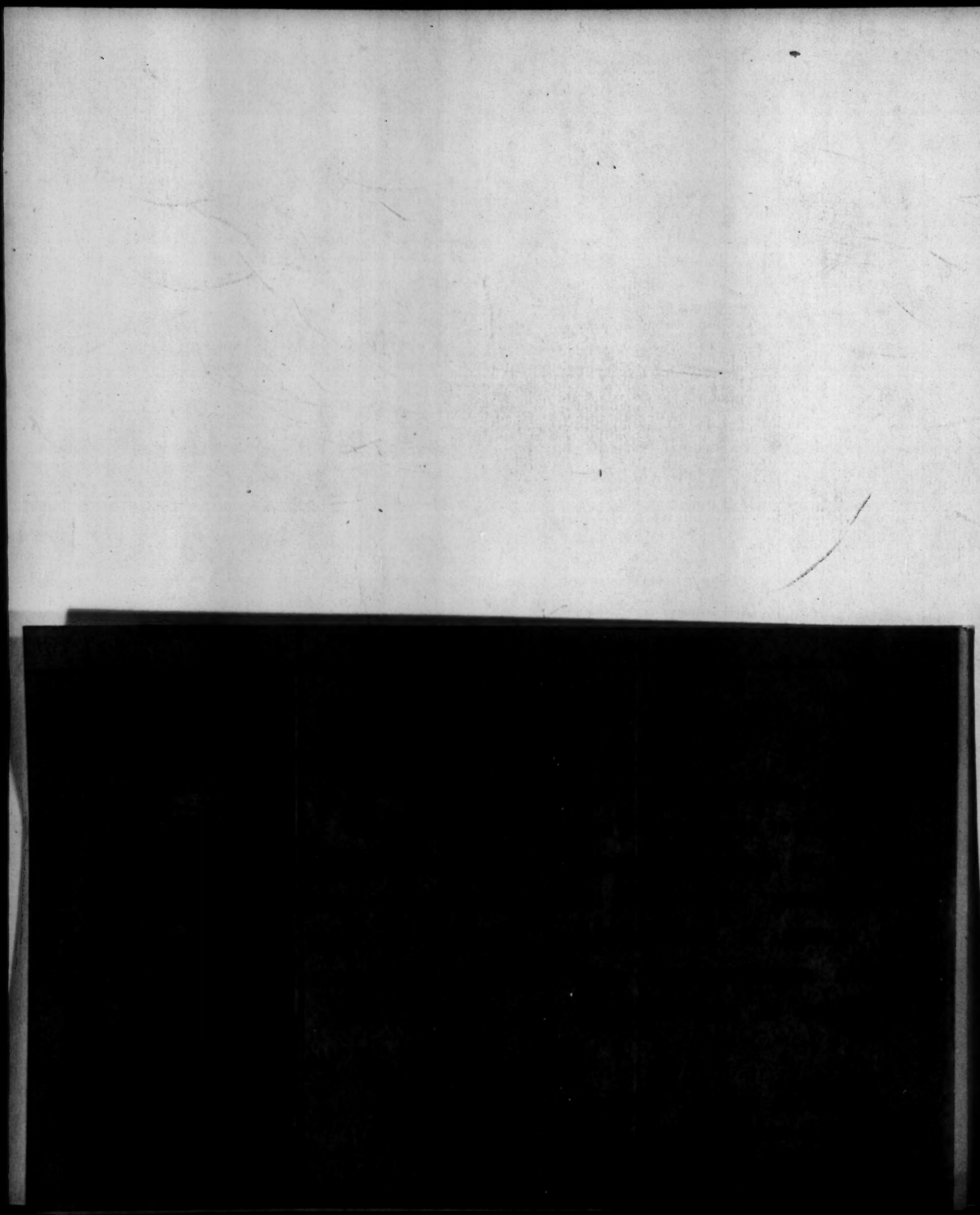
UJA173 BA883
B WWY068 WWZ15 WWZ15 GOVT PD WUX THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON
DC 3 NFT
JAMES FARMER
NATIONAL DIRECTOR CORE 38 PARK ROW NYK
YOUR THOUGHTFUL EXPRESSION OF INTEREST WAS RECEIVED WITH DEEP APPRECIATION. I SHALL CHERISH YOUR PRAYERS AND SUPPORT IN THE DAYS AHEAD. SINCERELY
LYNDON B JOHNSON



President Johnson/le

JAN 13 1964

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 7, 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Thank you, on behalf of the President, for your telegram.

As you may know, the President on December 13, approved the legislation to which you refer. May I assure you that this action was taken only after most careful consideration of all the factors involved.

Sincerely,

Ralph A. Dungan
Special Assistant
to the President

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
New York, New York

Pres. Johnson

1/9/64

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE TELEGRAM JAMES FARMER, NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF CORE (CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY) SENT TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON:

"THE STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE WAS INSPIRING. YOUR EMPHASIS ON SPEEDY ELIMINATION OF DISCRIMINATION AND POVERTY AND THE NEED FOR INCREASED EDUCATIONAL EFFORTS WAS MOST CONSTRUCTIVE. WE IN CORE WILL DO ALL THAT WE CAN TO MOBILIZE SUPPORT IN THE COUNTRY AND THE CONGRESS FOR THIS PROGRAM.

####

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 27, 1964

JAN 31 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I was deeply impressed by your warm telegram and I want you to know personally how much I appreciated your reaction to my State of the Union message. It is essential that our country unite to eliminate the twin evils of poverty and discrimination (and, in this respect, I believe the close alliance of these two forces should be brought home to every American.)

Thank you for your willingness to cooperate. I hope that we will be able to stand together on many occasions.

Sincerely,

Lyndon B. Johnson

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Road
New York, New York

FURNISH CFN

TELEGRAM RECEIVED BY TELEPHONE FROM WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH CO. $ S E

CONFIRMATION OF MESSAGE FILED BY PHONE

PRES LYNDON B JOHNSON

063

THE WHITE HOUSE

THE STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE WAS INSPIRING . YOUR EMPHASIS ON SPEEDY ELIMINATION OF DISCRIMINATION AND POVERTY AND THE NEED FOR INCREASED EDUCATIONAL EFFORTS WAS MOST CONSTRUCTIVE . WE IN CORE WILL DO ALL THAT WE CAN TO MOBOLIZE SUPPORT IN THE COUNTRY AND THE CONGRESS FOR THIS PROGRAM.

DATE 118 JAN 9 943A EST

CHECK 50 PD 2 EXTRA FR

TIME COR7 6270

ORIG'N WASHDC

SIGNATURE JAMES FARMER NATIONAL DIRECTOR CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

TO CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY 38 PARK ROW NYC 38

FURNISH CFN 2 CYS ANA SMITH R

WD 930 (1-62)

Dear President

DEC 27 1964

514 32nd Avenue South
Seattle, Washington 98144

December 22, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Thanks very much for your letter to President Johnson endorsing Girard Clark for the now vacant position of Special Assistant (Equal Employment Opportunity) to the Assistant Secretary of the Navy. The letter is certain to be helpful.

Yours sincerely,

Reginald Alleyne

Reginald H. Alleyne, Jr.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DEC 23 1964

December 17, 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer:

The President has asked me to thank you for your letter of December 11, in which you recommend Mr. Girard Clark for appointment as Special Assistant for Equal Employment Opportunity, in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

Your interest is very much appreciated, and I assure you that your recommendation will be brought to the immediate attention of Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara.

Sincerely,

John W. Macy, Jr.

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

December 11, 1964

Mr. Reginald Alleyne
514 32nd Avenue South
Seattle, Washington 98144

Dear Mr.Alleyne:

Encloedd is a copy of the letter that Mr. Farmer wrote to Hresident Johnson as you requested in your letter of December 2nd. Mr. Farmer hopes that it will be helpful.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Staff Associate

NM:lt

December 11, 1964

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I understand that the position of Special Assistant for Equal Employment Opportunity in the office of the Assistant Secretary of the Navy is vacant and that it is being held in an interim capacity by Mr. Girard Clark. I should like you to know that I consider Mr. Clark to be a most capable person. We feel that the position is of the utmost importance and would look favorably upon Mr. Clark's appointment.

Your administration and that of the late President Kennedy have made great strides toward equal opportunity within the government and within the society. It is imperative that men dedicated to these goals be placed in positions of importance. I trust that you will not consider this an impudence. Because of your keen interest in this problem, I thought that our views might be welcome.

Respectfully yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:mm

G C LBJ
ltr Recom. Johnson
- VF sig
read to VF

DEC 7 1964

514 32nd Avenue South
Seattle, Washington 98144

December 2, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Road
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am sure you do not remember me. I was chairman of the Seattle CORE chapter during the year 1963. We met briefly one day when you stayed at our house while filling a speaking engagement here.

At present, I am working for the Navy Department in the equal employment opportunity program relating to government contractors. The program has great possibilities but these have not yet been realized because of the tendency on the part of high echelon personnel to staff key positions with political appointees who are not always knowledgeable in the area of human relations.

Recently, a vacancy was created in the office of the Assistant Secretary of the Navy; that of Special Assistant for Equal Employment Opportunity. For about one year that position was held by Mr. Edwin Byles who I believe was backed by the then Vice President. Mr. Byles resigned rather suddenly about three weeks ago. The job, which entails directing the entire Navy civil rights program, is now being held by Mr. Girard Clark in an acting capacity. Mr. Clark was formerly Mr. Byles' principal assistant.

Mr. Clark understandably wants the job on a permanent basis and I believe he would be an excellent selection for President Johnson to make. Mr. Clark has the backing of Mr. Kenneth BeLieu, the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, who has ultimate responsibility for the Navy program.

Jerry is extremely intelligent and resourceful. He is a rarity among government civil rights workers in that he is sympathetic to and understands our organization, CORE. He was formerly administrative assistant to Senator Proxmire, and before that a CIO administrator.

He has really carried the program for the Navy, to date, and I frankly hate to think who might get the job if Jerry does not. (There are all kinds of folks looking for a $17,000 job)!!

I am writing to ask if you would consider endorsing Mr. Clark for the position of Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Equal Employment Opportunity).

The best thing I can say for him by way of summary is: He is a CORE sympathizer! I hope you will write President Johnson in his behalf.

Yours sincerely,

Reginald Alleyne

Reginald Alleyne

file President

April 16, 1965

Mr. Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. White:

I was most pleased to receive the autographed copy of the President's address to the Joint Session of Congress on voting rights, and appreciate your sending it to me.

Thank you also for the two enclosures on the Ku Klux Klan and the statement to the Cabinet, which were of interest to me.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:nm

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 9, 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

The President's address to the Joint Session of Congress on voting rights has been prepared in booklet form and the President thought you would want to have a copy.

I am also enclosing two other Presidential statements -- one on the Ku Klux Klan and a statement made to the Cabinet -- that you may be interested in seeing in full.

Sincerely,

Lee White

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. James Farmer
National Secretary
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

April 16, 1965

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you very much for sending me an autographed copy of your moving and significant address to a joint session of the Congress on March 15, 1965. I shall cherish the memento of a truly historic occasion, on which a President of the United States placed the full weight of his office, in specific rather than in general terms, behind the fight for an America of equality.

I share with you the hope and the conviction that we shall indeed overcome.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:nm

P.S. I have just been informed that Dr. James E. Cheek, President of Shaw University, has invited you to deliver the keynote address of its centennial celebration on any date convenient to you during the 1965-66 academic year. Your appearance at this historic Southern university, voicing your ideals and hopes for the Great Society, will spur educational enthusiasm among Negro youth throughout the countyy. I hope you will find it possible to accept this invitation.

April 16, 1965

Mr. John W. Winters
John W. Winters & Company
507 East Martin Street
Raleigh, North Carolina 27601

Dear John:

Please forgive the delay in replying to your letter of March 1st. The crises of the past weeks have kept me out of the office almost constantly.

On this date I have sent a letter to the President urging that he accept the invitation of Dr. Cheek to deliver the keynote address at Shaw University's centennial celebration, saying "Your appearance ath this historic Southern university, voicing your ideals and hopes for the Great Society, will spur educational enthusiasm among Negro youth throughout the country. I hope that you will find it possible to accept this invitation".

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:mm

TELEPHONE 828-5786

JOHN W. WINTERS & COMPANY
507 EAST MARTIN STREET
RALEIGH, N. C. 27601

March 1, 1965

Real Estate Brokers
- DEVELOPERS
- CONSTRUCTION
- FINANCING
- INSURANCE
- RENTALS
- APPRAISALS

Mr. James Farmer
Executive Director
CORE
New York, N. Y.

Dear Jim:

I am enclosing a Brochure on Shaw University as it prepares for a second century of service. During 1965 the college will celebrate 100 years of special service to our state, region and nation. Shaw is the nation's first college founded primarily for the benefit of Negro boys and girls. It now has a distinguished century contribution to the Great Society. Shaw now needs new resources and added impetus for enlarging its service to the fulfillment of the nations goals. The college indeed lives on a firing line of critical importance to overcoming human impoverishment.

Dr. James E. Cheek, President of the school has asked President Johnson to deliver the keynote address on any date convenient to him during the 1965-66 academic year. Since Shaw will be the first of several centennials for Negro colleges, I appeal to you to use your good offices in encouraging Mr. Johnson to use this unique occasion for voicing his ideals and hopes. He will spur educational enthusiasm among Negro youth throughout the country. He will add impetus to the growth of all institutions serving Negro youth.

Shaw hopes to have the honor of conferring a Doctor of Humanities on the President. Your help will be deeply appreciated and richly rewarding.

Sincerely,

John W. Winters

JWW:ks

Enc.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE March 25, 1965

Office of the White House Press Secretary

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE CABINET

I want to make one thing unmistakably and indeliby clear to every Department, every Agency, every office and every employee of the Government of the United States.

The Federal service must never be either the active or passive ally of any who flout the Constitution of the United States.

Regional custom, local tradition, personal prejudice or predilection are no excuses, no justification, no defense in this regard.

Where there is an office or an officer of this Government, there must be equal treatment, equal respect, equal service -- and equal support -- for all American citizens, regardless of race, or sex, or region, or religion.

Public service is a public trust. I would call upon every Federal civilian employee to remember that he bears a high and solemn trust to the Constitution under which he serves. If all about him -- neighbors, friends, fellow townsmen, even family -- falter or fail in respect for the Constitutional rights of others, the public servant in the service of his country has a duty to protect, defend and uphold those rights by word and deed.

The Federal service asks no conformity -- no uniformity of thought and no unanimity of vote. But where Constitutional rights are concerned, the country can ask no more -- and accept no less -- than uncompromising devotion to the Constitution itself.

I am asking the heads of each Department and Agency to communicate this to every office and officer, whatever their rank or position, of the Federal service and to take all appropriate measures to assure full compliance with the spirit of the law that governs and guards us all.

# # #

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE MARCH 26, 1965

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

TO THE PRESS

IN

THE EAST ROOM

(AS DELIVERED)

(12:40 PM EST)

THE PRESIDENT: My fellow Americans. In this historic room where just a few minutes ago we honored brave men and great American achievements we have come now to talk about a tragedy and a stain on our American society.

I am certain by now that all of you know of the horrible crime which was committed last night between Selma and Montgomery, Alabama. I have been in constant touch with the Attorney General and the Director of the FBI, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover throughout the night on this matter.

Due to the very fast and the always efficient work of the special agents of the FBI who worked all night long, starting immediately after the tragic death of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo on a lonely road between Selma and Montgomery, Alabama, arrests were made a few minutes ago of four Ku Klux Klan members in Birmingham, Alabama, charging them with conspiracy to violate the civil rights of the murdered woman.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, our honored public servant who is standing here by me has advised that the identities of the men charged with this heinous crime are as follows: Eugene Thomas, age 43, of Bessemer; William Orville Eaton, age 41, also of Bessemer; Gary Thomas Rowe, Jr., age 31, of Birmingham; and Collie Leroy Wilkins, Jr., age 21, of Fairfield, Alabama.

I cannot express myself too strongly in praising Mr. Hoover and the men of the FBI for their prompt and expeditious and very excellent performance in handling this investigation. It is in keeping with the dedicated approach that this organization has shown throughout the turbulent era of civil rights controversies. This nation and the President are very grateful for the highly intelligent and tireless effort of the distinguished Attorney General, Nicholas Katzenbach and his many associates who have carried the Government's fight to insure the rights of all citizens is guaranteed to them by the Constitution.

The four members of the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan will of course be arraigned immediately. They will later stand trial.

Mrs. Liuzzo went to Alabama to serve the struggle for justice. She was murdured by the enemies of justice who for decades have used the rope and the gun and the tar and the feathers to terrorize their neighbors. They struck by night as they generally do, for their purpose cannot stand the light of day.

My father fought them many long years ago in Texas and I have fought them all my life because I believe them to threaten the peace of every community where they exist. I shall continue to fight them because I know their loyalty is not to the United States of America but instead to a hooded society of bigots. Men and women have stood against the clan at times and at places where to do so required a continuous act of courage. So if Klansmen hear my voice today, let it be both an appeal and a warning to get out of the Ku Klux Klan now and return to a decent society before it is too late. I call on every law enforcement officer in America to insist on obedience to the law and to insist on respect for justice. No nation can long endure either in history's judgment or in its

MORE (OVER)

own national conscience, if hoodlums or bigots can defy the law and can get away with it. Justice must be done in the largest cities as well as the smallest village, on the dirt road or on the interstate highway. We will not be intimidated by the terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan any more than we will be intimidated by the terrorists in North Viet Nam. We will reduce the sacrifices of those who suffer now in a society free of the Klan and those who support its vicious work.

I am asking and directing Attorney General Katzenbach to proceed at the earliest possible date to develop legislation that will bring the activities of the Klan under effective control of the law, and I am hopeful that legislation can be submitted just as soon as we can get the present voters' rights legislation through the Congress. And in connection with new legislation Congressional Committees may wish to investigate the activities of such organizations and the part that they play in instigating violence and I hope that if the Congressional Committees do decide to proceed forthwith, they can be assured of the cooperation of all patriotic Americans and certainly we will make all the resources of the Federal Government, the Justice Department and FBI available to them.

E N D

President
file - Johnson

MAY 13 1965

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 11, 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I have been asked to acknowledge your letter of April 16th to the President in which you mentioned your interest in the invitation extended to the President by Shaw University to speak there in connection with its centennial celebration sometime during this academic year.

The President was most appreciative of this cordial and appealing invitation. However, after careful consideration in the light of the number of college and university commitments already made for the year, he reluctantly concluded that it would not be feasible to make this addition to his calendar. We wrote Dr. Cheek to express his regrets on April 8th.

The President thanks you for your interest, and is sincerely sorry the reply could not be a favorable one.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Jack Valenti
Special Assistant to the President

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

file

May 28, 1965

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

As I am sure you know, June 21st marks the first anniversary of the killing of James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner. A number of memorial events are being planned, the largest of which will be CORE's Gandhi Award service to be held at 8:00 PM on the evening of June 21st at the Ethical Cultural Society, 2 West 64th Street, New York, New York.

The Gandhi Award which CORE makes yearly for the most outstanding contribution to the non-violent civil rights movement will be given posthumously to these three young men. The families involved, Dean Pollak of Yale Law School, other distinguished civil rights advocates and I will be in attendance. I would personally be very grateful, as would the families of the young men, if you could arrange to be there or send an emmisary. In any case, we would very much appreciate a message from you to be read during these services.

I would also like to ask your advice as to the feasibility of your announcing a <u>memorial week</u>, June 21 through June 28th and/or your announcing a national committment to one minute of silence at 11AM on the morning of June 21st in memoriam for all the civil rights martyrs of recent years. This, of course, could be appropriately coordinated through all the families and organizations involved.

Thirdly, I would also appreciate it if you could issue a statement or proclamation through your offices regarding either the one minute of silence, one week memorial, or a general statement commemorating the anniversary.

For your information, we are asking the State of New York and the local Board of Education to issue such proclamations, attend the service, and institute the one minute of silence. Governor Rockefeller has already indicated warm interest.

I regret very much having to burden you with these problems, however, I think you can fully understand the emotional and historical significance of these requests to our nation.

My warmest regards to your family and I look forward to seeing you or hearing from you.

I remain

Yours in freedom,

James Farmer
National Director

JF/hi

for Pres Johnson

June 9, 1965

The Hon. John Sparkman
Chairman, Senate Banking and
Currency Committee
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Sparkman:

Today I have sent the following telegram to the President:

> CORE commends and supports the Administration's Housing Program now before Congress. However, we wish to indicate our strong support for amendments proposed by nine Senators on April 9, 1965 before the House Subcommittee of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. We are particularly concerned that the bill contain provisions for rent subsidies for low income families affected by government programs, and further that provisions are included which encourage rehabilitation of existing housing for use of low income families. We urge your vigorous support of these provisions.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:nm

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

1965 AUG 5 PM 5 28

file - President

SSG034 NBB369 (09)PD252
WMR071 WC132
(WMR) GOVT DL PD WUX THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC 5 NFT
JAMES FARMER, CORE
38 PARK ROW NYK
THE PRESIDENT HAS ASKED ME TO INVITE YOU TO THE SIGNING OF VOTING RIGHTS FRIDAY, AUGUST 6, 1965, AT 12:00 P.M. AT THE U. S. CAPITOL. YOU SHOULD PRESENT YOURSELF AT THE CAPITOL NO LATER THAN 11:30 A.M. PLEASE ADVISE ME IF YOUR SCHEDULE WILL PERMIT YOU TO ATTEND. BRING YOUR TELEGRAM AS IT WILL BE YOUR ADMISSION CARD. YOU SHOULD ENTER THE CAPITOL VIA THE HOUSE WING AND REPORT TO THE DOORKEEPER'S OFFICE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
LAWRENCE F O'ORIEN SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT.

JAMAICA NY

JA OCT 17

PRES. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

WHITE HOUSE

MIN NL PD

170-3141(K

NEW IMAGINATIVE RENT SUPPLEMENT PROGRAM OF HOUSING ACT ENDANGERED BY HOUSE REPRESENTATIVES APPROPRIATION REFUSAL. WE URGED STRONGEST ADMINISTRATION ACTION SEEKING SENATOR APPROPRIATION FULL $60,000,000. IF NECESSARY TO ASSURE BEGINNING OF PROGRAM TO END ECONOMIC GHETTOS AND OFFER DECENT HOUSING FOR ALL THROUGHOUT THE COMMUNITY

WASH DC

JAMES FARMER
DIRECTOR, CONGRE
RACIAL EQUALITY

SAME AS SIG
38 PARK ROW
NYC

President Johnson

Copy for Mr. Farmer

Dublin, New Hampshire
November 29, 1963

President Lyndon B. Johnson
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

I have just wired you as follows: "Commend your top priority for strong civil rights law since this the all-important moral issue of utmost consequence for the reputation both of yourself and of our country. Good wishes."

I emphasize that the civil rights bill now in the Rules Committee of the House is the minimum worth while bill and that it should be out of the question to water it down by compromise as occurred with the 1960 legislation. Rather than that, it would be better, I believe, to enact no civil rights legislation at all and let the struggle for real racial justice be fought out to a finish as a matter of principle involving the moral integrity of our people.

I wish you well and am, with great respect,

Sincerely yours,

s/ Grenville Clark

Jonesboro

DOMESTIC SERVICE
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram

TELEGRAM	X
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 (4-53)

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate

FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE-SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
				23rd March '65

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

POSTMASTER GENERAL
U.S. POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM SENT FROM JONESBORO BY JAMES FARMER:

I AM SHOCKED TO FIND THAT IN JONESBORO, LOUISIANA NEGRO CITIZENS ARE DENIED MAIL DELIVERY SERVICE. NEGROES MUST EITHER RENT POST OFFICE BOXES OR PICK UP MAIL FROM GENERAL DELIVERY. EVEN WHEN NEGROES AND WHITES LIVE ON SAME STREET MAIL DELIVERY STOPS AT THE BOUNDARYES OF WHITE RESIDENCES. STRONGLY PROTEST THIS INTOLERABLE DISCRIMINATION IN FEDERAL SERVICE. REQUEST REPLY.

JAMES FARMER
NATIONAL DIRECTOR
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park ROW
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10038

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

1965 MAR 24 PM 6

SF-1201 (4-60)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
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The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

UJA097 (10)RA264
N R WB129 PD
FAX WASHINGTON DC 24 432P EST
JAMES FARMER, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 PRK ROW NYK

THIS IS IN REPLY TO YOUR TELEGRAM OF MARCH 23, ALLEGING DISCRIMINATION IN MAIL DELIVERY SERVICE IN JONESBORO, LOUISIANA. I HAVE ORDERED AN IMMEDIATE INVESTIGATION AT THE JONESBORO, LOUISIANAPOST OFFICE TO DETERMINE THE FACTS IN THIS SITUATION. I WILL BE HAPPY TO ADVISE YOU IMMEDIATELY UPON COMPLETION OF THIS INQUIRY

JOHN A GRONOUSKI POSTMASTER GENERAL
(15).

MAR 25 1965

JONESBORO

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
(212) CO 7-6270
ATTENTION: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE INCREASES PRESSURE IN JONESBORO, LOUISIANA

Jonesboro, La., March 24, 1965--Three hundred fifty students marched to the office of the school board here today, lead by Glen Johnson, a student leader, to protest inadequate courses in the Negro schools.

The demonstration, organized by CORE, centered around demands for classes in foreign languages at the secondary level and improvement in curriculum. The Superintendent of the School Board stated that he would have a reply for the students and CORE tomorrow. In the meantime, 250 students are picketing the office of the school board.

The demonstration was part of the stepped-up activity in the Jonesboro area by CORE, particularly in response to the "blockading" of the Negro area by the local police. During the past week, Negroes have not been allowed to leave the area in which they live. The blockade has been lifted, but intimidation has been continued on the part of the whites in Jonesboro.

James Farmer, the National Director of CORE, organized a march yesterday and spoke at a mass rally in the roller-skate arena, with 1,000 persons attending and the crowd overflowing onto the sidewalks. Jonesboro has a total population of 8,000.

As part of the demonstrations, four Negroes attempted to be served at the Blue Grill Restaurant in a test of local compliance to the Civil Rights Act. They were refused service and arrested on a charge of disturbing the peace. Twenty-five dollars bond was required but the charge was later dropped. The four were Mrs. Queenie Esther Thompson, 22, Mr. Freeman Scott, 17, Miss Brenda Barrett, 17, and Mr. Willard Roff, 19.

James Farmer also sent a telegram to Postmaster General John A. Gronouski protesting discriminatory policies by the local post office in Jonesboro, which will not deliver mail to Negroes. Negro residents are forced to rent a post office box or stop by the post office for their mail, even when they live on the same street as the white residents, whose mail is delivered. The Postmaster General has initiated an investigation.

cpy - Ouchita / Jones - file Jonesboro

Office of the Postmaster General
Washington, D.C. 20260

April 5, 1965

APR 6 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
30 Park Row
New York, N. Y. 10038

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Further reference is made to my telegram of March 24, 1965 regarding delivery service at the Jonesboro, Louisiana Post Office.

Investigation reveals that the area in question does not have delivery service because it fails to meet postal criteria for either city delivery service or rural delivery service.

Please be assured that race is not a factor insofar as the Post Office Department is concerned.

The establishment of city delivery service in this area would require the erection of street signs at each intersection where they do not presently exist and the assignment of house numbers, both of which are the responsibility of the local municipal governing body. The extension of rural delivery service would necessitate the erection of approved rural mail boxes by each patron.

It is our understanding that street signs in other areas of the city are being purchased and erected by civic organizations. We, therefore, mention the possibility of some organization in the Jonesboro community undertaking the procurement of street signs in the subject area as a local project. Insofar as the postal service is concerned it would be entirely satisfactory if the residents, with the concurrence of city officials, procure and erect the necessary signs. It is understood that the Mayor stated that he would assign the house numbers.

If the patrons prefer that rural service be extended, which will not require the assignment of house numbers and the erection of street signs, but only the erection of approved rural mail boxes, we are prepared to extend rural service to the area at an early date.

Mr. Richard Haley, CORE's Southern Director in New Orleans, Louisiana, has been furnished this information.

Your interest in the postal service and cooperation in this matter are greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

John A. Gronouski

Postmaster General

April 5, 1965

[redacted]

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Further reference is made to my telegram of March 24, 1965 regarding delivery service at the Jonesboro, Louisiana Post Office.

Investigation reveals that the area in question does not have delivery service because it fails to meet postal criteria for either city delivery service or rural delivery service.

Please be assured that area is not a factor insofar as the Post Office Department is concerned.

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Mr. Richard Haley, CORE's Southern Director in New Orleans, Louisiana, has been furnished this information.

Your interest in the postal service and cooperation in this matter are greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

H. John Gronouski

Postmaster General

sent copy to Haley JONESBORO

AUG 16 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10038

Dear Mr. Farmer:

On March 24, 1965, the Postmaster General sent a telegram in reply to your telegram of March 24, concerning alleged discrimination in mail service at Jonesboro, Louisiana. At that time, he stated that he would "advise you immediately upon completion of this inquiry."

The Regional Director, Dallas, Texas, has reported the following as being the latest development in the matter:

> "The postmaster advises that city delivery service has been extended to the subdivision having approximately 75% Negro families. Street signs have been erected and house numbers have been assigned. The postmaster advises that only about 15 residents have taken advantage of the service at this time. He is conducting a campaign to advise the patrons of the service that is available. An information sheet will be furnished to each resident of the area pointing out the steps that will be necessary for them to take advantage of the service that is now available."

There is, however, a problem which still exists in the delivery of mail to the Negro community of Jonesboro. Many of the homes are not equipped with mail receptacle which are a necessary part of mail delivery. We would appreciate your urging the Negro residents of Jonesboro to equip their homes with the necessary mail receptacle.

We hope that the results of our inquiry meet with your approval as our service to the public is without favoritism or discrimination.

We greatly appreciate your interest in the matter.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) W. M. McMillan

W.M. McMillan

Chronology on Jonesboro

Jackson Parish

July 7, 1964 - Ronnie Moore and Mike Lesser were driving from Jonesboro to Monroe when three cars of whites tried to detain them on the highway. Moore was driving and was able to get away from the three cars by making a u-turn and slightly knocked against one of the other cars. Then there was a chase back to Jonesboro at 105 mph. Moore and Lesser got to where the CORE workers were staying at Jonesboro. The three cars passed back and forth in front of the house. The Chief of Police was called along with the Sheriff but they did not respond until the FBI was contacted through Marvin Rich in New York. Then the Sheriff's deputies arrived along with the Chief of Police. The next day in Monroe, James O. Smith filed a warrant for Moore's arrest on the charge of reckless driving and hit-and-run. Moore later filed the same against James O. Smith.

July 10, 1964 - While canvassing Talbot Street in Jonesboro, threats of intimidation from the Sheriff's deputy and construction workers who told CORE workers to abandon work on voter registration in that area.

July 11, 1964 - Cathy Patterson, Robert Weaver, Bill Yates, Calvin Williams, Fred Brooks, and a local worker Doris Davis were apprehended by three Jackson Parish Deputies, one Lincoln Parish Chief Deputy, and one Louisiana State Trooper on U. S. Highway 167 and held for approximately two hours. They were made to pose for pictures taken by one of the officers, while standing outside of their car which was impounded by Jackson Parish Sheriff, although the incidents occurred in Lincoln Parish. The group received threats from these authorities when they refused to cooperate. Workers, Yates and Miss Davis were held under arrest by Jackson Parish authorities pending investigation of their identification, but were released without charge.

July 13, 1964 - Three white youths stopped at the Freedom House and engaged in a conversation with CORE workers and policemen. Upon becoming rude they were asked to leave, but only after they had made threats on the lives of the occupants of the Freedom House and Robert Weaver in particular.

July 30, 1964 - The KKK members burned crosses throughout Jackson Parish and nearly 50 or more Klansmen marched through the Negro section of Jonesboro, Louisiana holding burning torches in their hands lead by a sheriff's patrol car. The Negro section witnessed this and organized a group called the Deacons of the Defense of Justice.

November 30, 1964 - A cross was burned about two blocks from the Freedom House Saturday morning at 2 o'clock and five shots were fired around the House. Reports were made to the FBI. An investigation was made by the FBI and the Justice Department, Thursday evening.

In Early December - Jackson Parish library system was desegregated.

Jonesboro (Direct?)

Northern Committee to aid
Jonesboro Project
115 Sims Road
University Heights
Syracuse, New York 13210

Dear Faculty Member:

A project has recently been introduced on campus by a group of students which deals with raising funds to aid in the rebuilding of two churches in Jonesboro, Louisiana. If you are not familiar with this issue, these churches were burned as a result of their being used for meetings connected with the Civil Rights effort in that area. There is already some effort being made at Southern University and other colleges in the Louisiana area to rebuild these churches. To this effort, the above mentioned group of students and their faculty sponsors are attempting to lend as much support as possible.

This issue is one that is typical of others in the South today. We feel that this is an excellent chance to exert some influence within the sphere of situations such as these. We are sure that there are few among us who feel positively toward such activities as church-burning and the destroying of unity in a small and relatively underpriviledged community. However, with small bits of communication filtering in through the Northern newspapers and other media, we are apt to feel very far away from these incidents.

Here, then, is a chance to shorten the distance between Syracuse and places like Jonesboro, Louisiana, and to feel an active involvement in the struggle for human rights. This project has a much broader scope than the scattered demonstrations throughout the country with which you may or may not agree. None of the negative aspects of the Civil Rights issue can be applied here. It is a simple question of human survival and it is on this basis that we ask you for a contribution.

It would help us if you would please acknowledge this letter in some way, and let us know of your intentions.

Thank you very much for your attention.

Very truly yours,

Nina Adams

I _____ donate $_____ to the Northern Committee to aid Jonesboro.

Date _____ Signed _____

File - Jonesboro - make hanging folder

DOMESTIC SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram

TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$ S E

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 (4-55)

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate

FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE-SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Richard Haley
2209 Dryhades Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

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November 26, 1965

CONFIDENTIAL PRELIMINARY WORKING PAPER NOT FOR PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION

To: Due Process Committee

From: Eleanor Holmes Norton

Re: Fair Jury Selection

Preliminary Working Paper on Fair Jury Selection

Table of Contents

Present Position of the ACLU on Discriminatory Jury Selection Methods i

I. Introduction 1

II. Fair Federal Juries 2

III. Enforcement Measures Applicable to Federal and State Courts 4

A. National Jury Commission 6
1. Federal Courts 6
2. State Courts 8

B. Suits initiated by the Attorney General 8

C. CORE PLAN for federal jury registrars analogous to the present federal voting registrars 10

D. Supervision by Law by the United States Supreme Court or Judicial Conference 11

IV. Random Sample Technique as Applied to Juror Selection . . . 12

V. Critique of Selected Judicial Conference Recommendations on Jury Selection in the Federal Courts 19

Appendix I: Title 28 - Judiciary and Judicial Procedure Chapter 121 - Juries; Trial by Jury . . . . . a

Appendix II: Revision of Title 28, Chapter 21, to Include the Random Sample Selection Method as drawn up by Charles Morgan, Jr., Southern Regional Office, ACLU . . . . . d

Appendix III: Juror Qualification Statutes in Deep Southern States . . . . . g

PRESENT POSITION OF THE ACLU ON DISCRIMINATORY JURY SELECTION METHODS

Every defendant, in state and federal courts alike, has the right to be tried by an impartial jury which represents a cross-section of the community and which does not intentially or systematically exclude persons of his own color, race, economic class, or sex.

In the particularly critical area of the exclusion of Negroes from jury service, the Attorney General should be empowered to bring injunctive suits against the offending officials. Because the Attorney General is in a better position than are the private attorneys of Negro defendants to obtain the witnesses and records necessary to prove systematic exclusion, and because even frequent reversals of the criminal convictions of Negro defendants on the ground of exclusion of Negroes from the jury may not result in abandonment of this practice, direct use of the resources of the federal government ought to remedy the situation far more rapidly than private action.

(Due Process Committee, 20 May 1964, Press Release 28 Aug. 1961, and Weekly Bulletin, 10 Aug. 1959 for paragraph 1. Testimony on Civil Rights Legislation, 24 July 1963 for paragraph 2.)

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WORKING PAPER, NOT FOR PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION

To: Due Process Committee

From: Eleanor Holmes Norton

PRELIMINARY WORKING PAPER ON FAIR JURY SELECTION

I. Introduction

Unfair jury selection methods have at last come under scrutiny in high places as a result of recent trials in Alabama and Georgia. Until now, the Government's interest in fair selection practices has not reached so far as the enforcement stage; Congress has been content to gradually improve its jury selection laws (see Appendix I for present Federal jury law). But this week, the President asked the Attorney General to write a law to insure fair jury selection methods.

Of the three principal ways that can now be used against systematic exclusion of minority groups from juries, only one requires government initiative. Section 243 of the Criminal Code making it a crime to exclude jurors on account of race or color has never been used in the twentieth century. Nor does it seem the most realistic remedy without the wholesale jury reform that would be necessary to get convictions.

The other two remedies against segregated juries require litigant initiative. The most familiar and often used is the challenge to the grand or petit jury by a defendant in a criminal case because of the systematic exclusion of members of his race. Although the litigant's interest in the criminal trial situation

is great enough to insure this kind of challenge today, the Civil Rights Commission has pointed out that "it is a case-by-case method that can have only a remote effect upon the over-all problem" of segregated juries. (Justice, p. 100 (1961).)

The third and least used method is a suit under 42 U.S.C. 1983, which allows an excluded minority to seek injunctive relief from the Federal District Court. The low self-interest inherent in such a suit when coupled with the court and attorney costs probably accounts for the infrequent use of Sec. 1983 in this connection; there is only one reported case.

Even if the three existing remedies are improved, new approaches must be tried to insure systematic reform. This memorandum suggests a number of methods for consideration. Although they are widely varied and far from equally likely to be enacted into law, they have in common the introduction of an approach scaled at the system of racially segregated juries instead of at the particular case.

II. Fair Federal Juries

Fair jury selection has been a matter of national policy since June, 1948, when the Federal jury law was reformed. Yet the practice of excluding Negroes from Southern juries continues unreformed. Even Federal courts use selection methods that lend themselves to manipulation, including the gathering of names from state jury lists and from stalwart figures in the community.

The chasm between policy and practice does not, however, flow from an equivocal or unclear statute; 28 U.S.C. §1861 prescribes:

> "Any citizen of the United States who has attained the age of twenty-one years and who has resided for a period of one year within the

judicial district, is competent to serve as a grand or petit juror unless—

(1) He has been convicted in a State of Federal court of record of a crime punishable by imprisonment for more than one year and his civil rights have not been restored by pardon or amnesty.

(2) He is unable to read, write, speak, and understand the English language.

(3) He is incapable, by reason of mental or physical infirmities to render efficient jury service. As amended Sept. 9, 1957, Pub. L. 85-315, Part V, §152, 71 Stat. 638."

Nor can the failure to implement clear statutory policy be assigned to a failure to keep current the specifics of what constitutes fairness in jury selection. Among the recommendations of the Judicial Conference in September, 1960 are these three rather unexceptionable suggestions:

"I. In order that grand and petit jurors who serve in United States district courts may be truly representative of the community, the sources from which they are selected should include all economic and social groups of the community. The jury list should represent as high a degree of intelligence, morality, integrity, and common sense as possible.

"II. The choice of specific sources from which names of prospective jurors are selected must be entrusted to the clerk and jury commissioner, acting under the direction of the district judge, but should be controlled by the following considerations: (1) the sources should be coordinated to include all groups in the community; (2) economic and social status including race and color should be considered for the sole purpose of preventing discrimination or quota selection; (3) women are now eligible by law for jury service in federal courts and they should be selected and called to serve without discrimination on account of sex; (4) political affiliation should be ignored; (5) generally speaking, unsolicited requests of persons who seek to have their names placed upon jury lists should be denied and unsolicited recommendations of names should not be recognized; and, (6) in determining the parts of the district from which jurors are to be drawn, the courts should bear in mind the desirability of conserving the time of jurors and preventing exorbitant travel expense to the government.

> "III. The statutory requirement that federal courts must observe the qualifications and exemptions prescribed for jurors in the state courts has been abandoned, and jurors should now be called without regard to state qualifications."

With all of the effort of the Judicial Conference to coax the adoption of uniform standards where matters of common fairness are concerned, former Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall reported this year that: "A Justice Department survey in 1961 showed that 92 Federal district courts had 92 different systems of selecting juries." The key then to a fair federal jury system lies in a more rigorous standardizing of policy throughout the several districts and a more conscientious policing of those standards.

Only the enactment of regulations pursuant to Sec. 1861 can assure fair standards throughout the country in the selection of federal juries. Ironically, although the Judicial Conference has proposed uniform standards and statutes of ever greater specificity, it took the position in its 1960 Report that: "It still does not seem feasible or desirable to draft detailed regulations to cover the preparation of jury lists throughout the United States, considering the great diversity of local economic and social conditions found in the several districts." (Pp. 25-6.) Yet there is no evidence from the Committee's report of any disadvantage that would come from uniform regulations. The indication is quite the opposite, as the Committee notes time and again the multiple failure to comply with Committee recommendations.

III. <u>Enforcement Measures Applicable to Federal and State Courts</u>

To avoid a piecemeal approach, to insure that the job is done most efficiently, and to effectively root out discrimination,

a national approach to the problems raised by unfair jury selection is necessary. Indeed, a national approach seems to be particularly appropriate in the national system of courts, where prior attempts at uniformity such as the rules of civil and criminal procedure have long been heralded as promoting justice.

In the federal system, jury reform can be approached keeping in mind only the promotion of justice, of efficiency, and other considerations based on improving quality, since the power of Congress, the Supreme Court, and the Justice Department to affect the operation of the federal courts in their several aspects is clear. Some constitutional and comity problems are suggested in the reform of state jury selection practices; but the equal protection and due process clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment and the Sixth Amendment guarantee of an impartial jury trial provide the basis for the enactment of federal statutes to correct discriminatory abuses of the right to jury trial where it exists in the state courts. It is difficult to find affirmative power for laying down uniform qualifications for state juries, since the states have the power to enact constitutional qualifications and standards for juries in their own courts; but this does not leave the Federal Government without power to act to end discrimination in state courts any more than the government had to abide school segregation in state public schools when the states themselves failed to act. (See Title IV, Sec. 407 of the 1964 Civil Rights Act empowering the Attorney General to initiate suits on complaint to end school segregation.) Among the approaches noted below are some which can be used against discriminatory jury practices in the state as well as the federal courts.

A. National Jury Commission:

1. Federal Courts

The administrative process is particularly adapted to problems where some continuing oversight is desirable. Whether or not it is desirable to erect a special new structure to handle jury problems is a question to be considered. Certainly the complexity of the problem and the large number of courts--whether federal alone or both federal and state--are enough to justify a separate body. In addition, there are mounting political problems in the enforcement of civil rights laws that a separate commission might circumvent.

The federal government's regular law enforcing arm, the Justice Department, has not been particularly dynamic in initiating court proceedings or other remedies to end segregation. The rather generalized anguish among civil rights forces at the slow pace of Department-initiated school desegregation efforts is a recent example. So is the call for the Attorney General to dispense more federal voting registrars to the South. Justice Department-initiated suits to end segregated practices in assembling juries will be discussed as an alternative enforcement method later. Still it should be noted that the Department has not in the past carried out its statutory mandate in civil rights with the zeal of the kind Federal Regulatory Commission proposed here.

A National Jury Commission would have the advantage of exclusive concern with jury problems, unhampered by the large number of diverse statutes under which a government department works. The need for a commission with this exclusive focus is apparent from the work of the Judicial Conference Committee on

the Operation of the Jury System. The Committee has no official status but operates as an advisory body only. Yet the problems it deals with are so fundamental and ongoing that the Committee has been retained by the Judicial Conference ever since 1943, although originally formed only as an ad hoc committee. Its scope has been similarly enlarged from the task of studying the methods of selecting jurors to include all matters relating to the operation of the jury system in the federal courts. Section 1861 was passed as a result of the Committee's 1943 study, and such uniformity as exists in federal jury selection and operation methods results mostly from the prestige that the Judicial Conference enjoys.

Nevertheless, the Conference acknowledged in the 1960 Report of its Jury Committee that despite obvious progress, "much remains to be done." A Committee that undertakes an investigation of the jury system once in seventeen years cannot do the extensive job of oversight that "remains to be done". A Committee without statutory significance cannot discourage old abuses that go as deep as racial segregation does in the South. A Committee without enforcement power cannot affect the extended reform that is necessary if Negroes are to serve on Southern juries in the near future.

A National Jury Commission would promulgate rules and regulations under an enabling statute and the present jury selection statute, Title 28, 1861-1871.

The jury commission would have its own independent staff, including its own lawyers, who could initiate suit to compel compliance with law or with commission rules and regulations. Such a commission might be expected to bring more suits

and otherwise pursue enforcement more vigorously than the Attorney General, considering the commission's singular focus and accumulating expertise.

2. State Courts

The jury commission might have a state as well as a federal section. The state section would, of course, have a more limited jurisdiction and enforcement power than the national selection. For example, the state section could not affirmatively set general standards and enforce them, but it might well draw up and circulate a model jury selection law. More important, however, would be its function in bringing suit where it found unconstitutional jury practices in the states, such as exclusion on account of race. The state section would also have broad investigation and subpoena powers.

B. Suits initiated by the Attorney General:

Justice Department-initiated suits are especially popular in the 1964 Civil Rights Act. In one form or the other, the Attorney General may sue to secure voting rights, to enjoin discrimination in public accommodations, to desegregate public education or to stop discriminatory employment practices. These suits lend government money and experience to enforcement efforts and take the expense and sometimes the initiative and fear of intimidation off of the individual litigant.

Recently, however, the Attorney General and the President have been criticized from every corner of the civil rights movement for government laxity in enforcing the new civil rights laws. The Attorney General has come under particular attack for the results of his school desegregation efforts. Civil Rights groups have gathered large numbers of complaints

from all over the South. The N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund recently published a particularly critical report. Further, the Attorney General has been loudly criticized for his cautious use of his discretion to send federal voting registrars into the South. Still the Attorney General route has the advantage of having already been sanctioned into law in prior acts and must be considered as a serious alternative approach.

Title III of the 1964 Civil Rights Act authorizing suits to desegregate public facilities might be a model for a provision to desegregate juries. Some additional features are proposed: That in addition to moving on receipt of a complaint, the Attorney General be able to initiate investigation and complaints on his own. This addition seems appropriate because Justice Department lawyers are in and out of courts, and of their own knowledge might well know or hear of discriminatory jury practices. The Attorney General should be empowered to move against segregated jury patterns in state as well as federal courts. In addition, he should be able to act without investigating the need of the litigant or the interest of other groups in the case--both of which necessitate delays not well founded in light of the national interest in more rapid integration. A proposed statute might read:

(a) Whenever the Attorney General receives a complaint in writing signed by an individual to the effect that he is being deprived of his right to the equal protection of the laws,on account of his race, color, religion,or national origin, by being denied an equal opportunity to serve on a jury in a state

or federal court, or whenever the Attorney General otherwise reasonably believes an unfair pattern of jury selection is being used in a state or federal court, and that the institution of an action will materially further the orderly progress of desegregation of juries, the Attorney General is authorized to institute for or in the name of the United States a civil action in any appropriate district court of the United States against such parties and for such relief as may be appropriate, and such court shall have and shall exercise jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this section. The Attorney General may implead as defendants such additional parties as are or become necessary to the grant of effective relief hereunder.

(b) In any action or proceeding under this title the United States shall be liable for costs, including a reasonable attorney's fee, the same as a private person.

(c) Nothing in this title shall affect adversely the right of any person to sue for or obtain relief in any court against discrimination in any facility covered by this title.

C. CORE Plan for federal jury registrars analogous to the present federal voting registrars.

Carl Rachlin, the General Counsel for CORE, has gotten a good response from Leadership Conference members to his proposal for federal jury registrars. There is presently no legal memoran-

dum available; but a jury registrar statute would work like the present voting registrar statute. Carl Rachlin says that Assistant Attorney General John Doar likes the idea and presumably will air it among Justice Department officials presently working on a jury selection law.

Applied to jury selection, the proposal would mean that federal registrars would be empowered to place on federal, state and county jury rolls all those eligible to serve. As with the Voting Rights Act, a jury law would not preempt state jurisdiction but would merely suspend certain juror qualifications for such time as they might be used to violate constitutional rights. We might do well to suggest that in order to avoid exclusive reliance on the Attorney General, the federal courts might also be empowered to send in juror registrars, or a National Jury Commission might do so.

D. Supervision by law by the United States Supreme Court or Judicial Conference.

An alternative way of assuring surveillance of the jury system in the federal courts is through the Supreme Court in the same way as the Court now promulgates federal rules of procedure. Or the Judicial Conference Committee on the Operation of the Jury System might be given official standing to do the job. The disadvantage of using either of these bodies is the attendance to detail that is required because of the number of courts and the statistical problems that are raised. A staff might well attend to details with the necessary competence, however, leaving either judicial body as the ultimate decision-maker. In any case, only the federal courts would be covered.

* * * * * * * * *

IV. The Random Sample Method as Applied to Juror Selection.

Charles Morgan has proposed and in the minds of the public, the ACLU has become identified with a random sample approach to the selection of jurors. That technique, according to an expert, John F. Kraft of New York City, is practical; can be used without the aid of computer machines, technical equipment or technical know-how; can be taught to a person of ordinary intelligence once the system is set up; can be set up by a Bureau of Labor Statistics, a Chamber of Commerce, or comparable public and private organizations found in every state; and is the only method in general use that can obtain the "truly representative"cross section of an entire community recommended by the Judicial Conference Committee on the Operation of the Jury System. No known list or combination of lists can produce a representative cross section of a population in Mr. Kraft's expert opinion.

Mr. Kraft described the system and evaluated its potential in jury selection in his deposition as follows:

Q. Can you briefly describe the method by which you undertake a poll ....?

A. ... [w]e could decide that 100 interviewing points at which ten interviews were to be done -- at each of which ten interviews were to be done, that is -- would produce an accurate cross section of the entire voting population.

We would then allocate those interviewing points of ten interviews each to counties within a state at random and proportionate to the size of those counties.

Now, if more than one point were to fall within a larger county, we would then allocate these points at random, proportionate to the size of population within the county.

At a given interviewing point, we would specify to an interviewer that he or she must begin at a given point -- that is, a given point which had previously been randomly selected -- and he would be directed to begin at the third household at the northeast corner, for instance, interviewing at every fifth household around the block or down the street or all along the rural route -- whichever was relevant to the local situation.

* * * * * * * * *

Q. What is the degree of accuracy with respect to the entire population with which you are concerned of the information which you obtain through investigation of randomly selected cross sections of the population?

A. The accuracy can vary, depending upon how intensively you sample a particular population or universe. That is to say, a national cross section of 2000 interviews on such a question as, "Would you vote for Johnson or Goldwater?" could be expected to produce an accurate prediction, so to speak, within 2 or 3 per cent.

This has been the kind of experience that Gallup has demonstrated during the last several presidential elections.

A more intensive sample, that is to say, sampling of one out of every ten people rather than one out of every ten million people, will of course, be much more accurate.

However, there is no magic in doubling, tripling or quintupling the sample size in the sense that accuracy does not increase in direct proportion to the increase in sample size.

* * * * * * * * *

Q. In your professional opinion and experience, Mr. Kraft, have you been satisfied that the results of random sampling techniques are, in fact, very accurately reflective of the particular kind of information which you may be seeking in a particular poll?

A. Not only are we satisfied but we have found, in hundreds of studies, that the sampling techniques I have been describing here are really the only way to do a proper job of producing the kind of cross section that is needed in one situation or another.

* * * * * * * * *

Q. I take it that, given these scientific random sampling techniques, it is possible to investigate any particular cross section of the population which would be relevant to the study you are conducting?

A. Yes.

* * * * * * * * *

Q. So you would describe, then, the random sampling technique as a precise and scientific method for obtaining information of a great variety of sorts?

A. It's indeed precise, within some of the limits I have suggested -- the one or 2 or 3 per cent error -- and it's scientific because it removes the human element from deciding whom to interview or what the universe may be. It is impersonal.

* * * * * * * * *

Q. If I put to you an example of this kind: Let us assume there is a county in the State of Alabama which has a

population of approximately 15,000, which consists of a Negro population of approximately 12,500 and a white population of 3000, and assume further that, as in any representative community, there is not only the description of population by race, but also by age, education and economic status. And if I were to ask you whether it would be possible to apply random sampling techniques in order to obtain a very accurate cross section of this particular community, in order to assure that an accurate cross section of the community were available for service on juries, would the techniques you have described be applicable to this problem?

A. There is no reason why they could not or would not be.

* * * * * * * * * *

Q. Do you mean that there isn't any question that it could be?

A. I mean there is no question that it could be done.

* * * * * * * * * *

Q. In other words, the technique is transferrable to this particular situation?

A. Not only that, but it would be easier than some of the problems I have described to you earlier.

* * * * * * * * * *

Q. Why do you say that?

A. The information on the population of a county in Alabama is much more complete in terms of sex, age, economic level, race, average rental and other kinds of information than it is for any other universe or kind of population I have discussed before.

There is really no census material on who used Pyrex. There is inadequate information on who owns new Ramblers, and there is not much information on who switched from Marboros to L & Ms last week.

* * * * * * * * * *

Q. But the kind of characteristics which I have described are -- I assume what you are saying is that they are readily identifiable?

A. That is right.

* * * * * * * * * *

Q. Could you describe how the random sampling technique could be adapted to the selection within Lowndes County, for example, of a cross-sectional list of prospective jurors?

A. I would assume that the kind of county you are talking about, as would be true of any other county, would have

the same Bureau of the Census information on enumeration districts, census tract or block statistics as any census would.

* * * * * * * * * *

Q. You are referring, I assume, to the Federal decennial census.

A. That's right. And in using this information, you should select at random and impartially a relevant number of enumeration districts which would be designed to provide the number of jurors which might be needed.

For example, in that county you might pick forty blocks, or forty enumeration districts, depending upon the characteristics of the county, and within each of those randomly selected blocks do what in effect would be a census of every fifth household in those blocks, and within those households make a random selection of citizens eligible to serve on juries -- that is to say, men and women over 21, upper income and lower income people, whites and Negroes, and so on.

* * * * * * * * * *

Q. And it wouldn't affect your judgment, would it, if, as in Alabama, women are restricted from jury service? Your technique would be adapted to that fact, would it not?

A. Well, there would be two approaches we would consider. We could automatically eliminate, again, in scientific fashion, the women from such a sampling or, on the other hand, they could be included in a sampling, which would necessarily be a larger sampling, in anticipation of most of these women expressing a disinclination to serve on a jury.

* * * * * * * * * *

Q. Would it be very difficult to set up the mechanics of operating a jury selection system on a random sampling basis?

A. I assume you mean from the point of view of a local --

* * * * * * * * * *

Q. Could a local resident of Lowndes County, of common intelligence and average education, do whatever would be necessary in order to set up and administer such a jury selection system?

A. Yes, but with this qualification:

The sampling approach I have been talking about would have to be summarized for that local person to put into action.

The summarization could be simple and quite straightforward, perhaps adding up to a page or two or three of direc-

tions specifying such things as, "Go to the corner of Maple and Ash Streets and get the names of the people in every third household," as I have described the procedure earlier.

* * * * * * * * * *

Q. So this initial preparation would have to be done by experts, but it could be implemented with easily-understood instructions?

A. Yes, but the experts would not have to take a great deal of time to set up such a system.

For someone trained in the business of sample selection, it would be a relatively straightforward and simple operation provided the kind of census material I have talked about were made available.

It could be done, for example, I am sure, by people in the Bureau of Labor Statistics within a state, or a Chamber of Commerce, or comparable organizations with census material available.

* * * * * * * * * *

Q. Do you know of any other system of selection which might achieve the same accurate cross-sectional results in the jury selection process as the random sampling technique you have described?

A. No. There is none that we have heard of and none that we have been able to discover.

* * * * * * * * * *

Q. As you no doubt know, there are a variety of selection techniques used in drawing jurors around the country, not including the random sampling techniques but rather using such devices as telephone directories or property tax rolls or gas and electric company records or voting records.

Do you have an opinion about the cross-sectional accuracies of those kinds of lists?

A. Yes. And let me take up a couple of them.

You mentioned telephone listings. In some sections of the country, for example in New York City, there are as many as 400,000 unlisted telephones, so that any survey sample is going to omit representation of the kinds of people who do not want their telephones listed in New York City.

For quite different reasons, there are many unlisted telephone numbers in a city like Houston.

Secondly, where telephones are concerned, this is an expense, so that resorting to telephone listings would automatically exclude from any sound sampling procedure those people who are too poor, or consider themselves to be too poor, to have a telephone in the home.

In other words, you would have a bias in the direc-

tion of upper income people by going to the telephone listings in this situation.

Taking the example of the utilities, in many rural areas there are a great many people who still rely on coal, kerosene, candlelight and just plain daylight, and resorting to such lists would, again, automatically exclude people who were too poor, or too far down the economic ladder, to afford utility service.

You mentioned voter lists. There are wild variations in this area because a great many people in a great many counties are unregistered, or just do not vote or, in fact, in counties or states where there is a large transient population, inevitably an effort to use voting lists may omit as many as 15 to 25 per cent of the resident population.

You also mentioned using property tax rolls. Again, this strikes against lower income people, whether they be people with large families, people who are sporadically employed, or what have you.

* * * * * * * * * *

Q. Is there any kind of list, except census material, which can be used to get a representative cross-section of a given population?

A. Not if you are undertaking to do a survey, for example, for a political client, or for a client who has a product which is in general use throughout a county, a state or a region.

* * * * * * * * * *

Q. In your opinion, Mr. Kraft, what would be the cross-sectional accuracy of a list of jurors selected by jury commissioners, for example, on the basis of their personal acquaintances or by their writing large numbers of letters to different groups of people, or even to individuals within a community?

A. Well, if they were to communicate with their friends and acquaintances, they just conceivably might be reproducing a cross-section of their friends and acquaintances, but they certainly wouldn't be reproducing a cross-section of a total population in an area because it is an incredibly rare person who has an acquaintanceship with a representative cross-section of an entire population.

With regard to writing letters to large numbers of people, first we have to face the problem of whether or not mail delivery is available to all of the people in the population, whether addresses are correct and whether in fact his signature will spur or discourage response to his letter.

So the two examples you ask about seem to me to insure unrepresentativeness, quite the opposite from a representative cross-section.

* * * * * * * * * *

Q. In the random sampling selection technique of jurors which you have described, is there any room whatsoever for the exercise of subjective discretion in the selection of jurors by the persons administering the selection process?

That is to say, do the personal preferences of the person administering this random sample jury selection technique enter into the selection process at all?

A. Not the process we have been describing, not in any way.

Let me explain it this way: The whole focus of our approach is to remove human discretion from scientific sampling, to remove the possibility of bias in selecting the sample, and the kind of sample selection I have been describing here is one which will effectively do that, and I believe it is really the only way to insure selecting a random representative cross-section of a given population and be totally unbiased.

* * * * * * * * *

Q. In conclusion, do you know of any system other than the random sampling system based upon Federal census material that can produce the same highly accurate cross-section of a population?

A. There would be no other material available as of right now to produce a better approach.

* * * * * * * * *

The courts have in the past condoned varied kinds of lists where defendants have tried to reverse their convictions on grounds of exclusion of their race from juries. Taxable property lists (Brown v. Allen, 344 U.S. 443, 474 fn 109 (1953) and voter registration lists (Florida, Mississippi, and South Carolina use such lists) have been sanctioned. While the exclusion that results from the use of such lists does not involve a specific intent to exclude those who do not belong to the group listed, the exclusion is no less systematic. Legislation prescribing the use of a random sample method would eliminate the wholesale systematic exclusion that results. Moreover, if the expert testimony is accepted, state as well as federal courts would have to use the random sample method to avoid unconstitutional systematic exclusion.

V. Critique of Selected Judicial Conference Recommendations on Jury Selection in the Federal Courts

The well-publicized call for federal legislation to protect civil rights workers cannot result in an improved quality of Southern justice if federal jury selection methods leave room for racially selected juries of the kind who now unfairly fail to convict in the state courts. The kind and degree of surveillance that juries in federal courts need is indicated by the 151-page Report of the Judicial Conference Committee on the Operation of the Jury System, issued in 1960. This report used as its model the so-called Knox Report on jury selection methods, the first study of federal juries, issued in 1942. Although the 1960 Report enlarged on its 1942 predecessor by covering the entire jury system, the bulk of the report dealt with the troublesome area of jury selection. Both studies compiled statistics with the help of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts. Personal interviews and field investigations supplemented questionnaires.

The Committee has through its studies and its prestige secured improved legislation. Although the Judicial Conference Committee is a standing committee to which legislation respecting juries is referred, it is, after all, a committee of judges, and time pressures have undoubtedly been responsible for its failure to publish more than two studies in 17 years. This committee is, however, the only body presently keeping any kind of coordinated surveillance over the jury operations in the federal courts.

The following list and critique of relevant recommendations from the Conference Committee study has three purposes. In the first place, the Committee recommendations give the best concise idea of the present state of jury selection methods in the federal courts. Second, while many of the recommendations would obviously improve jury selection from the viewpoint of fiarness, many would simply sustain a system that has lent itself to racial discrimination and ought to be criticized as such. Finally, since the federal courts are at bottom a unit, they are more easily reformed at the national level, thereby affording the Union an opportunity to suggest ways to avoid discriminatory practices.

1. The Committee comes out against uniform and detailed regulations "to cover the preparation of jury lists throughout the country", on grounds of the "great diversity" within the districts. Uniform regulations to insure fairness would not, however, deny the individuality of conditions in the districts. Only those matters would be subject to uniform regulation which relate to general fairness, a standard which ought not to differ from district to district.

2. The scope and method of distribution of the questionnaire the Committee would leave to the local clerk and jury commissioner, because, for example, a more lengthy questionnaire might be necessary where personal interviews are impossible. This clearly leaves too much discretion to jury officials and assures highly varied standards for jury service in the districts.

3. The Committee recommends omitting questions that would indicate race, religion, political beliefs, ownership of property, outstanding judgments and their nature, prior rejection for cause from jury service, and participation in private suits. These questions are so highly prejudicial that their omission should be a matter of uniform regulation.

4. The Committee confirms its 1942 recommendation that "the problem of geographical representation . . . is one for the unfettered discretion of each court." (Emphasis added) This recommendation is disastrous when it is considered that whole counties whose population is predominantely Negro

may be thus easily excluded on the ground, for example, of the expense that the district would incur in having to pay mileage. The random sample method is cut out to deal with the problem of geographical distribution.

5. The Committee condones the three principal methods by which the names of jurors are secured, namely, "key-men" or organizations, various public lists such as "public directories, tax rolls, or voter lists (the three principal lists used in most districts); and "the clerks or jury commissioners or recommendations of their friends or acquaintances". Even if great care is used, as the Committee recommends, none of these methods or combination of methods can yield representative juror lists. All have been specifically condemned as unfair by John Kraft, an expert on the random sample method.

6. State jury lists are not to be used in the view of the Committee, a recommendation that follows present law inasmuch as state exemptions are no longer recognized in federal courts. (See Sec. 1861 as amended September 9, 1957, Pub. L. ¶5-315, Part V, ¶152, 71 Stat. 638.) The Committee found, however, that state lists are still being used in at least 16 districts, and in 3, only state lists are used. The Committee's recommendation against the use of state jury lists is a particularly apt example of one that should be a matter of uniform regulation pursuant to Sec. 1861, especially given the present incidence of non-compliance.

7. The Committee disapproves the present practice of interviewing some groups but not others. If interviews are used, clearly all prospective

jurors should be subject to them,or discrimination cannot be avoided.

8. The Committee's recommendation that the final choice of the means of selecting jurors rest with district judges does not of itself insure fair selection. District judges are notoriously busy and cannot be expected to always give the requisite attention to juror selection. Ultimate supervision by the district judge is desirable, but his surveillance cannot realistically be a catch-all to insure fairness.

9. A $10 fee instead of the present $7 fee for juror service is recommended by the Committee. Some unions have bargained for a formula that requires employers to pay the difference between the jury fee and the juror's wage at his regular occupation. This formula would go far toward insuring better cross-sectional representation on juries, especially since many people cannot afford even short periods of jury service and will not be able to do so even if the proposed $10 rate is enacted into law.

10. Although the committee does not comment, long jury service periods for each juror, such as six-week intervals, do not seem compatible with encouraging the greatest willingness to serve, especially at the present rate of pay for jurors. With shorter jury periods, more people would find it possible to serve, thus encouraging fairer representation on juries. Considering that each federal court usually covers an entire section of a state or, in some instances, an entire state, the federal courts can probably afford to allow shorter periods of service because of the large numbers of jurors

potentially available to them. A two-week limit seems reasonable.

11. Finding that entire groups have been excused from jury service for hardship without official court order, the Committee recommends that greater care be used in excusing groups and that such excuses be by formal written court order only.

12. The Committee recommends that voir dire examination of jurors be done by the judge in order to save time in those districts where it is done in the judge's presence. The voir dire examination has been subject to abuse, where, for example, all Negroes are challenged preemptorily. Great diversity on voir dire is found in the districts, with 51 having judges doing all of the voir dire, 22 having both judge and counsel on voir dire, 12 having counsel only, one having the judge and occasionally a deputy clerk, and one having the judge in criminal cases and counsel in civil cases. Clearly the safest way to avoid abuse of voir dire is to have the judge conduct it with the aid of counsel. If differing conditions, work loads, and time factors make judge participation impossible in the districts, judges should nevertheless be available to rule when any counsel objects that voir dire is not being used for its constitutional purpose of insuring an "impartial jury".

Appendix I

TITLE 28. - JUDICIARY AND JUDICIAL PROCEDURE
Chapter 121. - JURIES; TRIAL BY JURY

Sec.

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§1861. QUALIFICATIONS OF FEDERAL JURORS

Any citizen of the United States who has attained the age of twenty-one years and who has resided for a period of one year within the judicial district, is competent to serve as a grand of petit juror unless—

(1) He has been convicted in a State or Federal court of record of a crime punishable by imprisonment for more than one year and his civil rights have not been restored by pardon or amnesty.

(2) He is unable to read, write, speak, and understand the English language.

(3) He is incapable, by reason of mental or physical infirmities to render efficient jury service. As amended Sept. 9, 1957, Pub. L. 85-315, Part V, § 152, 71 Stat. 638.

§1862. EXEMPTIONS

The following persons shall be exempt from jury service:

(1) Members in active service in the armed forces of the United States.

(2) Members of the Fire or Police departments of any State, District, Territory, Possession or subdivision thereof.

(3) Public officers in the executive, legislative or judicial branches of the government of the United States, or any State, District, Territory, or Possession or subdivision thereof who are actively engaged in the performance of official duties. June 25, 1948, c. 646, 62 Stat. 952.

§1863. EXCLUSION OR EXCUSE FROM SERVICE

(a) A district judge for good cause may excuse or exclude from jury service any person called as a juror.

(b) Any class or group of persons may, for the public interest, be excluded from the jury panel or excused from service as jurors by order of the district judge based on a finding that such jury service would entail undue hardship, extreme inconvenience or serious obstruction or delay in the fair and impartial administration of justice.

(c) No citizen shall be excluded from service as grand or petit juror in any court of the United States on account of race or color. June 25, 1948, c. 646, 62 Stat. 952.

§1864. MANNER OF DRAWING; JURY COMMISSIONERS AND THEIR COMPENSATION

The names of grand and petit jurors shall be publicly drawn from a box containing the names of not less than three hundred qualified persons at the time of each drawing.

The jury box shall from time to time be refilled by the clerk of court, or his deputy, and a jury commissioner, appointed by the court.

Such jury commissioner shall be a citizen of good standing, residing in the district and a well known member of the principal political party in the district, opposing that to which the clerk, or his deputy then acting, may belong. He shall receive $5 per day for each day necessarily employed in the performance of his duties.

The jury commissioner and the clerk, or his deputy, shall alternately place one name in the jury box without reference to party affiliations, until the box shall contain at least 300 names or such larger number as the court determines.

This section shall not apply to the District of Columbia. June 25, 1948, c. 646, 62 Stat. 952.

§1865. APPORTIONMENT WITHIN DISTRICT; ADDITIONAL JURY COMMISSIONERS

(a) Grand and petit jurors shall from time to time be selected from such parts of the district as the court directs so as to be most favorable to an impartial trial, and not to incur unnecessary expense or unduly burden the citizens of any part of the district with jury service. To this end the court may direct the maintenance of separate jury boxes for some or all of the places for holding court in the district and may appoint a jury commissioner for each such place.

(b) Grand or petit jurors summoned for service at one place for holding court in a district may, if the public convenience so requires and the jurors will not be unduly burdened thereby, be directed to serve at another place in the same district. June 25, 1948, c. 646, 62 Stat. 952.

§1866. SPECIAL PETIT JURIES; TALESMEN FROM BYSTANDERS

(a) Whenever sufficient petit jurors are not available, the court may require the United States marshal to summon a sufficient number of talesmen from the bystanders.

(b) When a special jury is ordered by a district court, it shall be returned by the marshal in the same manner and form as is required in such case by the law of the State in which such district court sits. June 25, 1948, c. 646, 62 Stat. 952, amended May 24, 1949, c. 139, §96, 63 Stat. 103.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

§1869. FREQUENCY OF SERVICE

In any district court, a petit juror may be challenged on the ground that he has been summoned and attended such court as a petit juror at any session held within one year prior to the challenge. As amended Oct. 16, 1963, Pub. L. 88-139, §2, 77 Stat. 248.

§1870. CHALLENGES

In civil cases, each party shall be entitled to three peremptory challenges. Several defendants or several plaintiffs may be considered as a single party for the purposes of making challanges, or the court may allow additional peremptory challenges and permit them to be exercised separately or jointly.

All challenges for cause or favor, whether to the array or panel or to individual jurors, shall be determined by the court. As amended Sept. 16, 1959, Pub. L. 86-282, 73 Stat. 565.

§1871. FEES

Grand and petit jurors in district courts or before United States commissioners shall receive the following fees, except as otherwise expressly provided by law:

For actual attendance at the place of trial or hearing and for the time necessarily occupied in going to and from such place at the beginning and end of such service or at any time during the same, $7 per day, except that any juror required to attend more than thirty days in hearing one case may be paid in the discretion and upon the certification of the trial judge a per diem fee not exceeding $10 for each day in excess of thirty days he is required to hear such case.

For the distance necessarily traveled to and from a juror's residence by the shortest practicable route in going to and returning from the place of service at the beginning and at the end of the term of service and for all additional necessary daily transportation expense, 10 cents per mile except that if daily travel appears impracticable, subsistence of $7 per day shall be allowed. Whenever in any case the jury is ordered to be kept together and not to separate, the cost of subsistence during such period shall be paid by the United States marshall upon the order of the court in lieu of the foregoing subsistence allowance..

Jury fees and travel and subsistence allowances provided by this section shall be paid by the United States marshal on the certificate of the clerk of the court, and in the case of jury fees in excess of $7 per diem, when allowed as hereinabove provided, on the certificate of the trial judge. As amended Sept. 7, 1957, Pub. L. 85-299, 71 Stat. 618.

REVISION OF TITLE 28, CHAPTER 21, TO INCLUDE THE RANDUM SAMPLE SELECTION METHOD AS DRAWN UP BY CHARLES MORGAN, JR., SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE, ACLU

Sec.

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1864. Jury commission; duties, compensation, and methods of selecting and drawing jurors.

1865. Apportionment within district.

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§1864. Jury commission; duties, compensation, and methods of selecting and drawing jurors.

(a) APPOINTMENT. - A jury commission shall be established in each judicial district, consisting of the clerk of the court and one or more jury commissioners, appointed by the district court. The jury commissioner shall be a citizen of the United States of good character residing in the district of appointment who, at the time of his appointment, shall not be a member of the same race, sex, political party, or religious affiliation as the clerk of the court or a duly qualified deputy clerk acting for the clerk. If more than one jury commissioner is appointed, each may be designated to serve in one or more of the places where court is held, and the clerk and the jury commissioner so designated shall constitute the jury commission for that part of the district. In the event that a jury commissioner is unable for any reason to perform his duties, another jury commissioner may be appointed, as provided herein, to act in his place until he is able to resume his duties.

Jury commissioners shall be appointed to serve on a full-time basis.

(b) DUTIES. - In the performance of all its duties the jury commission shall act under the direction and supervision of the chief judge of the district.

The sources of names and the methods to be used by the jury commission in selecting the names of persons who may be called for grand or petit jury service shall be:

(1) The jury commission shall ascertain the characteristics of the population in the district or part of the district for which it is constituted. The characteristics of the population shall be derived from the decenniel report of the Bureau of the Census, the compilation of which next preceded the selection of names.

(2) The jury commission shall then proceed by canvass utilizing random selection techniques approved by the Judicial Conference of the United States to select the names of persons who may be called for grand or petit jury service.

(3) Prior to placing the names of qualified persons in the jury box, wheel or similar device the jury commission shall ascertain that the list is, in fact, a cross-section of the population of the district or part of the district for which the jury commission is constituted. The jury commission shall make the finding that the list represents a cross-section

of the population by selecting, at random and systematically a sampling of the list of names of persons selected determining their race, sex, political and religious affiliation and economic and social status by canvass and by additional means, if any, approved by the Judicial Conference of the United States. The statistical findings of the jury commission shall be announced by the Chief Judge of the district in open court.

(4) The procedures employed by the jury commission in selecting the names of qualified persons to be placed in the jury box, wheel, or similar device, shall not systematically or deliberately exclude any group from the jury panel on account of race, sex, political, or religious affiliation, or economic or social status.

(5) In determining whether persons are qualified as jurors under section 1861 of this title, the jury commission shall use questionnaires.

The names of jurors shall be publicly drawn by chance from a jury box, wheel, or similar device, which contains at the commencement of each drawing the names of not less than three hundred qualified persons selected by the jury commission in accordance with the provisions of this subsection.

The jury commission shall keep records of the names of persons placed in the jury box, wheel, or similar device, the questionnaires returned by said persons, the names of the persons who are selected for jury service, the dates of service, and all other records pertaining to the selection of the names for a period of not less than ten years. With the approval of the chief judge, the jury commission may designate deputy clerks and other employees in the office of the clerk of the court to assist the commission in the performance of its duties and to perform under its direction such of the detailed duties of the commission as in the opinion of the chief judge can be assigned to them.

(c) COMPENSATION. - Each jury commissioner shall receive a salary to be fixed from time to time by the Judicial Conference of the United States at a rate which in the opinion of the Judicial Conference corresponds to that provided by the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, for positions in the executive branch with comparable responsibilities.

Each jury commissioner shall receive his traveling and subsistence expenses within the limitations prescribed for clerks of district courts while absent from his designated post of duty on official business.

(d) Any of the powers or duties conferred upon the chief judge under this section may be delegated by him to another judge of the district: Provided, however, That where part of a district by agreement or order of court is assigned to one particular judge and he customarily holds court there, as to such part of the district he shall perform the functions and fulfill the duties conferred upon the chief judge in this section.

(e) This section shall not apply to the District of Columbia.

§1865. APPORTIONMENT WITHIN DISTRICT

(a) Grand and petit jurors shall from time to time be selected from such parts of the district as the court directs so as to be most favorable to an impartial trial, and not to incur unnecessary expense or unduly burden the citizens of any part of the district with jury service. To this end the court may direct the maintenance of separate jury boxes for some or all of the places for holding court in the district.

(b) Grand or petit jurors summoned for service at one place for holding court in a district may, if the public convenience so requires and the jurors will not be unduly burdened thereby, be directed to serve at another place in the same district.

Appendix III

Juror Qualification Statutes in Deep Southern States

Georgia Constitution of the State of Georgia of 1945:

2-5102. "The General Assembly shall provide by law for the selection of the most experienced, intelligent and upright men to serve as grand jurors, and intelligent and upright men to serve as traverse jurors. Nevertheless, the grand jurors shall be competent to serve as traverse jurors."

Code of Georgia Annotated:

Sec. 59-106. "The jury commissioners shall select from the books of the tax receiver upright and intelligent citizens to serve as jurors.... They shall select from these ... [a number] not exceeding two-fifths of the whole number, of the most experienced, intelligent, and upright citizens to serve as grand jurors.... The entire number first selected, including ... grand jurors, shall constitute the body of traverse jurors for the county...."

Sec. 59-201, provides that persons selected for the grand jury shall not be "idiots, lunatics, nor insane," and must have resided in county at least six months.

Sec. 59-701 provides that petit jurors are to be drawn from traverse jury.

Florida No applicable constitutional provision.

Florida Statutes Annotated:

Sec. 40.01 provides that jurors are to be selected from males and females over 21 who are citizens and residents of the state for at least one year, of the county for at least six months and who are "duly qualified electors of the respective counties."

Sec. 40.01 also disqualifies for jury anyone convicted of bribery, forgery, perjury, larceny or other felony unless restored to civil rights. It also provides: "In the selection of jury lists only such persons as the selecting officers know, or have reason to believe, are law abiding citizens of approved integrity, good character, sound judgment and intelligence, and who are not physically or mentally infirm, shall be selected ....

Sec. 932.19. Jury in criminal cases to be selected as above.

Sec. 932.20. Bars persons with scruples against death penalty from serving in capital case.

2. Juror Statutes

Louisiana Louisiana Constitution of 1921:

Art. 7, Sec. 41. Legislature shall provide for drawing of "competent and intelligent" jurors.

West Louisiana Statutes Annotated:

Sec. 15.172 provides that one who serves on grand or petit jury in criminal cases shall be "a citizen of this state, not less than twenty-one years of age, a bonafide resident of the parish for one year, able to read and write the English language, not under interdiction or charged with any offense, or convicted at any time of any felony, provided that there shall be no distinction made on account of race, color ..., and provided the judge shall have discretion to decide upon competency of jurors in particular cases where from physical infirmity or from relationship, or other causes, the person may be ... incompetent."

Mississippi Constitution of the State of Mississippi:

Sec. 264 simply directs legislature to provide for qualifications of jurors.

Sec. 1762 states that every male citizen not under 21 years "who is either a qualified elector, or a resident freeholder of the county for more than one year, and has not been convicted of an infamous crime, or the unlawful sale of intoxicating liquors within a period of five years, and who is not a common gambler of habitual drunkard, is a competent juror."

North Carolina Constitution of North Carolina:

Art. I, Sec. 13 provides that no person is to be convicted of a crime except by "unanimous verdict of a jury of good and lawful persons...."

General Statutes of North Carolina:

Sec. 9.1 provides for establishing a list of persons over twenty-one years of age from which jury commissioners "shall select the names of such persons who reside in the county who are of good moral character and have sufficient intelligence to serve as members of grand and petit juries."

Sec. 9.6 prevents jurors having suit pending in superior court from serving on panel.

Sec. 9.16 provides that juror cannot be disqualified on grounds he is not a freeholder or has not paid taxes assessed against him for two years, or has served on the jury previously.

3. Juror Qualifications

South Carolina Constitution of the State of South Carolina, 1895:

Art. 5, Sec. 22 states: "Each juror must be a qualified elector under the provisions of this Constitution, between the ages of twenty-one and sixty-five years, and of good moral character."

(Art. II, Sec. 4 gives the vote to males above twenty-one and provides for registration of those who can read and

write provisions of the state Constitution or can show ownership of taxable property assessed at $300 or more.

Art. II, Sec. 6 disqualifies from voting persons convicted of such crimes as burglary, arson, obtaining property under false pretenses, perjury, bigamy, wife-beating, miscegenation, larceny, crimes against the election laws, etc; also disqualifies mental incompetents and "persons confined in any public prison.")

Code of Laws of South Carolina(1962):

Sec. 38.52 directs jury commissioners to prepare from "official enrollment books of qualified electors a list of such male electors of their county ... between the ages of twenty-one and sixty-five and of good moral character as they may deem otherwise qualified to serve as jurors, being persons of sound judgment and free from all legal exceptions. Such list shall include not less than two from every three of such electors qualified under the provisions of the Constitution...."

Sec. 38.101 provides that no county officer is eligible to serve.

Sec. 38.102 provides that no one is eligible to serve if "convicted of any scandalous crime or is guilty of any gross immorality."

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

12/4

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

NK140 PB145

1963 NOV 28 AM 4 20

P SIY065 NL PD TDSI WASHINGTON DC 27

Kennedy

JAMES FARMER, CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 PARK ROW NYK

EARNESTLY URGE YOUR PARTICIPATION IN MEMORIAL TRIBUTE TO LATE PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY BY CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS AT ARLINGTON CEMETERY. THIS TRIBUTE BY HEADS OF ALL ORGANIZATIONS IN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS WILL BE PRECEDED BY EXTRAORDINARY MEETING TO PROJECT PLANS FOR SPEEDY ENACTMENT CIVIL RIGHTS BILL, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1 PM MAYFLOWER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C. PLEASE WIRE ROOM 314, MILLS BUILDING (1704 - 17 Street
ROY WILKINS CHAIRMAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS.

fi'd Pres. Kennedy

January 7, 1964

Miss P. McWilliams
545 West 159 Street
New York 10032

Dear Miss McWilliams:

Enclosed you will find a press release issued by CORE shortly after the tragic assassination of President Kennedy. I believe that this release and statement from Mr. Farmer accurately reflects the views of the entire CORE organization.

Mr. Farmer's position was not as indicated in your letter of September 23. As you know, the press is often not too accurate. We have taken the position from the beginning that the murder of the four youngsters in Birmingham was the responsibility of Governor Wallace and the social system of the South.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

encl:

545 West 159 Street
New York 10032
23 September, 1963

SEP 24 1963

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

The New York Times of this day gives a different interpretation of the statements attributed to you as of yesterday at Foley Square. If in their report as of this day, you are reported correctly, then there is variance in the report over the radio and todays paper.

Firstly, I do not share your condemnation of the President, in that you were reported as having said, he bore responsibility for the murder of our youngsters in Birmingham. I think the blame is where all decent people has put it, on Wallace, and the social structure of this nation. Less we as Negroes forget, our President has done more for the Negroes than any other President in history- I would not include Lincoln in this estimation. I will state that Eisenhower did absolutely nothing to further the cause of the Negro, nor did he support the Supreme Court's Decision of 1954. Had he done so, many of us firmly believe that the situation would not be as diastrous as it is at this time. Less we Negroes forget, the President was born in this situation as you and I was, and I firmly believe that he is trying his damdest to remedy the situa - tion. He, nor you can solve it- there is no absolutism, this you know. I am not going to be the one to rub President's nose in manure. I resent anyone who does so, or try to do so.

As to the coming election, and your statement that the President, if he does nothing would be removed. I as a Negro, cannot say he has done nothing, nor do I believe that troops should be sent to Birmingham. I wonder aloud if you have counted the cost of removing someone sympathetic to our cause, and getting a Goldwater, a racist, or Rockefeller, the man of high morals, or have the election thrown in the House of Representatives where Southern bigots would have a field day. You can be sure that the Republican Party, now courting and wooing the Southern bigots, both Republicans and Democrats, the "Lily White" trend would continue on. I hold no brief for either Party in the South. I am a Southerner, and the worst treatment ever afforded me was from my home State of Virginia, Norfolk, ,to be exact.

I have supported CORE since its inception-many of their activities I have not gone along with, but I cannot continue to support CORE, if you are going to make state- ments attributed to you on radio, also in the NY Times. Perhaps you may feel that I do not matter, but I do Mr. Farmer. I have worked religiously for our casuse, and know what it is to pay Poll Taxes in a cubby hole, to have had epithets thrown at my parents, and me. Have not begun to suffer as you have-there is no comparison.

Let me concede that President Kennedy has not done enough, but I cannot go along with this bloody guilt accusation. Wallace is the Pontius Pilate, and with every effort of the President, he cannot resolve this problem alone, and the Republicans have been VERY VERY silent.

As for Friday at Town Hall, when we as Negroes curry the favor of types as those who almost caused a shouting meeting, I was under the impression we came to memoralize the murder of these youngsters, and as a Negro myself, I was sad for Mrs. McNair and her husband- I expected a memorial the type of the one held for Mrs. Roosevelt- I did not expect rabble rousing, the clapping of hands and the shouting as was heard.

In conclusion, let me please ask that we bend every effort to pass the President's

Civil Rights Bill, Mrs. Murphy's clause included. As you know Mr. Farmer, the Goldwaters and the Dirksens are trying to beat the hell out of the President for every attempt he has made towards a better economy, which would benefit us, towards cutting taxes, which would benefit us. From here on in, I expect the Southerners to try every trick in the trade to defeat every bill he has proposed. I am not forgetting the Northern Conservative Republicans.

I thank you for listening, and may I reiterate I cannot support CORE, if you are going to make statements as you did Sunday. Perhaps as I aforementioned, I do not matter to you.

Very truly yours,

P. McWilliams

Miss McWilliams

P. S. I wholeheartedly agree with the boycot at Christmas, and our always prolong shopping. I pledged Friday I would abstain from doing Christmas shopping, and I mean to keep that pledge.

A-1-31

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

CORE Suspends Action Till Thanksgiving

New York, N.Y., Nov. 27: In respect for the late President Kennedy, CORE advised all its affiliates across the country to suspend action from the day of the assassination until Thanksgiving.

The major action to be cancelled was a March on Levittown (Maryland) in which CORE demonstrators from the northeast area were to protest the segregation policy of William Levitt at his newest, giant housing project.. The demonstration, set for November 23, the day after the assassination, has been rescheduled for December 7.

While advising the groups of the temporary suspension of activity, CORE National Director James Farmer urged them to "rededicate themselves to nonviolence." and to "throughout the Christmas month initiate special workshops stressing the practice of nonviolence in all phases of activity."

His statement pointed out" "The sad events of the past weekend are at least in part the result of the climate of hatred and violence generated throughout the southland by the Barnett's, the Wallace's and the ex-general Walker's. The violence recently encountered in Dallas by Adlai Stevenson had prompted him to caution President Kennedy against going there. The ruthless act of violence against the President was compounded by the murder of the alleged assassin."

In a public statement issued on November 22, Farmer said:

> "The assassination of the President is a tragedy not only for his family but for all Americans. We share Mrs. Kennedy's grief and anguish. We believe that this assassination was the result of the President's efforts to bring about a more democratic America and we hope that this nation will rededicate itself to those ideals of his. Our prayers go out to Lyndon Johnson in the difficult days ahead."

RACISM WITHIN ORGANIZED LABOR: A REPORT OF FIVE YEARS OF THE AFL-CIO 1955 — 1960

This is a staff report reviewing conditions previously cited by the NAACP, but summarized here at the end of five years of the merged AFL-CIO. Delivered by Herbert Hill NAACP Labor Secretary at the Association's Annual Meeting, January 3, 1961, New York City.

LABOR DEPARTMENT

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 West 40th Street New York 18, N.Y.

The elimination of racism within trade unions was one of the major goals for organized labor announced at the merger convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations in December, 1955. This was welcomed by many civil rights agencies and especially by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which offered its full support to the labor movement.

Today, five years after the AFL-CIO merger, the national labor organization has failed to eliminate the broad pattern of racial discrimination and segregation in many important affiliated unions. Trade union activity in the civil rights field since the merger has not been marked by a systematic and coordinated effort by the national labor federation to eliminate discrimination and segregation within local unions. This is especially true of the craft unions in the building and construction trades where the traditional anti-Negro practices basically remain in effect.

Efforts to eliminate discriminatory practices within trade unions have been piecemeal and inadequate and usually the result of protest by civil rights agencies acting on behalf of Negro workers. The National AFL-CIO has repeatedly refused to take action on its own initiative. In too many cases years have elapsed between the filing of a complaint by an aggrieved worker and acknowledgment and investigation by the Federation, if indeed there is any action at all.

Discriminatory racial practices by trade unions are not simply isolated or occasional expressions of local bias against colored workers, but rather, as the record indicates, a continuation of the institutionalized pattern of anti-Negro employment practices that is traditional with large sections of organized labor and industrial management.

The pattern of union responsibility for job discrimination against Negroes is not limited to any one area of the country or to some few industries or union jurisdictions but involves many unions in a wide variety of occupations in manufacturing industries, skilled crafts, railroads and maritime trades as for example, the Seafarers International Union which operates union-controlled hiring halls on Great Lakes ports such as Duluth, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland and Buffalo. As a systematic practice this union will dispatch only Negro workers for menial jobs as

messmen in the galley departments of ships operating under S.I.U. collective bargaining agreements. Over the years Negro members of the Seafarers International Union have repeatedly protested this practice, but to no avail as the union continues discriminatory job assignments in its hiring halls.

On occasion one or two Negroes have been admitted into an all-white local union as token compliance with a state or municipal fair employment practice law as with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in Cleveland; the Bricklayers in Milwaukee and the Railway Clerks in Minneapolis, but this is essentially a limited and strategic adjustment to community pressure and represents very dubious "progress."

Certainly the token admission of a few Negroes into an electrical workers union in Cleveland can no more be regarded as integration than can the token admission of two or three Negro children into a southern public school. There are also many instances where unions have removed the "lily-white" exclusion clause from their constitutions as public relations gestures but continued to exclude Negroes from membership by tacit consent.

As long as union membership remains a condition of employment in the building trades, on the railroads and elsewhere and qualified Negroes are barred from union membership solely because of their color, then trade union discrimination is the decisive factor in determining whether Negro workers in a given industry shall have an opportunity to earn a living for themselves and their families. This is especially true in the construction industry where AFL-CIO building trades unions exercise a high degree of control over access to employment.

AFL-CIO affiliated unions are today guilty of discriminatory racial practices in four categories: outright exclusion of Negroes, segregated locals, separate racial seniority lines in collective bargaining agreements and exclusion of Negroes from apprenticeship training programs controlled by labor unions.

As for the Federation's Civil Rights Department, its performance would seem to indicate that its major function is to create a "liberal" public relations image rather than to attack the broad pattern of anti-Negro practices within affiliated unions. The Civil Rights Committee of the AFL-CIO is the only standing committee in

the Federation whose chairman is not a member of the Federation's Executive Council and/or the president of an international union. The rigid protocol of the national labor federation indicates that such a person is not in a position to impose a policy upon an international or local union but must confine himself to issuing declarations and to exercising such persuasion as he can muster. More often than not, his efforts are fruitless.

ORGANIZED LABOR IN THE SOUTH

The threat of several local unions in the South to organize a Southern Federation of Labor has clearly not materialized, however, one is forced to note that the White Citizens Councils began taking control of some local AFL-CIO affiliates soon after the Supreme Court decision of 1954 in the school segregation cases. Because the national leadership of organized labor has made it a practice to avoid as much internal conflict on racial issues as possible, the Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens Council forces, especially in Alabama, have moved into many local unions and made them, in effect, virtual extensions of segregationist organizations.

As a result, Negro workers throughout the South are experiencing an acute sense of alienation and rejection from organized labor. This becomes increasingly evident in an analysis of Negro voting behavior in union certification elections conducted by the National Labor Relations Board. Although it is not possible to get an official breakdown of election results by Board regions, election results are known and are discussed in union circles.

At the South Wire Company, Carrollton, Georgia, where several hundred workers were involved, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Union recently lost an NLRB election by eight votes. It has been stated by the union organizers that the decisive vote was cast by the forty-five Negroes in the election who voted against the IBEW.

Early in 1960 an election was held in Aiken, South Carolina at the Savannah River Atomic Energy Project with seventeen unions of the Metal Trades Department of the AFL-CIO seeking certification by the NLRB as bargaining agent. Thirty-one hundred workers were involved. Six hundred of these were Negroes. It was

stated by union organizers that the six hundred Negroes voted almost as a solid bloc against the union and the election was lost.

The active recruitment of trade union members for White Citizens Councils, Ku Klux Klan and other segregationist organizations accounts for much of the loss of influence that the AFL-CIO has suffered among Negro workers throughout the South. News of this activity has come not alone through word of mouth but frequently from newspaper advertising in local communities plainly to be seen by Negro workers themselves.

In a number of localities such as Savannah, Georgia, public notices have appeared stating that the Ku Klux Klan or the White Citizens Council will hold a meeting in a union hall. Newspapers have also printed reports and pictures of union officials speaking at such meetings and the point has not been lost on the Negro worker. Moreover, they are aware that the National AFL-CIO has permitted its civil rights declarations to be ignored by many affiliated unions.

The correction of this mutually damaging situation would seem to demand action directly by the AFL-CIO leadership and by the international unions involved. At the very least what is required is that AFL-CIO members and local affiliates not be active participants in segregationist attacks upon the Negro's struggle for basic citizenship rights.

SEGREGATED LOCAL UNIONS

The Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks which maintains many segregated local lodges in northern as well as southern cities is among the important international unions which maintain a broad national pattern of segregation. In the Brotherhood the existence of more than 150 segregated all-Negro locals with separate racial seniority rosters limits job mobility and violates the seniority rights of thousands of Negro union members.

This union has persisted in its racist practices despite repeated protests from Negro workers and community organizations. On April 30, 1957, the New York State Commission Against Discrimination ordered the merger of the "lily-white" George N. Harrison Lodge (783) and the all-Negro Friendship Lodge (6118). The white

union refused to comply and the local lodges remain segregated to this day. Similar situations exist in Chicago where Negro workers are in segregated local lodge 6132 and in Tulsa, Oklahoma, where they are in local 6257. In East St. Louis and St. Louis there are 14 all-colored lodges and 14 all-white lodges which function through segregated joint councils.

The practice of segregation is so well institutionalized in this union that the designation of the Negro lodges all over the country begins with the numeral "6." It is ironic to note that the president of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, George M. Harrison, is a member of the Civil Rights Committee of the AFL-CIO and a Federation Vice President.

The Brotherhood or Railway Carmen of America maintains segregated locals in California, Florida and in many other states. Recently Negro workers filed charges jointly against this Union and the Santa Fe Railroad with the California Fair Employment Practices Commission. The Commission has announced that it will conduct a public hearing on January 9 on complaints that the company and the union have acted in collusion to discriminate against Negro workers.

In Jacksonville, Florida, Negro workers employed on the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad belong to Local 690, a segregated all-Negro unit, while white workers employed on the same line hold membership in Local 509, an all-white unit of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen. In addition the white local prevents the all-colored local from participating in negotiations with management and insists that it "represents" the colored local. Similar practices occur in other cities where this union operates segregated locals.

Racially segregated locals are today characteristic of many building trades unions in the North as well as in the South. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners is quite typical of building trades unions in its treatment of the Negro worker. This union, for over a half-century has been among the most important of all the building trades unions, and, with very few exceptions, organizes Negroes and whites into separate locals insofar as it permits Negroes to join the union at all. In the South there seems to be no exception to this rule and it is most often followed in northern cities as well.

The white locals are in control of the union hiring hall and, because of frequent arrangements with municipal and county political machines, all hiring for major public as well as private construction projects is done through the "lily-white" union hiring hall. In many instances, the white local will import white workers from other cities rather than allow local Negro members to share in attractive work opportunities.

Quite frequently Negroes are excluded altogether from work in white neighborhoods. This means that Negro carpenters are restricted to marginal maintainence and repair work within the Negro community and that they seldom are permitted to work on the larger construction projects. The same practices are true for other building trades unions in many cities throughout the country.

The Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union is currently defendant in a suit brought by Negro construction workers in Chicago, charging that the Hod Carriers Union bars them from desirable jobs within this union's jurisdiction. In other cities Negro workers charge that white locals controlling job assignments in federal construction projects refuse to accept "travelling cards" issued by colored locals.

The International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers has agreed not to issue any new charters to segregated local unions and has indicated that action will be taken to merge segregated locals wherever possible, as well as to eliminate separate racial seniority lines in collective bargaining agreements. This occurred after representatives of the NAACP appeared before the Union's General Executive Board and made a presentation on behalf of Negro union members.

Unfortunately, the United Papermakers and Paperworkers Union refused the request of the NAACP Executive Secretary to confer with the Executive Board of the Papermakers Union regarding the matter of segregated locals and separate racial seniority lines in union contracts.

On the positive side we note that the American Federation of Musicians has merged segregated locals in some 16 cities and that the International Ladies Garment Workers Union with the requested assistance of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People merged separate white and Negro sections of the

Atlanta local into one unit.

RACIAL EXCLUSION PRACTICES

Today in virtually every large urban center in the United States Negro workers are denied employment in the major industrial and residential construction projects because they are, with some few exceptions, barred from membership in the building trades craft unions. This includes the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the Operating Engineers, Iron and Structural Steel Workers, Plumbers and Pipe Fitters Union, Plasterers and Lathers, the Sheet Metal Workers Union, the Boiler Makers, etc.

The basic fact of craft unions in the building trades industry is that they control access to employment by virtue of their rigid control of the hiring process. In this industry unions perform certain managerial functions, especially the assignment of union members to jobs. The refusal to admit Negroes into membership simply denies Negro workers opportunities to secure employment.

This is true in many cities across the country such as Terre Haute, Indiana; Washington, D.C.; St. Louis, Mo.; Dallas, Texas; Cleveland, Ohio; East St. Louis, Ill. and Dade County, Florida, etc. (Chicago, Ill., appears to be a partial exception, perhaps because of the Negro's effective use of his growing political power.) Because the National Labor Relations Board has done little to enforce the anti-closed shop provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, building trades unions affiliated to the AFL-CIO in most instances are closed unions operating closed shops.

Local 26 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in Washington, D.C. is a typical example of how union power is used to completely exclude Negro workers from securing employment in vast federal construction projects. For many years Negro workers have been attempting to secure admission into Local 26, which controls all hiring for electrical installation work in the nation's capital. They have filed complaints with the President's Committee on Government Contracts which over three years ago brought this matter to the attention of the National AFL-CIO.

As of January 1, 1960, there were still no Negroes admitted into membership

in Local 26. However, after the Justice Department threatened action and as a concession to pressure from other government agencies and to protests from Negro civil rights organizations, one Negro electrician, James Holland, was reluctantly permitted by the union to work in a government installation.

Soon after the merger in 1955 two international unions were admitted into the Federation with "lily-white" exclusion clauses in their constitutions although this action was clearly in violation of the policies announced at the time of the merger agreement between the AFL and the CIO. They were the International Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

Since then the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen has removed the "Caucasian Only Clause" from its constitution but in November, 1958, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen successfully defended its exclusion of Negroes from union membership in a suit brought by Negro firemen in the Federal District Court in Cincinnati, Ohio. Despite many appeals the National AFL-CIO refused to intervene or make any public comment and this union continues to exclude all Negroes from membership.

For almost a generation qualified Negro plumbers have been attacking the racial exclusion practices of the Plumbers Union (United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada, AFL-CIO). On December 4, 1958, Frank T. Lyerson submitted an affidavit to the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department charging that Local 630 of the Plumbers Union in East St. Louis, Illinois refused membership to him and other qualified Negroes. Although Local 630 limits membership to white persons exclusively, the National AFL-CIO has not taken any action on this or on other complaints against the Plumbers Union.

The practices of other building trades unions in the St. Louis-East St. Louis area are typical of the racial exclusion practices of many old-line craft unions. At the present time qualified Negro workers are barred from securing employment in the large harbor improvement project in St. Louis as well as in the vast federally-financed construction programs in East St. Louis because of the exclusionist practices of unions affiliated to the Building Trades Council of the AFL-CIO.

Local 309 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO, in East St. Louis is an all-white local and has consistently refused to admit qualified Negroes, including Jethro Smith who filed an affidavit with the National AFL-CIO. Henry Densmore filed a similar affidavit against the Operative Plasterers and Cement Masons Association, Local 90, which also maintains a rigid policy of excluding Negroes from membership.

Negro firemen for the first time were admitted into the International Fire Fighters Association, AFL-CIO, Local 734 in Baltimore, Maryland, during 1959. This occurred after action by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in support of Negro firemen who filed a complaint with the Baltimore Fair Employment Opportunity Commission against the union. However, Negro firemen who applied for admission into the Fire Fighters Union in Washington, D.C. during November, 1960, were refused admission into the "lily-white" Association of Fire Fighters in the nation's capital.

At its 1958 convention, the National Transport Association amended its constitution to admit Negroes and since then has enrolled some Negro workers within its jurisdiction in several states.

SEPARATE RACIAL SENIORITY LINES IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AGREEMENTS

Many major unions affiliated to the AFL-CIO have negotiated into their collective bargaining agreements separate lines of seniority promotion. These limit Negro employment to unskilled or menial labor classifications which deny Negro workers equal seniority and other rights and prevent them from developing job skills which permit employment in more desirable classifications.

Although some few isolated actions can be reported as having eliminated separate seniority lines such as that of the United Automobile Workers of America at the General Motors Fisher Body plant in St. Louis, Missouri (UAW Local 25), the action of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union at the Magnolia Refining Corp., Beaumont, Texas, and at the Phillips Petroleum Corporation in Kansas City, Missouri, as well as the limited action by the United Steelworkers of America in response to a law suit filed by Negro members at the Sheffield Steel Company in Houston, Texas,

the pattern of such discrimination remains practically intact in southern industrial operations where trade unions hold collective bargaining agreements.

At present, many thousands of Negro workers who are members of AFL-CIO unions in southern paper mills, chemical plants, pulp works and oil refineries as well as steel plants and in the textile industry suffer the acute disadvantages of separate lines of progression for Negro and white workers in union contracts.

Examples of trade unions that have entered into collusion with management to deny Negro workers equal seniority rights in the paper manufacturing and pulp and sulphite industry in the South are to be found at the Union Bag-Camp Paper Corp., Savannah, Georgia, where all the Negro workers are limited to membership in two segregated locals, Local 601 and 615, affiliated to the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers.

All white workers hold membership in Local 388 and 435 of the same union and Local 408 of the United Papermakers and Paperworkers Union. Similar conditions exist at the Crown Zellerbach Corp., Bogalusa, Louisiana; Hudson Pulp and Paper Company, Palatka, Florida; and at International Paper Company plants in Mobile, Alabama; Georgetown, South Carolina; Moss Point and Natchez, Mississippi and Bastrop, Louisiana.

In these and many other paper mills throughout the South these two unions hold joint collective bargaining agreements and maintain a rigid pattern of racially segregated local unions with separate seniority lines limiting Negro employment to laborer classifications.

At the American Viscose Corporation plant in Front Royal, Virginia, where the Textile Workers Union is the collective bargaining agent, the union has approved a supplemental agreement to the contract which limits Negro employees to unskilled and menial job classifications that violate their basic seniority rights.

A similar condition exists at the Atlantic Steel Company plant in Atlanta, Georgia where after years of protest by Negro union members, the United Steelworkers Union has only partially eliminated those seniority provisions which limit Negroes, no matter how well qualified, to common laborer classifications.

A typical example of how separate seniority lines based on race in collective bargaining agreements prevent Negro workers from bidding for more desirable job occupations is to be found at the United States Phosphoric Company in Tampa, Florida. Over 200 Negro workers have repeatedly complained to the President of the International Chemical Workers Union, AFL-CIO, regarding the supplemental agreement to the union contract which contains rigid promotional lines for white and Negro workers limiting Negro workers to undesirable menial job classifications and preventing upgrading into production classifications.

The International Union of Operating Engineers, the Lake Charles, (La.) and the Galveston (Texas) AFL-CIO Metal Trades Councils hold collective bargaining agreements in several large oil refineries and chemical plants in the Gulf area. These union contracts contain provisions limiting Negro employment to some few menial jobs, a wage differential based upon race, and separate lines of seniority progression for white and colored workers.

APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING

The continued exclusion of Negroes from apprenticeship training is particularly disturbing because of rapid technological changes in the nation's economy. Because of the disproportionate concentration of Negroes in the unskilled sections of the labor force there has already been a disproportionate displacement of Negroes as a result of technological change. Continued exclusion of Negro youth from major apprenticeship training programs in the North as well as in the South endangers the future economic well-being of the entire Negro community.

It is important to note that in the ten-year period from 1950-1960, in the State of New York, the increase of Negro participation in building trades apprenticeship training programs rose only from 1.5% to 2%. In most of these programs the role of the labor union is decisive because the trade union usually determines who is admitted into the training programs and, therefore, who is admitted into the union.

Recent studies clearly indicate that no large scale significant advances have been made by Negroes into those craft union apprenticeship programs which have historically excluded non-whites.* The railroad craft unions as well as the railroad

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*Apprentices, Skilled Craftsmen and the Negro, New York State Commission Against Discrimination, 1960.

The Negro Wage-Earner and Apprenticeship Training Programs, The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1960.

operating Brotherhoods remain adamant in their opposition to Negro craftsmen and bar apprenticeship opportunities to Negro youth.

Almost equally exclusive are the printing trades unions with exceptions being found in some areas of the Assistant Printing Pressmen Union and the Lithographers Union. Open access to plumbing and pipe fitting apprenticeships controlled by the Plumbers Union is a rare experience for a young Negro in the North as well as in the South. Similarly Negro youth are almost completely excluded from apprenticeship programs operated by the Sheet Metal Workers Union, the Ornamental and Structural Iron Workers, the Glass Workers, the Tile Setters, the Machinists or the Bricklayers Union.

The NAACP secured the admission of a Negro for the first time into the Sheet Metal apprenticeship training program in St. Louis, Missouri. In an unusual procedure the Association secured certification from the Bureau of Apprenticeship of the U.S. Department of Labor for a non-union firm owned by a Negro after Local 36 of the Sheet Metal Workers International Association had refused to admit Negro applicants into its apprenticeship training program and had refused to permit the participation of the Negro-owned company in training programs conducted by the union. The owner of Kennedy and Sons Sheet Metal Shops offered to have his employees join Local 36 of the Sheet Metal Workers Union but the membership applications of the Negro workers were refused by the all-white local affiliate of the AFL-CIO.

Recent action by the New York State Attorney General acting at the request of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People made possible the admission of the first Negro into the apprenticeship training program operated by the Plumbers Union in the State of New York.

A sustained program of activity by the Oregon Fair Employment Practices Commission and the State Apprenticeship Council resulted in the admission of Negroes for the first time into various apprenticeship programs conducted by unions affiliated to the Oregon AFL-CIO Building Trades and the Metal Trades Councils. These isolated actions, however, are completely inadequate as they do not eliminate the broad national pattern of Negro exclusion from apprenticeship training programs.

Increasingly, apprenticeship and other forms of technical training become

the heart of fair employment practices. The continued exclusion of Negro youth from such programs, especially those controlled by AFL-CIO craft unions in the printing industry, the building and metal trades and in other craft jurisdictions prevents thousands of young persons from realizing their human potential and dooms them and their families to a marginal economic existence. It is in this area that the disparity between the public relations pronouncements of the AFL-CIO on civil rights and the day-to-day reality for Negro workers is most sharply outlined.

Many traditional sources of Negro employment (the nation's railroads and mass-production industries, for example), are rapidly drying up as a result of automation and other technological changes in the economy. Today the status of the Negro wage earner is characterized by drastic change and crisis. Thus, the virtual exclusion of Negroes from apprenticeship and other training programs forces them to remain as marginal employees in the economy. They are the ones who are hired last and who can be dispensed with easily with the added advantage that their displacement can be rationalized in terms of lower attainments in craft skills.

In addition, the appreciable lack of skilled Negro craftsmen directly affects the economic well-being of the entire Negro population as it removes potential sources of high income occupations from the group. The devices outlined briefly in this report operate effectively to concentrate Negro wage earners in those jobs which suffer the highest instances of unemployment.

The concentration of unskilled, low-paying jobs with a lack of employment stability together with other income limitations such as denial of access to union hiring halls in the building trades, and separate racial lines of seniority promotion in collective bargaining agreements all contribute to an explanation of why Negroes constitute a permanently depressed economic group in American society.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF LABOR
WASHINGTON

June 18, 1963

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

JUN 21 1963

Dear Mr. Farmer:

For some time I have been discussing with our mutual friend, Mr. Arthur Chapin, the minority rights aspects of labor standards, an area of effort for which I am responsible here in the Department of Labor.

In order to help me in dealing with this issue, as well as to review various other subjects of mutual concern, I would like you and two or three other interested persons to join me at lunch in my hotel in New York some day during the week of July 8. I shall have my secretary call your office to find a mutually agreeable date for such a meeting.

Need I add my assurance that I will be very appreciative of your willingness, during these trying times, to spend the time with me? I trust that we will both find it useful.

Sincerely,

Esther Peterson

(Mrs.) Esther Peterson
Assistant Secretary of Labor

Call - FR1 pm

Richard Haley 8/20
AUG 14 1963

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ON
INDUSTRIAL AND LABOR CONDITIONS

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MU3-1037

August 13th, 1963 Mr. Powell

Mr. James Farmer
C. O. R. E.
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

This committee is much coneerned about equal opportunity in employment and training for employment, and what the Legislature might do in addition to present laws.

On August 20th and 29th we shall hold conferences in New York City with leaders especially well informed on this subject. We ask for your presence and cooperation. Next week a staff member will telephone you to arrange an appointment as to hour and place.

We look forward to receiving the benefit of your information and advice.

Sincerely yours,

Anthony P. Savarese, Jr.
Chairman

Miss Lubelsky
This is a copy of the letter sent to
239 W 125th St.
Herman Powell

NEWS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

WEEKLY NEWS DIGEST

Week of November 18, 1963

IN THIS ISSUE:

Secretary of Labor Wirtz Urges Building and Construction Trades to Face their Civil Rights Responsibilities

Secretary of Labor Wirtz Says Nonwhite Child Does Not Lack Ability, Only Opportunity

Special Assistant to the Secretary, Arthur Chapin, Addresses the New Orleans Urban League Motivation Conference

Secretary Wirtz Urges Building & Construction Trades to Face Their Civil Rights Responsibilities

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz, speaking to the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department convention held in New York City said:

"It is important and meaningful that the American labor movement, no less than the civil rights groups, and along with the Administration support vigorously and without reservation a Federal Fair Employment Practices Act.

"It is also essential that it be recognized that many of the criticisms of the building and construction trades' membership policies have been grievously unfair, in their generalization, to those unions which have either traditionally or more recently eliminated every vestige of racial discrimination.

"I respectfully urge your recognition of what I think are fair protests against the slow rate of progress in implementing the policies which have been adopted, and fair objections to some of the positions which have been taken in defense of the present situation.

(MORE)

"There are two large building trades locals here in New York City, with a total membership of about 4,500, and with no Negro members. A question exists as to whether another local with a membership of 3,300 has any Negro members. There are comparable situations in most other cities. The very different kind of record in other building trades locals does not answer the fair charge that in too many locals the announced policy of this Department and of the International Unions is not a reality in fact.

"A survey conducted earlier this year of Federal construction projects in some 50 cities showed that on most of these projects there were no Negroes employed, either as journeymen or as apprentices, in a majority of the skilled trades.

"It is no answer to this that a comparable situation exists in skilled occupations in other industries. We face, as a nation, the obligation to correct an acknowledged wrong; and a clear consensus has been reached that we are going to do it.

"The important questions are of ways and means.

"Some proposed short cuts are, as most of us view it, wrong.

"It is clear that quotas are wrong. No one in Government has proposed them.

"It is clear that the opening of trades and apprenticeship programs to all alike, without regard to their race, in no way implies or warrants reducing the skill levels of the crafts.

"There is argument about whether preferential hiring of Negroes, to counter-act the effect of previous discrimination against them, is now in order. I think it is not--if for no other reason than that such a policy

(MORE)

will, as a practical matter, create opposition which will retard the over-all process.

"But I am equally clear that where there are apprenticeship lists that contain no Negro names because they knew they didn't have a chance, those lists should be opened up on a fair basis. The argument that it is "just too bad" if Negroes didn't apply, is not a fair argument. And the claim that this will prevent the following of father-and-son practices that have a justification we all recognize is a false argument, for there are few if any situations in which the necessary adjustments cannot be made to serve all interests involved if there is the sincere purpose to do so.

"There has been the suggestion that the Government's program for promoting sound apprenticeship systems cannot properly be used to foster nondiscriminatory programs, and there is criticism of the insistence that Federal construction projects be carried out on an equal opportunity basis. Yet it must be recognized--not only as a matter of law but of fundamental principle--that the Government is the agent of all Americans and cannot properly favor any above any others.

"I want to return, finally, to the earlier suggestion that there is a close relationship between "fair employment" and "full employment." I think there would be in this country today almost complete acceptance in practice of the fair employment principle if there were in fact full employment.

"It may very well be that the present problem is substantially mis-stated when we put it in terms of racial discrimination. I have the strong impression that there are today very few Americans--some, but very few--

(MORE)

who object to working with someone of a different race. It is not that an American worker says today 'I don't want a Negro to get a job working with me.' What he says is 'I don't want anybody to get my job.'"

* * * * *

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

November 26, 1965

NOV 30 1965

Mr. George Wiley
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Wiley

The enclosed Bulletin, which has been published by the Research Division of the Manpower Administration of the Department of Labor, may be of interest to you.

If you should desire additional copies of this publication, we would be happy to make them available to you.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur A. Chapin
Special Assistant to the
Secretary of Labor

Enclosure

manpower research

BULLETIN NUMBER 10
NOVEMBER 1965

Advance Printing

UNUSED MANPOWER:

THE NATION'S LOSS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR: W. WILLARD WIRTZ, Secretary
MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION
Office of Manpower, Automation and Training

OTHER MANPOWER RESEARCH BULLETINS

Mobility and Worker Adaptation to Economic Change in the United States (No. 1, Revised 1963.)

Manpower and Training—Trends, Outlook, Programs (No. 2, 1963.)

Young Workers: Their Special Training Needs (No. 3, 1963.)

Selected Manpower Indicators for States (No. 4, 1963.)

Family Breadwinners: Their Special Training Needs (No. 5, 1964.)

The Mentally Retarded: Their Special Training Needs (No. 6, 1964.)

Training Foreign Nationals For Employment With U.S. Companies In Developing Countries—Implications for Domestic Programs (No. 7, 1965.)

Training Needs In Correctional Institutions (No. 8, 1965.)

Office of Manpower, Automation and Training

Curtis C. Aller, Director

BULLETIN NO. 10
NOVEMBER 1965

Advance Printing

UNUSED MANPOWER:
THE NATION'S LOSS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR: W. WILLARD WIRTZ, Secretary
MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION
Office of Manpower, Automation and Training

PREFACE

The requirement of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 that the Secretary of Labor report annually on the use of the Nation's manpower has stimulated new interest in problems related to the utilization of our human resources. This interest has given new impetus to a further analysis of manpower utilization. And, as a result, a new perspective has been gained about the characteristics and implications of data on employment, unemployment, and labor force participation which heretofore have not been fully explored. This new perspective relates primarily to the significant number of male workers in the central working ages who, for a variety of reasons, are not participating in economic activity. This bulletin discusses the trend of male non-labor force participation, indicates important differences in these rates by color and age, and examines some of the reasons why these disparities may exist.

The purpose of this report is to indicate the economic loss suffered by the Nation when substantial numbers of adult men are not participating in economic activity. A second objective is to stimulate thinking about how these persons can be brought into the labor force so that they can achieve the dignity associated with work by becoming productive contributors to society.

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CONTENTS

CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction	1
Summary of Findings	4
Trends in Manpower Utilization	5
More Older Men Leaving Labor Force	7
Declining Utilization of Men, 25 to 54	10
Education and Manpower Utilization	13
Implications for Needed Action	15
Statistical Appendix	19
Charts	29

CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction	1
Summary of Findings	4
Trends in Manpower Utilization	5
Note on the Man Versus Labor Force	7
Recent Utilization of Men, 25 to 54	10
Education and Manpower Utilization	13
Industries for Needed Action	15
Structural Changes	18
Charts	20

INTRODUCTION

The Employment Act of 1946 constituted the first legislative affirmation in this country of a policy of utilizing in our economy all persons able, willing, and seeking to work. The act acknowledged the Government's responsibility with respect to employment and represented a first step in the development of an active manpower policy.

Although almost two decades have passed, the full objective of the act has yet to be attained. In October 1965, the unemployment rate was at an 8-year low, less than 4-1/2 percent. Despite the fact that the economy was entering its 56th month of expansion--the longest peacetime period of uninterrupted growth in our history--some 2.8 million men, women and teenagers were unemployed.

The unemployment rate--the proportion in the labor force looking for work--provides the best single measure of the extent to which our economy is failing to utilize its human resources. But it is not a complete measure of that failure. For, in addition to the unemployed, there is another manpower resource that fails to contribute to the Nation's production of goods and services. This consists of a large number of persons of working ages in the civilian noninstitutional population who are classed as "not in the labor force"--who are neither employed nor looking for work. These people, together with those who are unemployed, comprise the part of the population that can be viewed as "not utilized."

The reasons why persons are not in the job market and the conditions under which they might enter it are complex and difficult to assess. Yet, for certain groups the reasons are fairly obvious. Some, for example, may never be able to work because of incurable mental and physical disabilities. Most teenagers are not in the labor force on a full-time basis since their chief responsibility is acquiring an education. A majority of mothers spend full time taking care of home and children. And many married women do not work simply because their husbands' earnings provide an adequate standard of living. Not all persons of working age, therefore, should or could be expected to work or look for work.

In order to rule out as many of these limiting factors as possible, this report focuses on the utilization--that is, the employment--of men between the ages of 25 and 64. Not only do these men constitute the major component of the work force, but nearly all are likely to be employed or looking for work because of their heavy responsibilities. They have families to support; many have children to raise and educate; and most of them provide the bulk of family income. Hence, changes in the economic utilization of adult men may have far greater economic and social implications than for any other group.

The measure of utilization of adult men, as developed in this report, is based on an analysis of changes in employment, unemployment, and participation in the labor force since 1951-53. The utilization of men is identified by color for the following age groups: 25-44, 45-54, and 55-64.

The years 1951-53 were chosen as the basis for comparison not only because unemployment was then at record lows for the post-World War II period, but also because participation of men in the labor force was at near peak rates. (For nonwhites, labor force participation rates during 1951-53 were higher than for any other subsequent year; participation rates for white men, however, in some years were occasionally higher than the base period.)

Thus, the early 1950's provide a pragmatic basis for the analysis of labor force behavior under conditions of relatively full employment and its variations since then.[1/] The selection of the base period, which included the Korean conflict, does not imply, however, that partial mobilization is necessary for high utilization of this country's manpower. But it does indicate the effect of increased spending, both public and private, in generating and making available jobs for all those willing and able to work.

1/ Because basic data relating to population, employment and unemployment within the base period and between 1951-53 and subsequent years are not strictly comparable, three adjustments were made in the series: (1) Base year data were revised to reflect differences in population estimates arising from the 1950 Census; (2) civilian labor force levels for 1951-53 were raised to take into account the increased numbers of adult men going into the Armed Forces during this period; and (3) employment and unemployment data for 1951-56 were adjusted to make them comparable with data for later years as a result of changes in definitions put into effect in 1957.

The base period 1951-53 was chosen not only because it was the most recent period in which the national unemployment rate approximated 3 percent, but also because utilization differentials between white and nonwhite manpower were less than for any subsequent year with relatively low unemployment. For example, in 1956 the unemployment rate was 4.2 percent--the lowest since 1951-53--but the labor force behavior of nonwhites had worsened relative to whites; nonwhite unemployment rates had risen and participation in the labor force had declined. (See appendix table A-1.)

The labor force, employment, and unemployment data are derived from sample surveys of households and are subject to sampling variability. For a discussion of statistical reliability, see pages 2E-5E of Employment and Earnings of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Utilization Rates and Employment Gap

In order to gain a better understanding of the changes that have taken place, two measures of utilization have been developed. The first indicates the rate at which manpower is being utilized (or not utilized) per thousand men in the civilian noninstitutional population, according to age and color, and changes over time. The second is a measure of a gap in employment of men 25 to 64 defined as the difference between the actual number employed and the number which would have been employed if manpower were utilized at the same rates as were white men in 1951-53. The gap can also be described as the increase in employment--consisting of the reduction in the unemployed and those not in the labor force--required each year to achieve the unemployment rates and the proportion not in the labor force that prevailed for white men in the base period.

It should be stressed that the employment gap relates only to changes in the proportions unemployed and not in the labor force since 1951-53. For example, the portion of the employment gap attributed to increased nonparticipation in the labor force consists only of the number needed to achieve parity with the base period rates. Parity, however, does not imply 100 percent participation in the labor force, either now or in the 1951-53 base period.

The labor force behavior of white males in the base period for each age group was used as the standard for comparing the utilization of whites in subsequent years and of nonwhites both in the base period and following years. The white men's rates were used because in the base period their employment and labor force rates were higher and their unemployment rates lower than for nonwhites. In a democratic society this disparity cannot and must not be accepted as inherent.

This report shows that sharp disparities exist in the pattern of utilization among different population groups. It is clear that a more precise measurement of full or optimum utilization of manpower must await more detailed information on labor force behavior. However, the data available do indicate, even without further refinement, that a significant number of men are not in the labor force because they are discouraged or inhibited from finding or seeking the jobs in which they can make their maximum contribution. This withdrawal from the labor force reflects the effect of many barriers such as lack of employment opportunities, discrimination, mental or physical disabilities, and cultural and educational handicaps--the elimination of which is a prerequisite for the full utilization of the Nation's manpower.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Despite record peaks in employment and production, the economy is failing to fully utilize the potential of its manpower resources, as compared with the early 1950's. In 1965:[2]

1. Employment of men 25 to 64 years old would have been about 700,000 higher if they had worked at the rate which existed for white men in 1951-53. (See chart 1.)

2. The lack of these jobs--that is, the gap[3] between actual and potential employment--represented a loss of almost $7 billion in gross national product.

3. Over three-fifths of the employment gap--450,000--was due to a higher proportion of men outside the labor force. The rest--255,000--reflected higher unemployment.

4. The decline in the utilization of nonwhite manpower has been especially severe, and has pervaded all age groups. Matching the white standard reference rate of the early 1950's would have required the employment of 300,000 more nonwhites in 1965. (See chart 2.)

5. Older men--white and nonwhite between the ages of 55 and 64--accounted for 255,000 or over one-third of the total employment gap. Increased withdrawal from the labor force, most notable among this group, totaled 228,000, of which only a small proportion can be attributed to reasons of personal preference.

2/ Data for 1965 are based on preliminary estimated annual averages of population, employment and unemployment, as provided by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

3/ The 1965 employment gap reflects an increase of almost one-third in the proportion of men not utilized--to 83 per thousand population--when measured against the standard rate for white males in the 1951-53 base period (63 per thousand). Conversely, the proportion of men who were utilized--that is, the employed--declined from the white standard rate of 937 per thousand to an average level of 917 per thousand in 1965.

TRENDS IN MANPOWER UTILIZATION

The employment gap was greatest in the recession years of 1958 and 1961--about 1.4 million in both years--and was due almost entirely to higher unemployment than in the base period. Since 1961 there has been a marked improvement, with the employment gap narrowing to 705,000 by 1965. Nonetheless, the absence of these jobs in 1965 is costing the economy between $15 and $20 million a day in terms of lost output of goods and services, equivalent to almost $7 billion in gross national product.

Although the employment gap in recent years has been reduced, all of the improvement has been due to lower unemployment. At the same time, the number of men leaving the job market appears to have accelerated. For example, from 1954 to 1959 those outside the labor force on the average accounted for 9 percent of the employment gap. Since then, their share has gone up--from 215,000 or 21 percent of the total gap in 1960 to 377,000 or 46 percent in 1964. And in 1965 the portion of those not in the job market rose further--to 450,000--and for the first time constituted a majority (64 percent) of the gap. (See chart 3.)

Of the total employment gap in 1965, nonwhites accounted for 300,000--43 percent--even though they comprised only 10 percent of the adult male population. (See table 1.) Moreover, it should be noted that even in the 1951-53 base period a gap of 120,000 jobs existed, all of which reflected the significantly higher rates of unemployment and lesser participation of nonwhites in the labor force.

The employment gap among nonwhites, already a serious problem during the late 1950's, reached a peak of 470,000 jobs in 1961. This was evidenced in both high unemployment and less participation in the labor force. During the past 4 years, the employment gap has narrowed substantially and by 1965 the proportion of nonwhite men who held jobs--862 per thousand--was the highest since 1957. Yet, despite this improvement, sharp differences persist between the utilization of white and nonwhite manpower. Nonwhite unemployment is currently twice as great and nonparticipation is 60 percent higher than among whites.

Table 1. Employment Needed in 1965 1/ by Age and Color to Achieve 1951-53 Utilization of White Men

[Thousands]

Age and color	Actual employment (estimated)	Employment gap		
		Total	Unemployed	Not in labor force
Total, 25 to 64 years	36,795	705	255	450
25 to 44 years	20,429	297	185	112
45 to 54 years	9,796	153	43	110
55 to 64 years	6,570	255	27	228
White, 25 to 64 years	33,333	405	128	277
25 to 44 years	18,384	146	103	43
45 to 54 years	8,925	82	13	69
55 to 64 years	6,024	177	12	165
Nonwhites, 25 to 64 years	3,462	300	127	173
25 to 44 years	2,045	151	82	69
45 to 54 years	871	71	30	41
55 to 64 years	546	78	15	63

1/ Data for 1965 are based on preliminary estimated annual averages of population, employment and unemployment, as provided by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Of even greater significance is the fact that since the early 1950's these differentials have been increasing, with the greatest disparity developing in the proportions not in the labor force. The nonwhite withdrawal fromsthe labor force is particularly significant because it has occurred among all age groups--younger as well as older men. The rates are about the same, however, for married men, both white and nonwhite. The overall differential between whites and nonwhites reflects the larger proportion of nonwhite men who are not married.

On the other hand, labor force participation rates of white men between 25 and 54 did not change appreciably. Most of the white men who left the job market were older workers, 55 to 64 years old. Although some of the decline in the participation rates of older workers undoubtedly reflects increased availability of early retirement opportunities, for many their withdrawal is involuntary and represents a loss of potential manpower.

MORE OLDER MEN LEAVING LABOR FORCE

Of all age groups covered in this report, white and nonwhite men between the ages of 55 and 64 experienced the most rapid decline in utilization--their combined employment rate dropping from 853 per thousand in 1951-53 to 823 in 1965. In 1965 employment would have had to be increased by 255,000 for men of these ages in order to achieve the 1951-53 standard rate for white men. (See chart 4.)

Most of the decline in employment of older workers has been due not to mounting unemployment (from which many are protected by seniority) but to increasing proportions not in the labor force. For example, between 1951-53 and 1960 the number of men withdrawing from the job market rose from 122 to 132 per thousand. Since then this rate has accelerated, rising to 150 per thousand in 1965. In other words, over three-fifths of the increase in the proportion of older men outside the labor force has taken place during the past 5 years alone.

Although labor force participation rates of both whites and nonwhites declined, the reduction was much greater among nonwhites as the number withdrawing from the labor force rose by 68 to 207 per thousand in 1965. This was about three times the rise in the nonparticipation rate of white men, which rose by 23 to 144 per thousand. The generally low levels of education of older nonwhites and their concentration in unskilled jobs, many of which require vigorous health, apparently make them less adaptable to changing demands of the job market. Moreover, premature loss of work is likely to impose much greater economic hardships on older nonwhite breadwinners because of financial vulnerability due to their low income. For example, in March 1965, 30 percent of employed nonwhite male breadwinners, 55 to 64 years old, lived in families with less than $3,000 income in 1964. By contrast, only 11 percent of the white men had families with such low income. Furthermore, the median income of nonwhite families was only $4,370--less than 60 percent of the corresponding white family income.

As indicated above, between 1951-53 and 1965 most of the reduction in employment rates of older men has been accounted for by decreasing participation in the labor force, which has been particularly pronounced during the 1960's. At the same time, the unemployment situation among older workers has improved markedly. For white men this was reflected in a drop in unemployment from 47 per thousand in 1961 to 26 per thousand in 1965. This reduction, however, has not been accompanied by an increase in employment rates. The fact that the proportion employed has remained virtually the same during the past 4 years, despite reductions in unemployment, suggests that many white men on balance are no longer looking for work and are leaving the work force altogether.

On the other hand, about two-fifths of the reduction in unemployment among older nonwhites during the past 4 years has been reflected in a rise in employment. The reasons why recent employment rates of nonwhites have risen and those of whites have not are not clear, but it may be that the jobs which were available for nonwhites were ones which whites were generally unwilling to accept. In addition, the current economic expansion may also have resulted in the creation of relatively more employment opportunities for older nonwhites than were previously available. However, the nonwhite unemployment rate, estimated at 44 per thousand in 1965, is still disproportionately high compared with 26 per thousand for white workers.

The lower utilization rates of nonwhites as compared to those of whites reflect the combined effects of many inequities; among these are discrimination, poor health, lack of job opportunities, and inadequate education. Because many nonwhites have traditionally been employed in jobs requiring heavy manual labor, they have probably been more subject to forced "retirement" for reason of health. In addition, it is these jobs which have been among those hardest hit by increasing mechanization.

For both white and nonwhite older men, some of the decline in participation rates undoubtedly reflects the rising incidence of early retirement. From 1961 to 1965, for example, about 1-1/4 million men between the ages of 62 and 64 have taken advantage of the amendments to the Social Security Act which permitted early retirement with reduced benefits. While it is difficult to assess the net effect of this development on manpower utilization--because it

is not known how many have voluntarily taken advantage of early retirement--it appears likely that many older men are being forced out of the job market because of lack of employment opportunities, lack of skills or education, inability to meet the physical demands of the job, unwillingness to relocate, or discriminatory hiring practices.

For example, only 1 out of 10 men 62-64 years old receiving Social Security benefits in 1963 had retired because of preference for leisure. Two out of five had done so at the employer's decision, predominantly because of poor health or layoffs.[4] About three-fifths of the 62- to 64-year-old men who filed for old-age insurance benefits in 1962 were not employed at the time. About half of these had been out of work for more than 6 months and a fourth for 2 years or more.[5]

On the other hand, many men who retire early--voluntarily or involuntarily--have no intention of stopping work. For example, a survey of civil service retirees who left their jobs between the ages of 55 and 60 showed that 59 percent returned to work.[6] And a 1963 study sponsored by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare found that nearly half of a group of involuntary early retirees looked for work after retirement.[7] The recent report of the Secretary of Labor on the problems of the older worker points out that: "Repeatedly the majority of retirees who have returned to work or wanted to return to work, give lack of adequate income as their reason."[8]

4/ Erdman Palmore, "Retirement Patterns Among Aged Men: Findings of the 1963 Survey of the Aged," Social Security Bulletin, August 1964, p. 9.

5/ Unpublished data from Social Security Administration.

6/ "Thirty-Eight Years Is a Plenty." Civil Service Journal, October-December 1964.

7/ Theron J. Fields, Company Initiated Early Retirement as a Means of Work Force Control: A Report to the Office of the Commissioner, Welfare Administration of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, December 1963).

8/ The Older American Worker: Age Discrimination in Employment--Research Materials, Report of the Secretary of Labor to the Congress under Section 715 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, June 1965), p. 73.

Changing attitudes toward early retirement and increasing retirement benefits may in time act as a strong inducement for men under 65 to retire. At present, available information is inadequate to establish conclusively the extent to which older men are retiring voluntarily, especially those who hold regular jobs, because they prefer leisure and can live comfortably under current benefit levels. At this point, the bulk of the evidence appears consistent with the hypothesis that most early retirement is not voluntary.

DECLINING UTILIZATION OF MEN, 25 TO 54

Men between 25 and 54 years of age have the highest participation rates of any age group because it is during these ages that their economic and family needs are greatest. Most are heads of households who must have steady employment with adequate income to provide the goods and services required for the rearing of children, household maintenance, and to meet other major responsibilities during the course of a lifetime. However, even within this age bracket, there is a clear pattern of decreasing utilization associated with increasing age.

Although not as hard hit as men aged 55 to 64, the utilization of those 45 to 54 years old has also deteriorated significantly since 1951-53. By 1965 their average employment rates had fallen from 943 to 931 per thousand population. In terms of the white male reference rate of the early 1950's, the decline in utilization represented an employment gap of 153,000 jobs.

Men in this age group and their families usually suffer more economic hardships from the loss of employment than older men, since they seldom have recourse to retirement benefits if age or other discriminatory hiring practices or lack of skills prevent them from obtaining employment. As a result, some may be forced to live with or depend on relatives; others may have to rely on various other types of assistance with attendant loss of self-respect.

Consistent with their generally lower pattern of utilization, employment of nonwhite men 45-54 dropped more than for white men. Although nonwhites constitute less than 10 percent of all men in this age group, they accounted for 46 percent of the 1965 employment gap for these ages. Over half of the gap among nonwhite men was attributable to withdrawal from the labor force. (See chart 5.) By contrast, unemployment among whites in most years has constituted the bulk of their gap.

During the past 4 years, however, employment of men in this age group has improved, due principally to reductions in unemployment. Among nonwhites the proportion unemployed fell from 94 per thousand in 1961 to 50 per thousand in 1965, while among whites their corresponding rate dropped from 42 to 21 per thousand; for both groups their rates in 1965 were the lowest since 1951-53. On the other hand, there has not been much change since 1961 in the proportion outside the labor force, which appears to have stabilized at about 41 per thousand for whites and 76 per thousand for nonwhites, both of which are substantially above base period rates.

Utilization rates of younger men, white and nonwhite combined, aged 25 to 44, are the highest of the age groups covered in this report. Nevertheless, the same pattern of increasing nonparticipation that prevails among the older nonwhite age groups also applies to younger nonwhites. (See chart 6.) Their proportion outside the labor force rose from 32 per thousand in 1951-53 to 52 per thousand in 1965. In addition, unemployment of younger nonwhites increased by 11 per thousand to 55 per thousand. These increases--in both nonparticipation and unemployment--mean that employment of nonwhite males aged 25 to 44 would have to be raised by 151,000 in 1965 to match the white standard rate for the same ages in the early 1950's. These data reflect the frustrations and barriers that inhibit normal participation by nonwhites in the labor force.

In sharp contrast, the pattern of utilization for white men of these ages was characterized by a virtually stable rate of labor force participation. Of the 146,000 employment gap in 1965 attributed to the 25-44 white male population, almost three-fourths reflected an increase in unemployment.

As a result of these differences in utilization, nonwhites 25 to 44 years old, as in the other age groups, account for a disproportionate share of the employment gap. Although nonwhites represent only 10 percent of the male population in this group, they comprise over 60 percent of the gap attributed to lower labor force participation and over 40 percent attributed to higher unemployment.

Since 1961, employment of men in these central age groups has also increased, with nonwhites showing a much faster rate of growth than whites. The improvement in the nonwhite employment rate, however, was less than the accompanying decline in unemployment, with the difference reflected in a rise in those outside the labor force. Among whites, their increased employment rate was due almost entirely to reduced unemployment.

EDUCATION AND MANPOWER UTILIZATION

The close relationship between low levels of educational attainment and high unemployment is well known and has been demonstrated in numerous studies. Less generally known is the substantial impact that inadequate education has on reduced labor force participation. While the correlation between limited education and low levels of utilization is not perfect, it is clear that the most educated are most fully utilized, and those with the least education suffer from the highest unemployment and they participate least in the job market.

Moreover, at all levels of educational attainment, except the lowest, proportionately fewer nonwhites were employed than whites. For example, in March 1964, among white men between the ages of 25 and 64, those with 8 years schooling were employed at the rate of 874 per thousand--50 per thousand more than for nonwhites. (See table 2.) And even among college graduates, relatively more whites had jobs than nonwhites. Their utilization rates were 961 and 934 per thousand, respectively.

Table 2. Utilization of Men 25-64 Years Old, by Color and Years of School Completed, March 1964
[Rate per thousand population]

Color and employment status	Elementary school			High school		College	
	0 to 4 years	5 to 7 years	8 years	1 to 3 years	4 years	1 to 3 years	4 years or more
White							
Total not utilized (not employed)----	280	169	126	93	53	60	39
Unemployed------	75	63	53	47	27	22	9
Not in labor force --------	205	106	73	46	26	38	30
Utilized (employed)-	720	831	874	907	947	940	961
Nonwhite							
Total not utilized (not employed)----	235	181	176	119	122	76	66
Unemployed------	69	84	87	77	90	52	39
Not in labor force---------	166	97	89	42	32	24	27
Utilized (employed)-	765	819	824	881	878	924	934

Despite the evidence that increased educational attainment is clearly associated with higher rates of employment for both whites and nonwhites, there are some noticeable deviations from this pattern which are difficult to assess. Among men who had the least amount of schooling--those with 4 years or less of education--the proportion of employed nonwhites was actually higher than for whites. Not only were relatively fewer nonwhites unemployed than whites (69 compared to 75 per thousand) but their proportion outside the labor force--166 per thousand--was also significantly lower than for whites--205 per thousand.

While proportionately more white men had jobs than nonwhites, among those who had only 5 to 7 years education these differences were relatively small--only 12 per thousand. On the other hand, the greatest difference in white-nonwhite utilization rates was among those with a grammar school education and those with a high school background. Apart from those with the lowest educational achievement, it is only among nonwhites with college experience that utilization rates approached those of white men with similar years of schooling.

In order to explain these variations in the patterns of labor force behavior associated with education, considerably more information is needed. The data suggest, however, that educational differences are one of many factors involved in the utilization of manpower. The fact that among men with 0-4 years of education relatively more nonwhites were employed than whites may reflect different living and working environments such as the concentration of nonwhites in rural and farm work which is characterized more by part-time or underemployment rather than regular full-time employment. Conversely, the sharply lower employment rates of nonwhite high school graduates as compared to white graduates may result more from discriminatory hiring practices rather than rural-urban differences.

Despite these essentially non-educational factors, data suggest that poorly educated workers will have even greater difficulty as the educational level of the labor force continues to rise and as technology reaches new levels of complexity. The prospect is not only that the number of jobs requiring little or no education will continue to decline but that nearly all jobs will require higher level skills and more education.

IMPLICATIONS FOR NEEDED ACTION

The Employment Act of 1946 was in large measure prompted by a concern over the possibility of sharp increases in unemployment following the demobilization of millions of military personnel and the discharge of war production workers at the end of World War II. The act thus laid the foundation for the establishment of an active manpower policy aimed at the maintenance of high employment consistent with price stability.

Two decades later the Nation is still concerned with problems of manpower--employment and unemployment--despite an impressive record of economic and social gains. Since 1961, the Government has undertaken a number of fiscal and monetary actions as well as education and training programs directed at solving specific manpower problems. Over the past 4 years the economy has made great strides in providing jobs for a growing labor force and in reducing unemployment.

As efforts to bring the country closer to full employment become increasingly effective, more attention will have to be given to how full or optimum utilization of total manpower resources can be achieved. The analysis of labor force participation data--which has been primarily concerned with those at work or looking for work--suggests that those in positions of policy should expand their thinking beyond traditional concepts. More consideration should be given to the development of programs to reach people not currently counted in the labor force--those in the working age population who may have given up the search for work or have never even looked for work.

Within the concept of manpower utilization, consideration should be given to economic and social programs designed to best serve the goals of manpower policy as well as individual needs. To this end, it is vital that economic and social policies be adopted and appropriate programs be developed for those outside the labor force. The experience gained under the Experimental and Demonstration projects sponsored by the Manpower Administration is already beginning to show the benefits of proper encouragement, counseling, education and training in helping persons with difficult employment problems to enter or re-enter the world of work.9/

9/ For example, see William F. Brazziel, Factors in Workers' Decisions to Forego Retraining Under the Manpower Development and Training Act (Washington: Norfolk Division, Virginia State College in cooperation with the U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, Office of Manpower, Automation and Training, June 1964).

While the primary objective of a policy of optimum manpower utilization would, in most instances, be a higher rate of labor force participation and employment, realization of this goal implies a recognition that some persons currently in the labor force--for example, housewives, mothers and students--would at the same time be freed from the economic necessity of working and be able to turn their efforts and attention to other activities.

This report has shown that up to 1961 the greatest impediment to full manpower utilization had been increased unemployment. Since 1961, there has been a substantial narrowing of the employment gap, all due to reductions in unemployment. But as unemployment has been reduced, nonparticipation in the labor force has assumed greater significance, absolutely as well as relatively. As a result of these developments, over 60 percent of the employment gap in 1965 can be attributed to reduced labor force participation.

Thus, manpower policy must always be alert to the maximum possible reduction in unemployment--especially among those groups which have not shared in the general improvement. But this is not sufficient. Action should now be directed to persons outside the job market to enable and encourage them to enter the mainstream of the American economy. Achievement of both these goals requires the elimination of many barriers. One of these is discrimination, the evidence of which has been amply demonstrated by the falling utilization rates for older men and for nonwhites. As the provisions of the Civil Rights Act become fully effective, the situation of nonwhite men should improve.

The problem of the older worker calls for additional action and attention. Since one of the purposes of the Social Security Act is to provide workers with a free choice between retirement and work, it is ironic that early retirement at reduced benefits has been a last resort for many older men. Hiring restrictions based on age must be eliminated so that more displaced older workers can be helped.

A variety of other measures may be required to achieve full utilization. For workers who have given up the search for employment in the belief that no jobs are available, consideration should be given to training such as that supplied under the Manpower Development and Training Act. Such training could be used as an instrument for restoring many workers who are old, disabled, or in poor health to an active and productive role in society.

The evidence of reduced labor force participation by some groups of men suggests the existence of serious economic, social and psychological and health problems which have not been fully delineated. At present it is not known to what extent the labor force behavior or the work experience of individuals are influenced by these factors. The policy approach, therefore, must be flexible and be responsive to new information relating to specific causes for individuals' decisions not to participate in the labor force. The research staff of the Manpower Administration and other Bureaus in the Department of Labor are developing more information which will shed light on these and other aspects of labor force behavior.

The objective of a free industrialized society must include comprehensive programs to evoke the full utilization of not only those who are willing and able to pursue economic activities but, also, of those who presently do not participate in work life because of remediable ills, disabilities, or lack of motivation. This is necessary not only to maximize production for the benefit of the population as a whole, but also to develop each individual's contribution as a means of enhancing individual worth. Any concept of full utilization, therefore, must pay particular attention to groups in the population which have not yet fully shared nor have been given the opportunity to make their rightful contribution to the Nation's economic and social well-being.

STATISTICAL APPENDIX

Employment, Unemployment, and Labor Force Participation of Adult Men, 1951-53 to 1965

The U.S. Department of Labor is the source of all data in this report unless otherwise noted. Data on utilization were derived from the population and labor force statistics as provided in the sample survey of households, collected and tabulated by the Census Bureau for the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and published in the Monthly Report on the Labor Force.

Note: Data for 1965 are based on estimated annual averages of population, employment and unemployment, as provided by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Table A-1. Manpower Utilization of Men 25 to 64 Years Old in the Civilian Noninstitutional Population, by Color, 1951-53 to 1965

[Rate per 1,000]

Year	Total employed (white and nonwhite)	White				Nonwhite			
		Employed	Not utilized			Employed	Not utilized		
			Total	Unemployed	Not in labor force		Total	Unemployed	Not in labor force
1951-53[1]/	934	937	63	20	43	906	94	42	52
1954	915	922	78	38	40	848	152	86	66
1955	925	931	69	28	41	860	140	75	65
1956	927	933	67	25	42	873	127	64	63
1957	921	926	74	28	46	868	132	65	67
1958	900	908	92	48	44	824	176	112	64
1959	912	920	80	35	45	840	160	90	70
1960	910	918	82	36	46	841	159	85	74
1961	901	910	90	44	46	819	181	103	78
1962	909	917	83	34	49	834	166	85	81
1963	910	918	82	33	49	843	157	75	82
1964	915	921	79	28	51	853	147	63	84
1965[2]/	917	923	77	24	53	862	138	52	86

1/ Three-year average.

2/ Estimated.

Table A-2. Manpower Utilization of Men 25 to 44 Years Old in the Civilian Noninstitutional Population, by Color, 1951-53 to 1965

[Rate per 1,000]

Year	Total employed (white and nonwhite)	White				Nonwhite			
		Employed	Not utilized			Employed	Not utilized		
			Total	Unemployed	Not in labor force		Total	Unemployed	Not in labor force
1951-53 1/	955	959	41	19	22	924	76	44	32
1954	933	940	60	38	22	871	129	92	37
1955	947	955	45	26	19	879	121	81	40
1956	947	953	47	24	23	893	107	68	39
1957	943	949	51	26	25	890	110	73	37
1958	918	927	73	49	24	838	162	126	36
1959	935	944	56	34	22	859	141	102	39
1960	934	942	58	36	22	868	132	90	42
1961	925	935	65	43	22	841	159	113	46
1962	934	943	57	34	23	858	142	91	51
1963	935	943	57	33	24	866	134	83	51
1964	942	949	51	27	24	885	115	66	49
1965 2/	945	952	48	24	24	893	107	55	52

1/ Three-year average
2/ Estimated

Table A-3. Manpower Utilization of Men 45 to 54 Years Old in the Civilian Noninstitutional Population, by Color, 1951-53 to 1965

[Rate per 1,000]

Year	Total employed (white and nonwhite)	White				Nonwhite			
		Employed	Not utilized			Employed	Not utilized		
			Total	Unemployed	Not in labor force		Total	Unemployed	Not in labor force
1951-53 [1]	943	946	54	20	34	911	89	41	48
1954	923	931	69	37	32	845	155	86	69
1955	934	939	61	28	33	882	118	60	58
1956	937	941	59	27	32	893	107	51	56
1957	931	937	63	29	34	876	124	59	65
1958	912	920	80	46	34	843	157	97	60
1959	919	925	75	38	37	852	148	76	72
1960	919	926	74	35	39	844	156	78	78
1961	908	917	83	42	41	829	171	94	77
1962	919	926	74	34	40	845	155	77	78
1963	922	930	70	32	38	847	153	64	89
1964	926	933	67	28	39	861	139	54	85
1965 [2]	931	937	63	21	41	874	126	50	76

1/ Three-year average
2/ Estimated

Table A-4. Manpower Utilization of Men 55 to 64 Years Old in the Civilian Noninstitutional Population, by Color, 1951-53 to 1965

[Rate per 1,000]

Year	Total employed (white and nonwhite)	White				Nonwhite			
		Employed	Not utilized			Employed	Not utilized		
			Total	Unemployed	Not in labor force		Total	Unemployed	Not in labor force
1951-53 [1]	853	855	145	24	121	825	175	36	139
1954	847	854	146	38	108	764	236	62	174
1955	841	849	151	35	116	753	247	74	173
1956	853	861	139	27	112	767	233	67	166
1957	838	844	156	30	126	774	226	47	179
1958	829	836	164	46	118	748	252	84	167
1959	837	845	155	34	121	757	243	68	175
1960	828	836	164	36	128	746	254	78	176
1961	822	831	169	47	122	730	270	86	184
1962	823	831	169	36	133	737	263	78	185
1963	825	831	169	35	134	764	236	61	175
1964	823	831	169	30	139	740	260	65	195
1965 [2]	823	830	170	26	144	749	251	44	207

1/ Three-year average
2/ Estimated

Table B-1. Composition of the Employment Gap1/ of Men 25 to 64 Years Old, by Color, 1951-53 to 1965
[Thousands]

Year	Total employment gap	White			Nonwhite		
		Total	Unemployed	Not in labor force	Total	Unemployed	Not in labor force
1951-532/--	120	-	-	-	120	78	42
1954 ------	816	493	601	-108	323	235	88
1955 ------	462	178	268	-90	284	196	88
1956 ------	345	107	180	-73	238	159	79
1957 ------	605	340	250	90	265	169	96
1958 ------	1,404	974	956	18	430	345	85
1959 ------	928	555	520	35	373	265	108
1960 ------	1,016	636	544	92	380	257	123
1961 ------	1,370	900	829	71	470	328	142
1962 ------	1,060	648	484	164	412	258	154
1963 ------	994	619	455	164	375	216	159
1964 ------	819	484	271	213	335	171	164
19653/-----	705	405	128	277	300	127	173

1/ This table shows changes in the "employment gap" which represents the difference between actual levels of unemployment and nonparticipation (not in the labor force) and those which would have occurred if the pattern of labor force behavior of white men in 1951-53 had prevailed. These differences are derived by applying the base period pattern for each age group to the appropriate age and color groups in the population in subsequent years. It should be noted that the total employment gap for white men in some years is less than that due to unemployment and results from negative entries for those "not in the labor force." This reflects the fact that in these years labor force participation rates of white men were somewhat higher than they were in the 1951-53 base period. The effect of this development resulted in fewer numbers of men outside the labor force than that which would have been expected based on the standard of the early 1950's.

2/ Three-year average.

3/ Estimated.

Table B-2. Composition of the Employment Gap[1] of Men 25 to 44 Years Old, by Color, 1951-53 to 1965

[Thousands]

Year	Total employment gap	White			Nonwhite		
		Total	Unemployed	Not in labor force	Total	Unemployed	Not in labor force
1951-53[2]	75	-	-	-	75	55	20
1954	557	368	377	-9	189	158	31
1955	255	83	132	-49	172	133	39
1956	255	112	103	9	143	107	36
1957	346	193	135	58	153	120	33
1958	889	620	582	38	269	237	32
1959	525	303	295	8	222	184	38
1960	541	332	333	-1	209	164	45
1961	742	472	472	[3]	270	214	56
1962	536	305	279	26	231	165	66
1963	521	308	270	38	213	147	66
1964	363	194	150	44	169	108	61
1965[4]	297	146	103	43	151	82	69

1/ See footnote 1, table B-1.

2/ Three- year average.

3/ Less than 500.

4/ Estimated.

Table B-3. Composition of the Employment Gap[1] of Men 45 to 54 Years Old, by Color, 1951-53 to 1965
[Thousands]

Year	Total employment gap	White			Nonwhite		
		Total	Unemployed	Not in labor force	Total	Unemployed	Not in labor force
1951-53[2]	29	-	-	-	29	17	12
1954	206	120	136	-16	86	56	30
1955	114	58	67	-9	56	35	21
1956	85	39	56	-17	46	27	19
1957	140	77	77	[3]	63	35	28
1958	324	230	230	[3]	94	70	24
1959	270	183	156	27	87	52	35
1960	273	176	131	45	97	56	41
1961	380	266	202	64	114	72	42
1962	278	180	125	55	98	55	43
1963	242	145	108	37	97	43	54
1964	204	121	78	43	83	33	50
1965[4]	153	82	13	69	71	30	41

1/ See footnote 1, table B-1.
2/ Three-year average.
3/ Less than 500.
4/ Estimated.

Table B-4. Composition of the Employment Gap[1] of Men 55 to 64 Years Old, by Color, 1951-53 to 1965

[Thousands]

Year	Total employment gap	White			Nonwhite		
		Total	Unemployed	Not in labor force	Total	Unemployed	Not in labor force
1951-53[2]	16	-	-	-	16	6	10
1954	53	5	88	-83	48	21	27
1955	93	37	69	-32	56	28	28
1956	5	-44	21	-65	49	25	24
1957	119	70	38	32	49	14	35
1958	191	124	144	-20	67	38	29
1959	133	69	69	3/	64	29	35
1960	202	128	80	48	74	37	37
1961	248	162	155	7	86	42	44
1962	246	163	80	83	83	38	45
1963	232	168	77	91	64	26	38
1964	252	169	43	126	83	30	53
1965[4]	255	177	12	165	78	15	63

1/ See footnote 1, table B-1.

2/ Three-year average.

3/ Less than 500.

4/ Estimated.

Year	Total employment	Wage	Total	Mean-employed	Labor forces	Total	Mean-employed	Labor forces
1951-53 2/	76		-					
1954	57		5	85				
1955	91		57	69				
1956			44	29				
1957	116		90	96				
1958	161		134	144				
1959	235		69	64				
1960	208		134	89				
1961	218		163	161				
1962	221		169	89				
1963	237		168	77				
1964	252		169	63				
1965 3/	256		179	12				

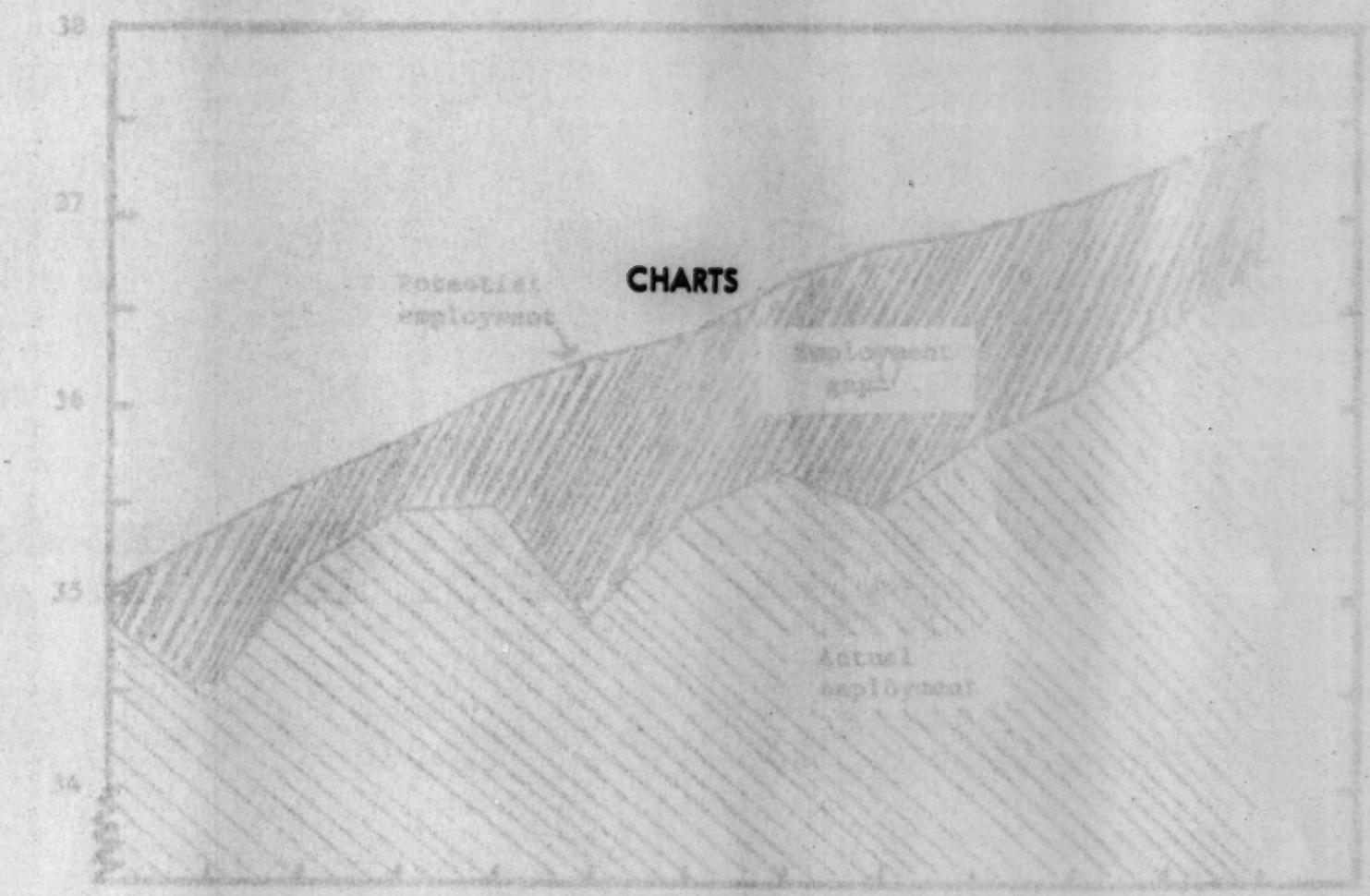
1/ See footnote 1, table B-1.

2/ Three-year average.

3/ Data not available.

CHARTS

Chart 1 Employment gap for men aged 25 to 64, totaled 705,000 in 1965



1/ For explanation of employment gap see Introduction.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, Office of Manpower, Automation and Training, based on data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

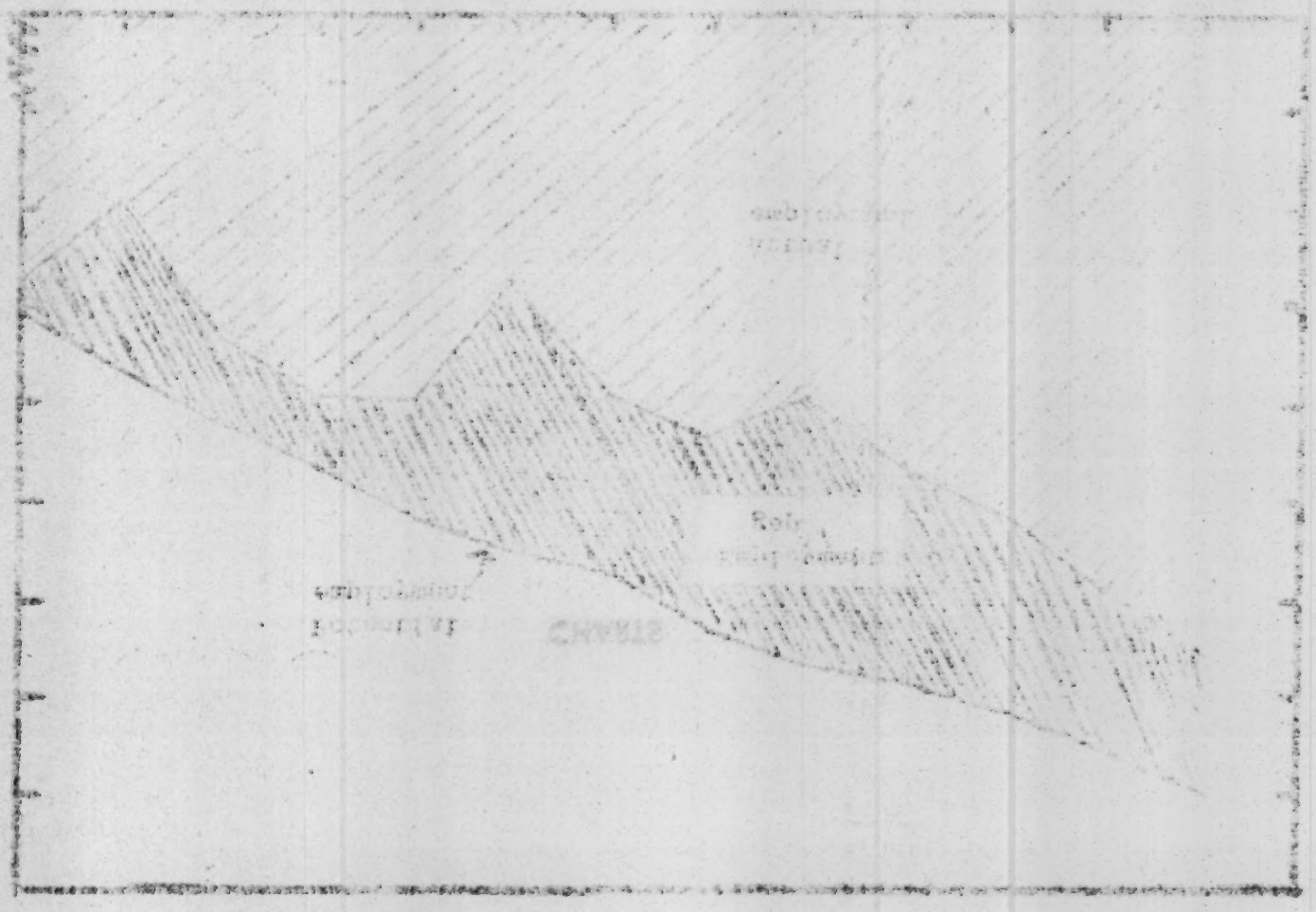
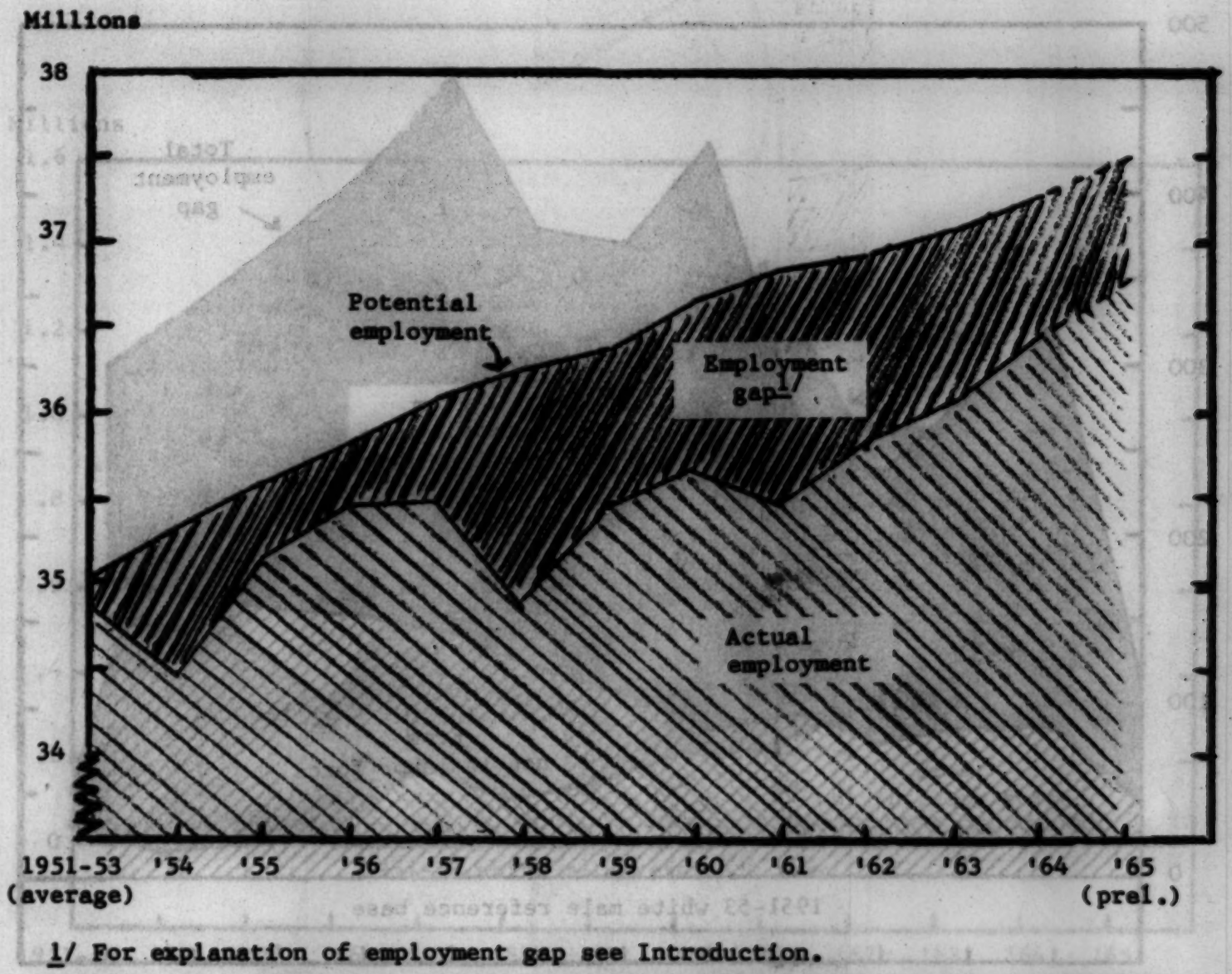


Chart 1 **Employment gap for men aged 25 to 64 totaled 705,000 in 1965.**

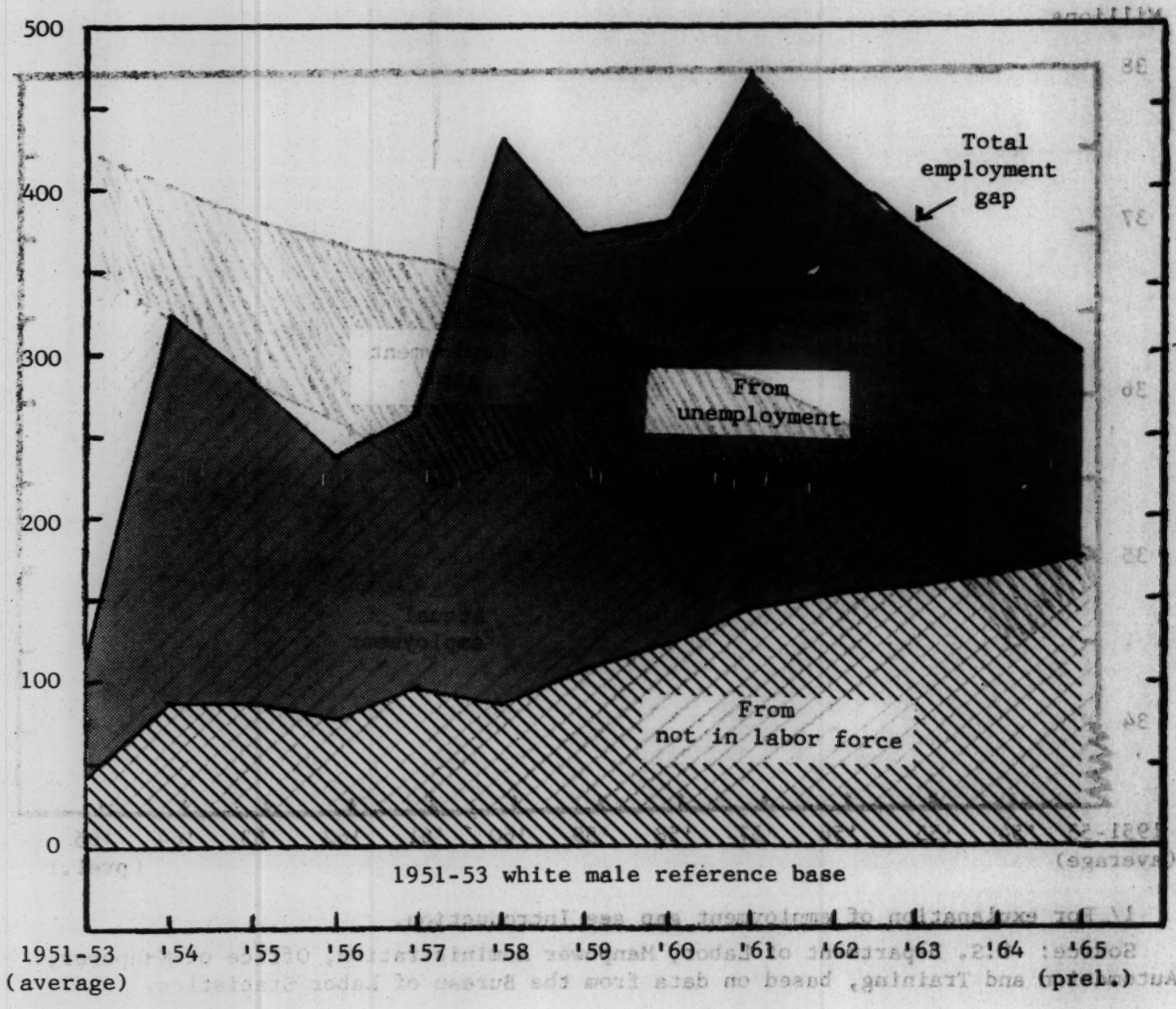


1/ For explanation of employment gap see Introduction.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, Office of Manpower, Automation and Training, based on data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

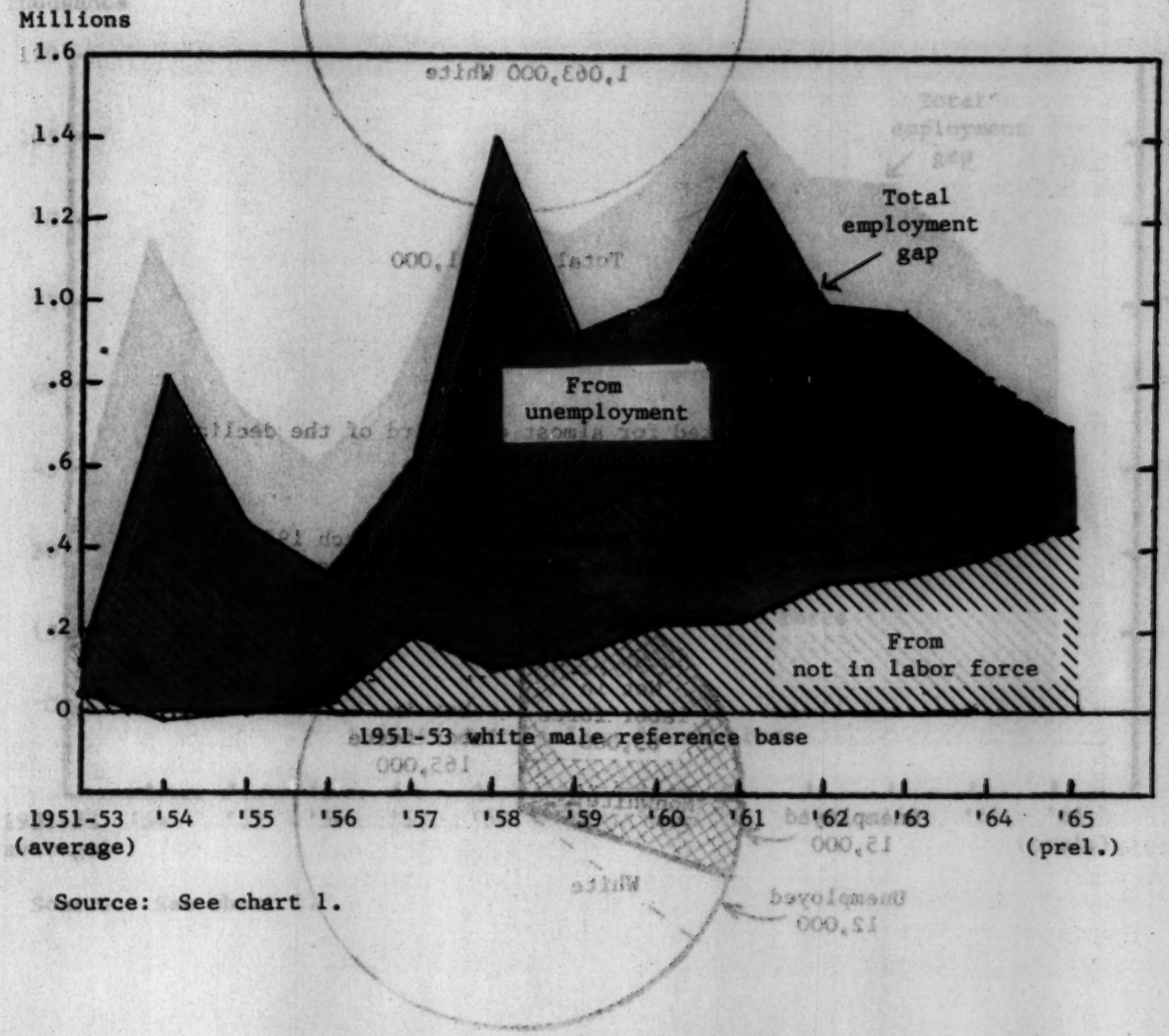
Chart 2

Employment gap for nonwhite men aged 25 to 64 totaled 300,000 in 1965.



Source: See chart 1.

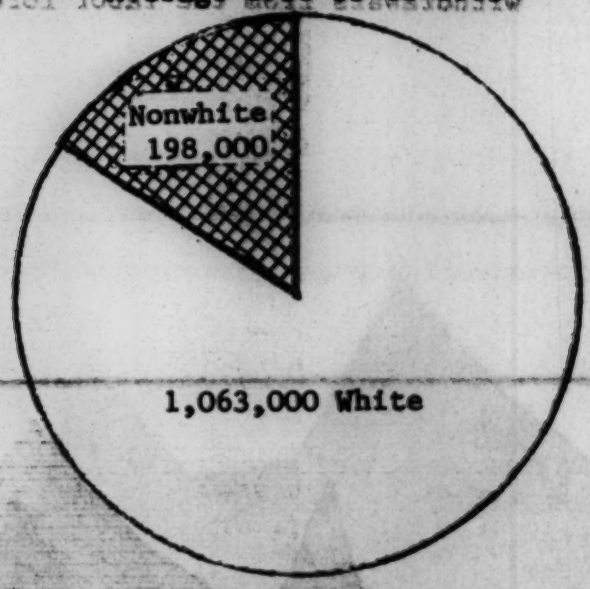
Chart 3 **In 1965, for the first time, the portion of men aged 25 to 64 from outside the labor force constituted a majority of the employment gap.**



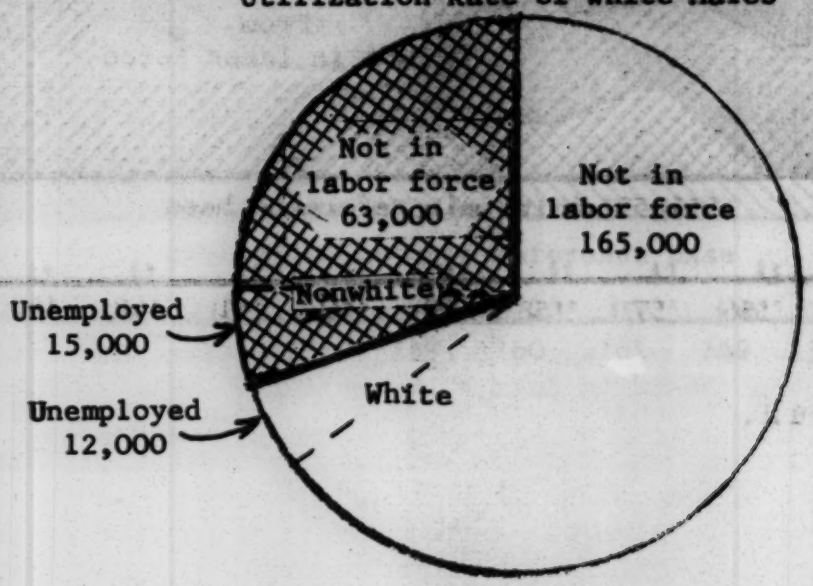
Source: See chart 1.

Chart 4.

Although nonwhite men made up only 16 percent of the increase in the older population between 1951-53 and 1965,...

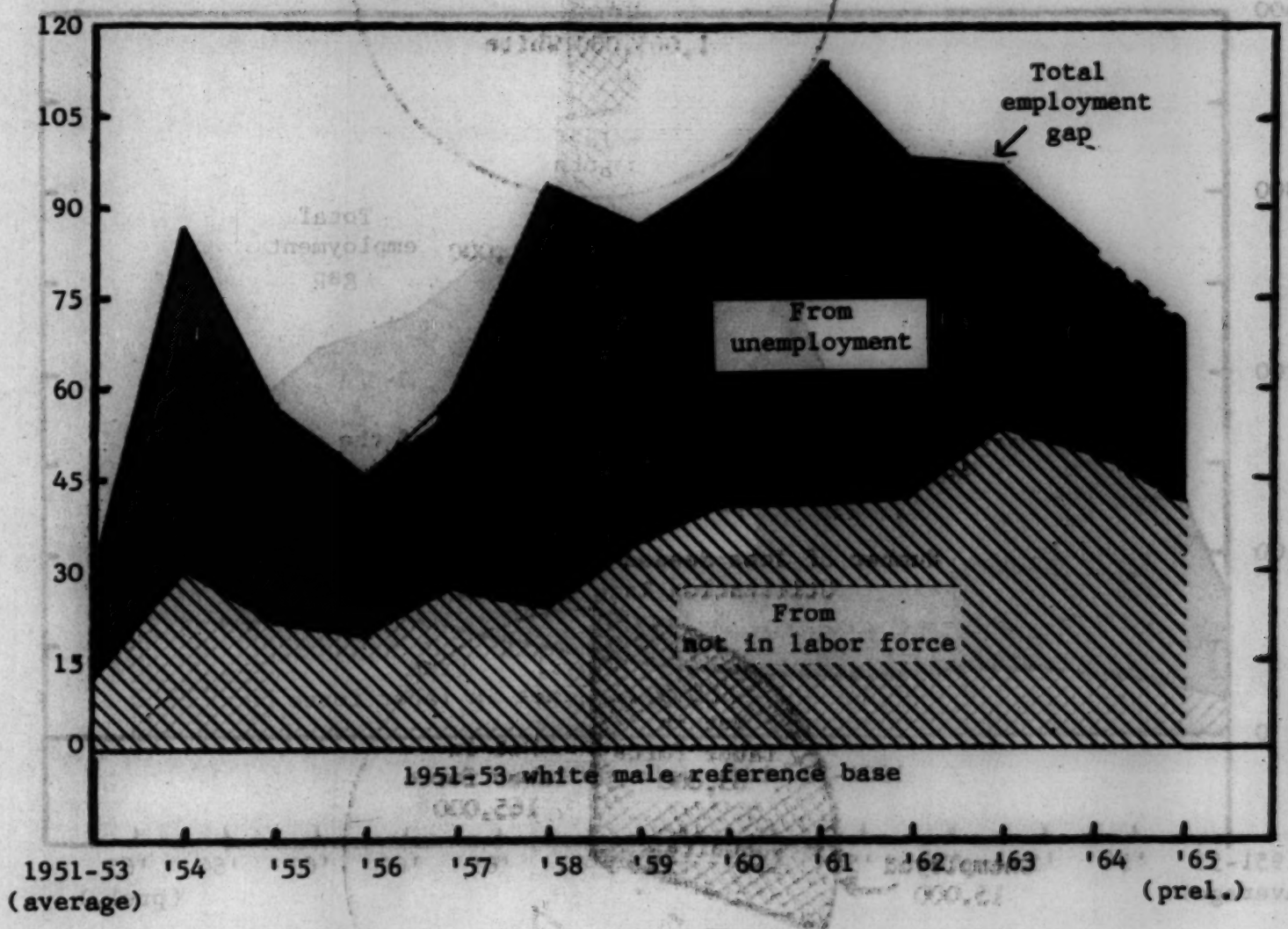


...They accounted for almost one-third of the decline in utilization among older men.



Source: See chart 1.

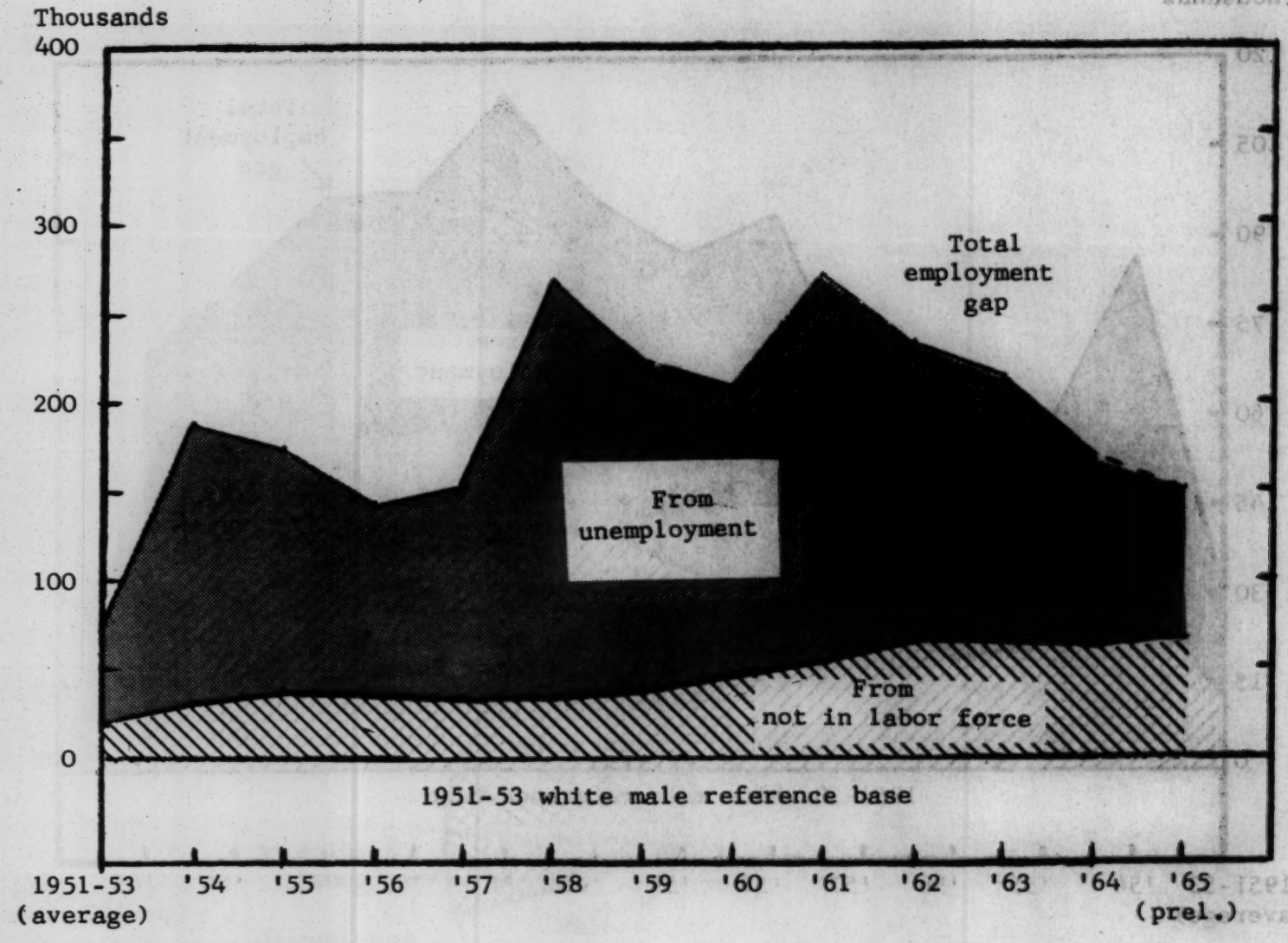
Chart 5 **Over one-half of the employment gap for nonwhite men aged 45 to 54 has reflected withdrawals from the labor force.**



Source: See chart 1.

Chart 6

In recent years increasing proportions of nonwhite men aged 25 to 44 have not been participating in the labor force.



Source: See chart 1.

January 3, 1964

Commissioner James J. McFadden
Department of Labor
93 Worth Street
New York City 13

Dear Commissioner McFadden:

Mr. Farmer is out of the country at present and I am, therefore, responding to your letter of December 30.

I regret that Mr. Farmer will be unable to attend the conference at the Commodore Hotel on January 13, as he is scheduled to be out of the city at that time.

Sincerely yours,

Glenda Lubelsky
Secretary to
James Farmer

371 1/13

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
CITY OF NEW YORK
93 WORTH STREET
NEW YORK 13, N. Y.

DEC 3 1 1963

James J McFadden
Acting Commissioner

PHONE NO.
WALKER 5-1900

December 30, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Department of Labor, in conjunction with the Mayor's Commitee on Job Advancement and the Mayor's Committee on Exploitation of Workers, is calling a conference to discuss and formulate an educational program to combat illiteracy and semi-illiteracy, prime factors in unemployment. In addition to the Mayor's Committees, community, civic, educational, labor and governmental leaders of New York and New Jersey are scheduled to participate in this all-important discussion.

On behalf of the Organizing Committee of the conference, you are cordially invited to participate in the deliberations. I should appreciate very much if you would mark this event on your schedule. I will be in touch with you personally in the next day or so to discuss a valuable contribution I feel you may make.

The conference will take place at the Commodore Hotel, Monday, January 13th at 10 O'clock in the morning, and will conclude with a luncheon session. All participating will be asked to contribute ten dollars to cover the expenses of the conference.

Sincerely,

James J. McFadden
Acting Commissioner

Nancy

NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL

217 WEST 125th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10027 • MOnument 2-5080

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L. Joseph Overton
Richard Parrish
Cleveland Robinson
Horace Sheffield
Frank Evans

440

January 12, 1965

Mr. George A. Wiley
Associate National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

JAN 14 1965

Dear Mr. Wiley:

Enclosed you will find an urgent memorandum inviting the Congress of Racial Equality to be represented at a State of the Race Conference, January 30-31, 1965.

Will you kindly read the statement carefully and let me know immediately on the enclosed card the representatives from your organization who will be present for this important series of discussions.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

cc: 329 Westscott St.
Syracuse, New York 13210

Geo. Wiley going
Card returned → 1/14/65 B. Kraden

Invitation to a Conference of Negro Leaders
from A. Philip Randolph

The Civil Rights Revolution has entered a new period. Following increasing pressure from our movement, expressed in direct action and demonstrations culminating in the historic March on Washington, Congress finally passed the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964. Yet, in the midst of this victory, we are conscious of problems more complex and acute than perhaps any we have faced before.

The time has come for those who believe in the struggle for racial equality and integration through democratic and nonviolent means to come together to analyze, interpret and evaluate the forces and direction of the Civil Rights Revolution in the year 1965.

At its Fourth Annual Convention, the Negro American Labor Council asked me to issue a call for such a conference and to invite representatives of Negro civil rights organizations, churches, fraternal groups, women's groups, etc. In keeping with that earnest request I have called such a conference.

The Conference will convene on Saturday morning, January 30, 1965 at 10:00 A.M., and will conclude on the following Sunday afternoon at 5:00 P.M. It will be held at the headquarters of the National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York City.

Your organization is invited to designate or send not more than 3 delegate(s). I believe that it would be little short of criminal to urge you to attend this conference if it were to result in no more than another exchange of views. At the same time, it would be misleading to suggest that we hope to come out of it with a new Grand Strategy, to which everybody will have to be committed.

Our purpose, instead, is to examine the principal areas of goals and strategies to which the Negro community is, or should be, devoted for the year ahead; and to clarify the alternatives we face, so that those who must choose alternatives can do so with the assurance that others in the community understand where they are heading. In other words, we do not seek a surface "unity" where none is feasible (or desirable); we do expect to make various courses of action possible in an atmosphere of mutual confidence rather than suspicion.

Shortly, I will be sending you an outline of the Conference program. There will be a few brief presentations by persons in a position, we hope, to set facts before us in succinct and objective fashion; followed by intensive discussion whose results will be summarized at a final session.

No working press will be admitted to the Conference. The Conference itself will decide at its conclusion whether there will be an official statement to the press.

The number of persons invited will be kept small enough to be manageable while still being representative. We do not anticipate that there will be more than sixty conferees all told. Invitation is by organization, and the number of organizational representatives is strictly limited to the figure given on the first page.

In order to cover the Conference expenses, we are asking each delegate to pay a $5.00 registration fee. Each participant will provide for his own meals and housing.

Thank you for your interest. I hope to see you on January 30.

NEGROES AND ORGANIZED LABOR

BY
HERMAN D. BLOCH

Reprint from the Journal of Human Relations,
Volume Ten, Number Four

CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE PRESS

NEGROES AND ORGANIZED LABOR

HERMAN D. BLOCH

The purpose of this paper is to reveal that organized labor's economic philosophy—a limited job market—creates a vicious employment circle for Negroes. A limited job market is based on restriction of membership, and Negroes are usually barred from craft union membership. Nonacceptance or token acceptance of Negroes by craft unions means that Negroes are barred from the apprenticeship system; the latter is the main source of union recruitment. The apprenticeship system is substantially based on a father-son relationship. Although heavy stress will be given to the period 1866 to 1950, unions preceding the National Labor Union and the AFL actually laid the foundation for the vicious circle. The historical acceptance of Negroes as inferior made it impossible for liberal members of both the National Labor Union and the AFL to change craft union admission policies to a more democratic one.

Beginnings of the Vicious Circle

The advent of organized labor in the United States saw craftsmen seeking to protect their indifferent ways.[1] Accepting the prevailing atmosphere of race prejudice,[2] white unionists barred Negroes from craft jobs in order to "restrict competition and to safeguard their job monopoly."[3] Early in the eighteenth century, many local trade societies tacitly or explicitly excluded Negroes from union membership: the Caulkers of Boston in 1724,[4] the Shipwrights of New York in 1803, the Carpenters of New York in 1806, the New York Typographical Society in 1817, to mention but a few. Early in American history Negro exclusion from trade societies and unions had become an integral part of the mores. Since amalgamated organizations like the Workingmen's Convention meeting in New York in 1830, the General Trades Union of New York City meeting in 1833, and the National Trades Union meeting in 1835, without question, barred Negroes from their organizations. The organization of modern national unions beginning with the Journeymen Printers in 1852,[5] the Iron Workers in 1858, and the Iron Moulders and Machinists in 1859, these organizations no longer questioned the propriety of Negroes being excluded

from their unions. Various unions established after the Civil War as the railway unions, masons union, etc., had accepted exclusion of Negroes from membership as a modus vivendi.

At the close of the 1860's McNeill estimated that there existed at least thirty-two unions, and their records showed that most of them refused Negroes admission to their organizations. The means used varied from outright exclusion to the Caucasian Clause or tacit consent.[6]

Negroes and the National Labor Union

This long-standing attitude of organized labor towards Negroes was so ingrained in the minds of craftsmen that it was official union policy long before the National Labor Congress met in Baltimore in 1866. The National Labor Union's delegates asserted their position on the question of Negro membership when they emphasized the scarcity of work principle. Race prejudice they declared was not the issue; rather the concept of a limited market and industrialization. After all, race prejudice existed long before the factory system and collective bargaining became an integral part of our economic way of life; therefore, unions did not invent discrimination, rather unions took over what was traditionally part of our social and economic mores. A rationalization based on the historical accident that Negroes made their appearance as chattel and this made them inferior persons.

A. C. Cameron,[7] a close friend of William Sylvis, the latter president of two powerful organizations, Molders Union and the National Labor Union, were members of the *avant garde*—both persons advocated complete acceptance of Negroes into the organized labor movement. At the 1866 Convention of the National Labor Congress, Cameron maneuvered inclusion of the Negro question on the agenda. Also, he was appointed chairman of the Congress' first Negro Labor Committee. After investigating the problem, their report included the following:

> His [Negro's] interest as a workingman and especially the part he is to take in advancing the cause of labor, has as yet, received no consideration. . . . the Committee feels that it would be sad dereliction to pass it by unacted.

> What is wanted for them is for every union to help to inculcate the... idea that the interests of labor are one; that there should be no distinction of race or nationality;... that there is but one dividing line which separates mankind into two great classes....The interest of all on our side of the line is the same. and should we be misled by prejudice or passion as to refuse to aid the spread of union principles among our fellow toilers, we would be untrue to them... to ourselves....If these general principles be correct, we must seek cooperation of the African race in America.[8]

The Committee's report perceived the acute need for group unity amongst workers. It penetrated to the crux of the problem in the following: "...the question to be decided is, shall we make them our friends, or shall capital be allowed to turn them as an engine against us? Indeed a practical illustration... is afforded in the recent importation of colored Caulkers from Portsmouth, Virginia, to Boston, Massachusetts, during the struggle on the eight hour question."[9]

Cameron and other members of his Committee thought that they had laid the proper foundation for organized labor's acceptance of Negroes into the labor movement at the close of the 1866 convention. So convinced were the members of the Committee that they thought it expedient to have future conventions decide when the period of cooperation should take place. "The time when such cooperation should take effect we leave to the decision and wisdom of the next congress... we believe that such enlightened action will be developed as to resound to the best and most lasting interests of all concerned."[10]

The next convention was held the following year in Chicago, Illinois. A Mr. Phelps was elected chairman of the Negro Labor Committee. Mr. Phelps was a member of the Carpenters and Joiners Union of New Haven, Connecticut—a craft union known for its anti-Negro sentiment. The second Committee's report gave a view antithetical to that of its predecessor. The Chicago Committee stated that "while we ...realize the danger in the future competition in mechanical Negro labor, yet, we find the subject so involved in so much mystery, ...and so wide a diversity of opinion amongst our members, ...that it is inexpedient to take action on the subject during this National Congress."[11] Perhaps it was "inexpedient to take action on the subject" of

Negroes, since the Cigar Makers during their 1868 convention decided to renew limitation on membership to white male journeymen only.[12]

Antithetical to the above comments was a report attributed to a *New York Times* correspondent following the 1869 convention. This reporter stated that Negroes had gained full recognition.

> To any one who has watched the deliberations of this Congress of artisans and workingmen, one peculiar fact stands out in bold relief, *viz.,* that the barriers of class and caste have been broken down, so far as the laboring classes of the country are concerned, if we take the solemnly avowed sentiments of this body as indicative of the feelings that exist among the constituencies therein represented. For the first time in the history of this nation a convention has been held in which workingmen and workingwomen, white and black, loyalists and ex-rebels, have met together upon terms of perfect equality, for the purpose of taking deliberative action on vital questions affecting equally the interests of all.[13]

Since none of the official proceedings of the National Labor Union bear out this optimistic view, it is rather difficult to find the source used by this correspondent for his views.[14] Furthermore, it is hard to conceive of so radical a change in views on the part of craft unions, since the year before the Cigar Makers National Union led by many socialists reaffirmed limiting membership to white males only. In addition, contemporary newspaper accounts and other reports for that year indicate a contrary view. Another *New York Times* correspondent[15] just a few months prior to the publication of this optimistic article, refuted completely the meeting of whites and Negroes "upon equal terms of perfect equality." Reference is made to a field study conducted by the reporter in which he reported "the most startling evidences of powerful effects of prejudice." The Negro was the last hired and the first fired, frequently Negroes were the victims of physical violence. Many white unionists refused outright to work side by side with Negroes. One group of Irish workers threatened to strike unless their employer discharged all Negroes on the job. Negro apprenticeship sponsored by unions was unheard of, and the lack of entry into the craft trades forced Negroes to accept menial occupations. Another reporter, this time connected with the *New York Tribune,*[16] reaffirmed the find-

ings of his fellow reporter—Negroes faced a vicious circle in the employment field.

The early 1870' saw a continuation of craft union exclusion. In 1870, the International Typographical Union's proceedings stated that it is regrettable that the Negro question was again raised, and again referred the question of Negro admission back to its locals.[17] The following year, 1871, the Bricklayers National Union also referred the matter back to its locals.[18] Still another instance was that of the Carpenters and Joiners Union where the issue was raised but deferred back to its locals.[19] Negro exclusion from the craft unions was the general practice—and adding to the list of unions excluding Negroes would only accent the obvious.

A study conducted by the National Urban League on American Labor Unions[20] reaffirms our report on the National Labor Union. The latter was "no more than a benevolent gesture with only moral force at its back that might easily be disregarded and nullified by either a national or local union opposed to Negro admission to their union." In summation, the question of union admission was always left to the discretion of individual national unions and their locals. Unions' general policy on the question of Negro admission was either complete exclusion or placing him in the category of "mechanical labor"—a category outside the jurisdiction of craft unions. Power-wise the National Labor Union ceased to function about 1872, and the panic of 1873 decimated what was left of existing craft unions.

The Knights of Labor

In juxtaposition to the National Labor Union existed the Knights of Labor. The Knights opened its rolls to union membership in 1867. Initially, it was Uriah Stephens who established the policy of the Knights towards Negro admission. He stated: "I can see ahead of me an organization that... will include men and women of every craft, creed and color...."[21] Terrence V. Powderly, successor to Stephens, accepted his predecessor's labor philosophy but on economic grounds rather than religious ones. He reasoned in terms of economics and sociology. On economic grounds Powderly thought that the free Negro would be used to keep wages down unless "both

[white and black] mechanics were to sink differences... since no human eye can detect a difference between the article manufactured by the black mechanic and that manufactured by the white mechanic."[22] At least in the North there is some evidence that this philosophy had filtered down to the levels of both the District Assembly and the rank and file. An example of acceptance was the election of F. J. Ferrel, a member of New York Assembly District Assembly #359 as a delegate to the national convention. The national convention was to be held in Richmond, Virginia, and hotel accommodations had been made in advance for all the delegates. When Ferrel tried to register at the hotel the management refused to accommodate him. Ferrel was a Negro. In protest, to a man, the New York contingent cancelled their reservations and sought accommodations where Ferrel would be accepted.[23] Belief in social equality was demonstrated at this convention when it was arranged to have Ferrel introduce T. V. Powderly as chairman of the convention.[24] In turn, Powderly was to introduce the Mayor of Richmond, Virginia, as one of the principal speakers. To impress the audience with the social policy of the Knights, Powderly stated: "one of the [social] objects of our Order is the abolition of these distinctions which are maintained by creed or color..."[25]

Contemporary newspapers of the period estimated the Knights' Negro membership at 95,000 with over 400 all-Negro locals and "they [Negro locals] are growing at a rate out of proportion to the increase of white members."[26]

The American Federation of Labor

The decline of the Knights of Labor began in May 1866 following the loss of the Southwest strike, the failure of the eight-hour movement, the Haymarket bomb, and the growing dissatisfaction of the trade unions.[27] After 1886 the AFL became the official spokesman for the oganized labor movement. Although no specific reference was made to Negroes in the 1886 Constitution of the AFL, officials did require a pledge from all national and international unions seeking affiliation never to discriminate against a fellow worker on account of color, creed, or nationality. Gompers, like his predecessors in the

labor movement, Cameron and Powderly, recognized the need for unity to preserve economic strength. "If we don't make friends of the colored man, they will of necessity be justified in proving themselves our enemies, [strikebreakers], and they will be utilized upon every occasion to frustrate our every effort for economic, social, and political improvement."[28]

After the National Association of Machinists had been organized in 1890 with a constitution containing a Caucasian Clause, Lennon of the AFL suggested that the AFL is opposed to any trade union that has provisions which exclude from membership persons on account of race or color," and that "the National Machinists' Union remove from their constitution such conditions, so that all machinists shall be eligible for membership."[29] A year later, 1891, Gompers issued a strong statement on the official attitude of the AFL's stand on the Negro question: ". . .organized labor. . . is decidedly in favor of maintaining and encouraging the recognition of the equality between colored and white laborers," and to this purpose the "Federation will call for a convention of all machinists' unions for the purpose of forming a national union which shall recognize no color line."[30] Both the IAM and the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths were threatened with rival unionism unless they expunged the Caucasian Clause from their constitutions. Coercion failed to influence either of these two unions. Despite failure to influence these national unions, the sentiment at the 1897 AFL Convention reaffirmed its welcome to all ranks of labor "without regard to creed, color, sex, or nationality."[31]

It was during the one year that Gompers was not re-elected president of the AFL that the International Association of Machinists was accepted for membership. In 1894 McBride was elected president, took ill, and James Duncan became acting president. The latter made a distinction between national union's constitution and the practices of it locals which permitted the national union to eliminate the "lily-white" clause without in the least affecting discrimination against Negroes. Duncan made the point that as "long as you have the word "white" establishing the color line as part of your constitution either your action must be changed or your lodges and your national body must stand debarred from all affiliation with us. . . . yours is the only national union that at present, has the color line as distinctly formed,

while at the same time many crafts refuse to admit a colored man without having such provision in their constitution, the matter being left absolutely with the local unions as to whether or not they admit colored applicants."[32] The International Association of Machinists recognized the full meaning of the casuistry by substituting *ritual* for the "lily-white" clause.[33] The Blacksmiths Union was admitted when it set up segregated locals; in essence it accomplished the same thing as the Caucasian Clause. After 1895 the officials of the AFL had rationalized their failure to enforce nondiscrimination and after 1896 began to accept national unions whose constitutions excluded Negroes.[34]

Gompers recognized that he was fighting a losing battle on the Negro question, still he refused to give up the fight completely. Race prejudice did exist despite his exhortations, but the AFL needed to increase its membership and to prevent a schism in the labor movement a new way out had to be found.[35] First Gompers took the position that the AFL did not compel its affiliates to accept colored workmen, but insisted that they should not be excluded from the labor movement because of accidental birth. Later he even admitted that Negroes should not be accepted into the crafts because of their strikebreaking activities.[36] (Gompers seemed to have forgotten his earlier statements on the subject which prophesied this very thing and the cause of strikebreaking on the part of Negroes was a direct outcrop of exclusion from the labor movement.)

Two alternatives were used by the AFL and its affiliates to overcome white craftsmen's antagonism towards Negroes. The first was the segregated local,[37] more often than not an auxiliary local wherein the Negro had no voice in the internal democracy of the union's operation. The second was the Federal Labor Union to be directly chartered by the Federation since the latter barred exclusion solely on the basis of race. Federal Labor Unions were first mentioned in the AFL's 1887 Convention Proceedings;[38] these affiliates would organize workers not within the present jurisdiction of existing national or international unions. This was an attempt to overcome the AFL's structural weakness in enforcing nondiscrimination amongst its affiliates. The Federal Labor Union could only offer Negroes uncertain and temporary entry into the labor movement and was widely used by the Federa-

tion after 1900. Federal Labor Unions are temporary in nature since they form the nuclei of new internationals, and once the latter is formed the direct relationship with the Federation would be terminated. Should the national craft union accept Negroes it would be in the form of an auxiliary or segregated union. This would still leave Negroes outside of the official family except in name.[39]

In spite of the AFL's long official stand on the race question,[40] by 1950 there still existed many wayward affiliates. Craft unions upholding this attitude toward the Negro are best exemplified by an editorial in the *Electrical World,* official organ of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers: "We do not want the Negro in the IBEW, but we think that they should be organized in locals of their own, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor as that organization knows no creed or color. . . ."[41]

Relatively recent racial union policies which completely restrict or offer "token" membership to Negroes include six AFL craft affiliates and some six unaffiliated unions who practice exclusion through the Caucasian Clause or ritual. The Caucasian Clause is perhaps one of the oldest and most blatant measures of discrimination. The Constitution of the American Railway Association, for instance, reveals that membership is limited to "any regular male railway clerk. . . . who is of the Caucasian race or a native American Indian. . . ."[42] Many unions, however, use more refined means of excluding Negroes. While they do not explicitly include a "restrictive" clause in their constitutions, their discrimination is no less complete. More sophisticated in their discrimination they employ an indirect, noncommittal means known as tacit consent. In other words, it is understood amongst the membership that Negroes have no place in their union. What is so nefarious about this practice is that the fact of exclusion is never mentioned in writing. In many instances discrimination takes refuge in certain technicalities relating to apprenticeship and licensing regulations, thus keeping Negroes at a distance. "The Plumbers and Steamfitters through a father-son apprenticeship system and a municipal licensing law have been able to exclude Negroes almost entirely from their unions."[43] A *New York Times* news release of 1936[44] affords a good example of "tacit consent" discrimination involving Local 3 of the IBEW. Following a successful strike at the Standard

Equipment Company of Long Island City and a favorable union settlement, the Urban League of Greater New York charged Local 3 with refusal to accept as members Negroes who had joined the union's picket line. These craftsmen were requested to join the picket line and promised membership after the strike. The attorney for these Negroes contended that letters were sent to both the National Headquarters in Washington, D. C. and to Local 3 in New York requesting information as to why these Negroes were refused union membership. The president of Local 3 acknowledged receipt of such a letter and explained it away by saying that he had turned the matter over to the local's business agent. The latter thought it best to ignore it.

A logical consequence of union exclusion is to keep Negroes from jobs that would mean close contact between whites and Negroes even though a particular union may have no jurisdiction over these jobs. A case in point is that of G. A. Weston, referred to the Oil Transfer Company by the War Manpower Commission, (WMC) as a sea cook. Weston had some twenty-one years cooking experience at sea at the time of referral. He passed the company's physical examination and was told to report to the captain of the tugboat on which he was to work. After being refused permission to start his assignment, Weston reported back to the WMC, and the latter filed a complaint with the FEPC charging the company with discrimination in hiring. On February 14, 1945, the personnel manager of the Oil Transfer Company telephoned the FEPC's investigator and disclaimed any company responsibility for charges filed. Management reported that the captain of the tugboat was informed to place the new Negro cook. On the day Weston was hired, Captain Bradley, President of the International Longshoremen's Association, Marine Division, telephoned the company's personnel manager and specifically told him that the white crew would leave the boat if a Negro cook were imposed upon them.[45] There are at least five AFL craft unions which fall into the category of "Partial Restriction in Employment." Some of these unions have separate auxiliaries based on their by-laws, and others, like the Boilermakers, have separate auxiliaries for Negroes though no provision for this is made in their constitution. Two unions having separate auxiliaries in accord with their by-laws are (1) the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Dropforgers, and Helpers Union,[46]

(2) the International Association of Sheet Metal Workers.[47] Article 28 of the Blacksmith's Constitution reads:

> Sec. 1. Where there are sufficient colored helpers an auxiliary is to be set up under the jurisdiction of a white local.
> Sec. 3. Members of auxiliary locals composed of colored helpers shall not transfer, except to another auxiliary local composed of colored members, and colored helpers will not be promoted to blacksmiths or helpers' apprentices and will not be permitted to shops where white helpers are not employed.[48]

An explicit example of a union which practices discrimination and yet has no constitutional provision providing for it is the Seafarers' International Union of North America. As late as 1944 this union maintained two hiring halls, one for Negroes and the other for whites.[49] Although one hiring hall is used now, Negroes are restricted to two occupations, that of fireman and steward. Firemen are restricted to coal burning vessels and stewards to all Negro sculleries.

Many statements attributed to John Hawk, secretary-treasurer of the SIU reveal partial restriction of Negro employment. Some of his alleged cases were found in a letter sent to C. S. Vincent, New York Regional Representative of the Recruitment and Manning operations of the War Shipping Administration (RMO) to the Washington Chief of RMO. A few pertinent sections from Mr. Vincent's letter to his superior are reproduced:

> On several occasions Mr. Hawk has called me to object to our policy of referring Negroes. . . .
> The SIU maintains in the port of New York, a separate department and dispatcher for Negro seamen. Negroes are assigned to ships by this union only in the Steward's Department, although only a fraction of the total number of ships for which they hold contracts carry an all-Negro Stewards department.
> On January 30, 1943, Mr. Hawk called me and stated: You are interfering with our hiring hall. . . . Mr. Hawk [also] stated that [neither] the President [of the United States] nor anyone else is going to tell men with whom they are going to live and to a seaman a ship is his home. . . .[50]

There is good reason to believe that no collusion between the union and various shipping concerns exists since there are at least ten

letters on file sent to the union specifically stating that all hiring will be solely on the basis of qualifications, not color.[51]

There are several unions claiming Full Acceptance of Negro Membership, which on investigation were found to practice Preferential Placement in Employment of whites. One union segregated Negroes by circumscribing their employment opportunities to a fixed geoographic area. These procedures make full acceptance into the union nominal. In this category (Full Acceptance) there is a high correlation between hiring and refusal to upgrade. Thus Negroes are given openings but with qualifications that make them, in fact, an "inside outsider."

The Garage Car Washers and Cleaners Union as well as the Motion Picture Projectionists Union, Local 306, maintain a mixed membership with supposedly "equal occupational status" for all their members. Yet officials of the Car Washers Union were charged with consistently refusing to send out an unemployed Negro car washer on a job as long as any white union member was unemployed. This policy was followed regardless of Negroes' seniority on the union's job waiting list.[52] In 1938 the Motion Picture Projectionists Union Local 306 refused to accept qualified Negro projectionists seeking union membership. Persistent demands on the part of Negro union members finally brought a partial change in the official policy toward Negro membership. At that time fifteen nonunion projectionists, all employed in Harlem, sought membership in the union. Nine were accepted on the condition that three of them relinquish their jobs to white men. If the proposal were accepted, out of the fifteen Negroes applying, nine would be without jobs, since nine would acquire membership, but three of the nine would give up jobs and the other six would be left without jobs or union affiliation.[53]

In addition to preferential placement of whites the Motion Picture Projectionists Union permits segregation in employment, all their Negro members being restricted to Harlem.[54] Two other unions practice this type of segregation by sanctioning separate locals for white and colored. These are the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the International Longshoremen's Association.

When first organized, shortly after World War I, Local 1888 of the Carpenters Union contained a mixed membership. Shortly after

its inception all white members of this local transferred to other white locals in the city, creating an all-Negro local. To maintain this segregated local, all Negroes applying to the Brotherhood of Carpenters are referred to Local 1888.[55] Each local's members depend upon employment in the area assigned to them by the New York Carpenters District Council. All New York locals must belong.[56] Since Local 1888 is in Harlem and its geographic jurisdiction is confined to this area, Negroes must be content with whatever employment this area affords them. (There is one exception—other locals can call upon Local 1888 if there is a shortage of mechanics in their local). F. Peterson sums up the general attitude of the carpenters towards Negro employment in the following: "The carpenters and painters usually admit them [Negroes] into separate locals and sometimes allow them to accept employment only under Negro contractors."[57]

Following the 1899 waterfront strike, the Italian local of the ILA began to accept Negroes into the union.[58] This did not mean that Negroes were to obtain equal opportunity in employment—assignment to specific wharves as is the accepted practice.[59] E. F. Frazier[60] stresses this point, and as recently as 1945 the problem continued to exist. In 1944 Northrup disclosed that the ILS's Constitution made no mention of spatial limitation with respect to the employment of Negroes on the waterfront; still the bulk of colored longshoremen are confined to one Brooklyn local. Although union officials are on record as opposed to discrimination in employment based on color, there is no evidence that they have taken steps to remedy the situation.[61]

At this point in our story, 1945, it may be expedient to summarize union racial policies in outline form including locals that practiced discrimination against Negroes:

A. Unions excluding Negroes by constitutional provision:[62]

1. A. F. of L. Affiliates:
   American Railway Association; Commercial Telegraphers Union, Local 16, Brokers Division, Marine Division, Telegraph Division; National Organization of Masters, Mates, Pilots, Local 88; Order of Switchmen's Union of North America, Railroad Telegraphers; Wire Weavers Protective Association.

2. Unaffiliated Organizations:
   Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood Railroad Trainsmen, Brotherhood of Railway Conductors, Order of Train Dispatchers' Association, American Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, International Association of Machinists—District 15; Brooklyn Metal Trades Council, Local 132; Field Constuction Lodge, Local 295.[63] Marine Firemen, Oilers and Water Tenders, and Wipers Association of the Pacific.[64]

B. Unions excluding Negroes by tacit consent:

1. A. F. of L. Affiliates:
   Asbestos Workers, Heat and Frost Insulators, Local 12; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 3 and Local 277; Marine Electrical Workers; Plumbers and Steamfitters, Locals 1, and 2 and Local 374; Brooklyn and Queens County Plumbers Apprentices, Local 638; Enterprise Association of Steamfitters, Local 639; Steamfitters' Helpers' Local 711 of the Brooklyn Navy Yard; Sheet Metal Workers, Local 28.

C. Unions affording Negroes only segregated or auxiliary status:

1. A. F. of L. Affiliates:
   Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Dropforgers and Helpters, Local 639; Steamfitters' Helpers, Local 711 of Shipbuilders, Welders and Helpers, Locals 2, 21, 43, and 200.[65] Seafarers' International Union of North America; Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees; Brotherhood of Express Division and New York Central System; Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees.

D. Unions nominally affording Negroes "equal status":

1. A. F. of L. Affiliates:
   Motion Picture Projectionists, Local 306; Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; International Association of Longshoremen; International Ladies Garment Workers, Local 10.[66]

Of course there are many other AFL craft unions that do grant equal status and opportunity in employment to Negroes. Some

unions impose a fine of one hundred dollars on any member who violates this principle. Two examples of unions whose constitutions contain such a clause are the Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers' Union, and the Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers' Union.[67] Generally speaking, CIO affiliates are more considerate towards Negroes in the field of equal employment opportunity, since they are developed more along the lines of industrial unionism and frequently accept the philosophy of "social unionism."[68]

Summary

Summing up the over-all situation we find that prior to the formation of national labor unions, Negro economic mobility was mainly limited by public and employer prejudice. After the formation of national unions and the subsequent formation into one federation, conscious steps were taken by the unions to institutionalize Negro subordination. To reiterate: These unions were not acting with any special malice toward Negroes; they merely accepted and helped to crystallize social subordination as an economic weapon to maintain and raise their members' economic security and general socioeconomic status in society. They transferred societal prejudice and restricted social status to the industrial sphere limiting Negroes' occupational status to conform to their social status in society. This was economic preservation in a society beset with cyclical fluctuations. Fewer eligibles for the upper occupational strata make for greater bargaining power with respect to wages,[69] and also more regular work for the elite. Union discriminatory measures consistently prevent the Negro from acquiring the requisite skill to compete for mechanics' jobs. Ultimately low occupational status acts to reinforce the white man's rationalized superiority.

Were Negroes for one reason or another able to acquire some skill, even then they are barred from employment by use of the closed shop, and their failure to obtain a license bars them from going into business for themselves. The threat to liberal employers that white co-workers would leave their benches again closes the door to Negroes seeking to learn an apprenticeship trade. Constantly harassed by union subordination, Negroes remain outsiders in the craft la-

bor movement. Although time has brought some amelioration, it is superficial, since Negroes are granted only auxiliary status, again manifesting and maintaining existing social prejudice. The AFL's failure to deal with the problem was recently told by George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, when he requested a United States Fair Employment Law to deal with the problem.[70] Correspondingly, Negroes' wages are commensurate with their occupational status and a direct counterpart of their social position in the occupational hierarchy. Together, lowest wages and the lowest occupational status constantly remind them of their general status in society.

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Is Labor Color-Blind?

by HARRY FLEISCHMAN

"WHO THE HELL appointed you the guardian of all the Negroes in America?" This outraged shout from George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, expressed his resentment recently over repeated attempts by A. Philip Randolph, the merged labor movement's only Negro vice-president, to speed all phases of the campaign to end discrimination in AFL-CIO unions. But the acrimonious debates on the issue (there were three at the San Francisco convention) do not mean that the AFL-CIO will go slow on ending Jim Crow practices. The pressure generated there will instead keep the drive alive.

Meany's denunciation of Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, followed Randolph's insistence that the AFL-CIO should not permit the continued existence of long-established segregated locals, even where Negro members wanted to keep them. It was not logical, insisted the Porters' president, to allow AFL-CIO unions to maintain Jim Crow locals "merely because the members want it" any more than it would be permissible to keep in the AFL-CIO communist-dominated unions or unions under gangster influence if the members wanted such unions.

First blood on the issue was drawn when Randolph urged that the return of the International Longshoremen's Association to the AFL-CIO should be conditioned on the elimination of alleged discriminatory practices against Negro and Puerto Rican workers on the New York waterfront. While Joe Curran of the National Maritime Union and Paul Hall of the Seafarers disputed Randolph's charges, they pledged full cooperation in ending any discrimination that may still remain.

Randolph's resolution to oust the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen unless they eliminate their constitutional bans on Negro members within six months provided the next test. The resolutions committee proposed a substitute which acknowledged the failure of the two unions concerned to live up to their pledges to eliminate the color bar. It ordered the executive council to keep pressing the unions to erase their color bars, but set no time limit.

Randolph made a brilliant speech in which he stressed that it was inconsistent to expel the Teamsters for corruption while keeping unions that violated the AFL-CIO's own constitutional ban on racial discrimination. The color bar in any union, he contended, was a symbol of second-class citizenship which made a mockery of trade union morality.

Meany replied with a conciliatory but strong defense of the AFL-CIO's record in removing discriminatory practices. In the twenty years since he had become secretary-treasurer of the old AFL, he noted, the number of unions with color bars had dropped from twenty to three.

For the first time at an AFL-CIO convention, the presidents of the two rail unions, William P. Kennedy of the Trainmen and H. E. Gilbert of the Firemen and Enginemen, pledged to bend every effort to eliminate the color line in their unions. The resolutions committee report was adopted.

At a post-convention meeting, the AFL-CIO executive council acted to heal the stings left by the debates. James B. Carey, president of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, who had supported Meany in the debate against expelling the rail unions, proposed that the compliance subcommittee of the AFL-CIO's Civil Rights Committee—which polices the constitutional anti-bias guarantees—be made up exclusively of AFL-CIO vice presidents to give its recommendations greater weight. Meany promised to consider ways of strengthening the enforcement arm.

HARRY FLEISCHMAN, director of the National Labor Service, is co-author of a recent study of racial discrimination in the trade union movement.

Randolph, whose earlier success in winning a wartime Fair Employment Practices Commission from President Roosevelt was the result of the same bulldog determination, courage, and pressure, voiced confidence after the council meeting that the AFL-CIO would now proceed more vigorously in wiping out racial discrimination. He emphasized that there was no difference between him and Meany on "ultimate objectives" but solely on the pace of the anti-bias fight.

How fast has that pace been and how fast is it now likely to change? The answer depends on one's vantage point. Certainly labor has made enormous strides in breaking down many of the barriers to job equality of workers of all races, creeds and national origins. And, just as certainly, labor still has a long way to go before full equality prevails in all unions.

Ever since the first national labor federation was founded in 1866, racial equality has been official policy as the top level of organized labor. But policy is not practice, and until the 1930's, discrimination against Negroes by individual unions and by rank-and-file members was the rule rather than the exception. As late as 1928 the National Urban League reported only 86,000 Negro members in 75 unions.

While the prejudice that prevailed in many skilled craft unions spilled over into the mass production industries, the insatiable demand of these industries for more and more labor at the cheapest possible price led them to open the gates, first for immigrant groups and then for Negro workers. Unions organizing industries on an industrial basis soon recognized the need to win these workers in order to create effective collective bargaining muscle. Thus, when the Congress of Industrial Organizations was formed in 1935 to stimulate in-

dustrial unionism, it welcomed into membership workers of every creed, color, and nationality on the nation's assembly lines.

The combination of the Wagner Act of 1935 and the formation of the CIO led to sensational gains for labor and a doubling and redoubling of labor's membership within ten years. The CIO welcomed Negroes on organizing committees, as picket line captains, and in leadership positions. Sons of Negro steel men who had been strikebreakers in 1918 became volunteer union organizers in 1936. Many AFL unions, witnessing the victorious surge of industrial unionism, adopted the same techniques. Negro membership in the unions zoomed to between one and a half and two millions.

FEPC and the need for full production in World War II's manpower crisis gave additional stimulus to making increased use of Negro workers and eased their entrance into unions as well as defense factories.

At the AFL-CIO merger convention in 1955, the delegates unanimously adopted a resolution for "equal rights for all, regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin." A Civil Rights Committee was set up to implement this policy. Affiliated unions were urged to include anti-discrimination clauses in every collective bargaining agreement, safeguarding workers against discrimination in hiring, upgrading, layoffs, promotions, training, apprenticeship, and transfers.

But official policies of top bodies are not necessarily transformed into local action. Democratic and Republican national conventions have repeatedly gone on record for Fair Employment Practice laws, yet no such bill has been passed. All the major religious denominations inveigh strongly against segregation, yet many a minister ruefully concedes that eleven o'clock Sunday morning is the nation's most segregated hour of the week. Unions, too, are faced with the problem of closing the gap between policies and practices.

In many instances Southern labor has been a victim of the tensions generated by race conflict. Many Southern employers, eager to keep their white workers out of unions, frequently manipulate the race issue in a variety of ways. If the union comes in, they say, whites will lose jobs to Negroes. The appeal of one "Loyal Employes Committee" neatly combines sexual and economic fears:

"We do not believe in mixing the races. We would hate to see colored supervisors and foremen over white girls in Southern plants. We would hate to see ten per cent of the present Chicopee employees fired and their places filled with Negroes simply because about ten per cent of the local population is colored."

In New Albany, Mississippi, the Upholsterers International Union attributed its defeat in a furniture plant to White Citizens Council activity. The UIU charged that the Council got members of the high school football team to distribute literature about Negro activities in the union. Inside the plant, a company foreman posted pictures of Negroes at a union convention. Beside the pictures, a crudely lettered poster asked: "DO YOU WANT NIGGERS REPRESENTING YOU? THEN VOTE 'NO' TODAY!"

At the Jefferson Mills in Pulaski, Virginia, the company distributed to all the workers an eight-page tabloid with a front-page streamer in bold black letters: "THE TWUA WILL 'BENEFIT' YOU BY DESTROYING ALL SEGREGATION IN THE SOUTH." The back page said: "IF you don't want your children in an integrated school; IF you don't want the Textile Union's New York bosses to integrate you; IF you don't want your wife or daughter in 'mixed' meetings: VOTE AGAINST THE TWUA EVERY CHANCE YOU GET." The use of such race hate material has become a common—and frequently successful—management practice in the South.

Rank and file union members themselves are not immune to racist propaganda. Membership applications for White Citizens Councils have been solicited in some Southern union halls. A survey of Southern local unions made for the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department in 1957 disclosed that some two-thirds of all local unions in the South are bi-racial, that a substantial number of these bi-racial locals have at least one Negro officer, and that approximately half have at least one Negro shop steward. But the same survey revealed that the methods most commonly used in those locals to deal with conflicts on the race question are to sidetrack them, rule them out of order, insist that this is not labor's business.

One of the major factors creating extensive difficulties is the problem of caste. Harry Golden, author of the best-selling *Only in America* and an acute observer of the Southern scene, relates the story of an unauthorized strike about four years ago by white women spinners at the Dan River Mills in Virginia. The mills employed Negro women as lap-haulers to hand the raw material to the spinners. They touched hands constantly, worked closely together, and the relationship was always good. Then management wanted some new spinners, so they chose a few lap-haulers who had been there twenty years. The white spinners went on strike, using stereotyped excuses such as body odor. As spinners, Golden points out, the Negro women would have been in a building a quarter of a mile away. The white spinners would have been completely separated from the Negro, but the white women nevertheless went on strike. As lap-haulers, working body-to-body, racial contact was all right, but as spinners—with equal status—it was offensive.

Obviously, with situations so tense and emotions so explosive, any action is feared. Yet inaction is hardly a solution. At best it only postpones the problem. Frequently, bottling it up only makes it explode later with a bigger bang.

To help unions solve these problems, Jim Rorty and I wrote a pamphlet for the National Labor Service, *We Open the Gates: Labor's Fight for Equality*, a series of case studies that accentuated the positive in labor's campaigns, both North and South, against racial and religious job discrimination. We viewed it as a kind of do-it-yourself handbook for local union and community leaders. The survey was described editorially by the New York *Times* as "a refreshing antidote to the poisonous diet of racial prejudice which the public has to take in the news these days."

In the South, the International Union of Electrical Workers has gained 25,000 new Southern members in the last few years despite opposition from the White Citizens Councils—which have tried to convince Southern workers that the union would back Negroes *over* whites.

In one Mississippi town, just a few months ago, the Rubber Workers organized a large plant and won a union contract. And there, in the heart of the Delta where the White Citizens Councils hold sway, the local has a white president, a Negro vice president, an integrated executive board, and holds integrated union meetings.

In Charlotte, North Carolina, when garbage workers went on strike and contacted the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, the segregationist United Southern Employees Association moved in with the avowed purpose of running the AFL-CIO union out of the South. Instead a whirlwind AFL-CIO organizing drive enrolled

500 city employees. At the charter meeting for the new union, members of the Durham, North Carolina, local told the Charlotte city workers about their successful desegregated union. The Durham unionists explained that their union was first organized into two segregated locals. When they proved ineffective in collective bargaining, the two locals voted to merge into "one big union"—which has since won many gains.

In Louisiana, the state AFL-CIO council refused to knuckle under to the pressure of the White Citizens Council and the Ku Klux Klan, which condemned the state council for electing as one of its vice presidents E. A. Bryant, a leader of the NAACP and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

When the upgrading of a Negro to the tire-building department caused a wildcat walkout at the General Tire plant in Waco, Texas, the local's white officers told the international officers of the United Rubber Workers, "We can handle it ourselves." And handle it they did, despite threatening letters from the Ku Klux Klan and gloomy predictions that the officers faced certain defeat in the next union election. Within two days, the rebels were back at work side by side with the Negro worker whose promotion they had protested. There were no more incidents.

In Birmingham, Alabama, a so-called "Southern Aircraft Workers Union" challenged the right of UAW Local 1155 to represent the workers of the Hayes Aircraft Company. When a few White Citizens Council members circulated a petition to oust the UAW, the UAW local answered with a sharply worded leaflet exposing the phony union's anti-labor background. As a result of the UAW's activities, the "Southern Aircraft Workers Union" withdrew its petition.

A factor which complicates the job of providing equality of economic opportunity for all workers in Southern plants is the reluctance of many Northern-based managements to violate segregationist patterns.

An executive of General Motors was quoted in the *Wall Street Journal* of October 24, 1957, as having said: "When we moved into the South, we agreed to abide by local custom and not hire Negroes for production work. This is no time for social reform in that area and we are not about to try it." Aside from the moral implications of such a position, it is clear that most Southern branches of Northern corporations are willing to use the "local custom" excuse as a blind for opposition to trade unions. A local union, divided along racial lines, is conceded to be a good deal weaker and less militant than one where job opportunities are completely open. So long as any corporation, for whatever reasons, adheres to the present policy in the South, the task of providing full job opportunity is made enormously more difficult.

The Switchmen's Union of North America petitioned the National Mediation Board in 1955 for the right to represent the operating employees of the Central Railroad of Georgia. There were 234 whites and 120 Negroes among the 354 employees eligible to vote in the election. Over a hundred Negroes were members of the Provisional Committee for the Organization of Colored Locomotive Firemen, and there was no doubt that their votes would swing the election. Back in 1950, the Switchmen's Union had dropped the color bar from its constitution. It was ready to assure Negro switchmen and brakemen the equality denied them by other brotherhoods, including unsegregated meetings.

A series of historic meetings between white representatives of the Switchmen's Union and colored members of the Provisional Committee were held in Macon, Savannah, Atlanta, and Columbus. Together, they ironed out a cooperative agreement and made plans for a widespread organizing drive. Seven months later, the Switchmen's Union of North America, winning the election by a comfortable margin, became one of the official bargaining agents of operating employees on the Central Railroad of Georgia. For the first time, Negroes became members of one of the big five operating rail unions.

Even in the building trades, there are some signs of progress. For instance, Chicago Plumbers Local 130 recently appointed a Negro business agent, Edward L. Doty.

The International Association of Machinists several years ago began to integrate its Negro and white locals and to open up its apprenticeship training program to young Negroes. Carl Yeldell, labor secretary of the Urban League, points out, "The apprenticeship program is the heart of the matter. Most apprenticeship programs are used by unions in the skilled trades as a device for barring Negroes. But the IAM has opened the doors to a substantial number of young Negroes."

When Local 38 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers defied the Cleveland Community Relations Board and refused to let a qualified Negro electrician into the union, the complaint was brought, through the AFL-CIO's civil rights department, to George Meany. He met with IBEW president Gordon Freeman. Freeman told the local it could either comply with the AFL-CIO's anti-discrimination pledge or give up its charter. It yielded, and accepted four Negro members. Moreover. the IBEW convention last October in Cleveland adopted a resolution pledging that "it be the enduring goal of our Brotherhood to assure to all workers their full share of the benefits of union organization without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin."

Similarly, when Local 8 of the Bricklayers in Milwaukee refused to admit two qualified Negroes, the Wisconsin Industrial Commission went into court to force the local to open its doors to Negroes. The court held the Commission's rulings unenforceable under existing law. Nevertheless, the AFL-CIO civil rights committee, in cooperation with international officials of the Bricklayers union, persuaded Local 8 to reverse its policy.

The NAACP filed complaints with the President's Committee on Government Contracts to eliminate dual lines of promotion, one for whites and one for Negroes, in Southwestern oil refineries. This system had kept Negroes boxed in unskilled jobs. The NAACP victory in this case was due largely to the cooperation of O. A. Knight, president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union. "The union," reports NAACP labor secretary Herbert Hill, "was the decisive force."

Another NAACP complaint of employment bias dealt with the hiring policies of the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company. Here the AFL-CIO's civil rights department, working with the national officers of the Communications Workers of America and the President's Committee on Government Contracts, persuaded the company to hire Negroes as telephone and teletype operators and to run its training program without bias, and urged the local union to accept these Negroes as members.

The NAACP is not unmindful of such victories for equality. But it charges that the AFL-CIO committee just waits for complaints and then moves too slowly. Moreover, it insists, some AFL-CIO unions which have eliminated constitutional provisions limiting membership to white persons nevertheless continue to bar Ne-

groes by tacit agreement. In other cases, Negro membership is limited to segregated locals.

According to the NAACP, the worst offenders named in complaints filed with it by Negro workers in the North as well as in the South are the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Plumbers, Hod Carriers, Painters, Sheet Metal Workers, Carpenters, Plasterers, Operating Engineers, Boilermakers, Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Railway Carmen, Maintenance of Way Employes, Railroad Telegraphers, Communications Workers, Papermakers and Paperworkers, and Pulp and Sulphite Workers.

Ironically, the NAACP noted, "because of the 'lily-white' exclusion policies of Local 26 IBEW and other building trades unions in Washington, D.C., Negro mechanics were barred from employment in the construction of the AFL-CIO national headquarters building, and today Negro workers are denied job opportunities in major public and private construction installations in the nation's capital."

One reason for increased complaints by Negroes is the fact that traditionally Negroes are the last to be hired and the first to be fired. They have been particularly hard hit by the recession. Last March one out of every seven Negroes was jobless compared to one out of 14 whites. In good times and bad, the rate of Negro unemployment tends to run double that of whites.

The NAACP wants "vigorous action" and has proposed the following program for the AFL-CIO:

One—Eliminate all segregated locals. Conduct a survey and then issue an AFL-CIO executive council order requiring amalgamation or elimination of such locals within a stated period of time. The NAACP offers its technical assistance to international unions to carry out this policy.

Two—End racial seniority lines in union contracts. Call upon all international unions to establish a fundamental policy of refusing to ratify any collective bargaining agreements with separate racial seniority lines.

Three—Prevent exclusion practices. Elimination of "lily-white" exclusion clauses is not enough. All steps to prevent Negroes from membership should be barred and action taken against unions such as the Brotherhood of Firemen and Enginemen which have recently defended in the federal courts their "right" to exclude Negroes.

Four—Liaison with state and city FEPC's. Have the AFL-CIO civil rights department establish a working relationship with state and local fair employment practice commissions and with the President's Committee on Government Contracts so that it can intervene immediately when a case is filed with these agencies against an AFL-CIO affiliate.

While some AFL-CIO leaders have resented the pressure the NAACP has exerted, they are mindful of the cooperation the NAACP gave in defeating "right to work" proposals in California, Ohio, and other states. Despite attempts by "right to work" advocates to woo Negro support on the grounds that such laws would combat Jim Crow practices in unions, the NAACP countered by showing that most "right to work" states were in the South, where Negroes suffered extreme discrimination. AFL-CIO leaders, reared in the school of practical politics, concede that the NAACP is entitled to consideration in response to its active support of labor's political program.

Moreover, union leaders in many cases are grateful for pressure by the NAACP, the President's Committee on Government Contracts, state FEP bodies, or other outside agencies. This gives them a chance to tell their rank and file, "We've got to obey the law. We have to go along with this anti-discrimination policy. There's nothing we can do about it." It is frequently easier for such leaders (who are usually elected officials governed by political considerations) to get compliance with civil rights policies as fellow victims rather than as strong advocates.

At a meeting last spring between AFL-CIO and NAACP officials, both organizations agreed to cooperate more closely to win "full civil rights for all Americans both within and without the labor movement."

NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins was satisfied with the results of the meeting, termed it "a step in the right direction," and called attention to an interesting sidelight. Since this year is the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the NAACP, it has been reviewing its records. One outstanding fact, noted Wilkins, has been the tremendous change in the image of the labor movement in the minds of Negroes. Where, 40 years ago, most Negroes viewed the labor movement as an instrument to discriminate against Negroes, Negroes now overwhelmingly see labor as a natural—if too hesitant—ally in the fight for civil rights.

What then is the answer to the question, "How color-blind is labor?" Labor has made enormous strides in the past 25 years. But not enough. Yet a hopeful pattern appears to be emerging. The pull of labor's own ideals, outweighing some of its inertia and past discriminatory traditions, combined with the push of Negro prodding may make an effective team to bring the day of equality ever closer.

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SKILLED TRADES GUIDE

I. THE PROBLEM

A) The projected national employment picture through 1970 indicates that there will be proportionately fewer workers required to produce goods and more workers needed to provide trade, finance, insurance and real estate, personal and business services. Negroes and Puerto Ricans are employed predominantly in the declining industries. Construction work will increase, while farm employment will continue to decline. Manufacturing will have less than average growth. Specifically this means: rapid growth in white-collar occupations -- professional, technical, clerical and sales workers; managers, officials and proprietors; smaller growth in blue-collar occupations--craftsmen, and foremen (high growth for pattern makers, tool and die makers, lithographers, brick layers, operating engineers, sheet metal workers, plumbers and electricians), (low demand for paperhangers, painters, bakers and railroad workers), and decline in industrial laborers; above average opportunities for service workers in trade, finance, insurance and real estate and personal business services.

B) Nationally there is a significant shortage in the available supply of skilled manpower, especially in the areas of high demand indicated in A. Among the causes of this shortage are population growth and resultant increased needs, decline in number of the population in the prime work age group (25-44) and increase in age ranges 5-24 and 45 and older, introduction of new fabricating processes and application of automation and other advanced techniques to industry, displacing unskilled and semi-skilled workers and requiring greater operating and servicing skills, decline in immigration to U.S., attrition of skilled craftsmen due to death, retirement and geographical and occupational changes and the inadequacy of existing training systems in the United States.

C) Apprenticeship is the prime mode of training future skilled craftsmen. Greater use of automatic machinery requires more technical know-how and versatility, thus deemphasizing and making impractical existing informal training methods.

D) Because Negroes and Puerto Ricans are an important source of labor supply in urban industrial centers and they are concentrated in greater numerical proportion than whites in the prime work age group of 25-44, they are a significant source for relieving the skilled manpower shortage. However, non-whites have not been used historically in large numbers in the skilled trades and are today frequently barred from developing such skills because of discriminatory practices.

E) Today, Negroes and Puerto Ricans are not employed significantly in skilled-craft occupations. They are disproportionately concentrated in unskilled and semi-skilled categories in which job opportunities generally are decreasing. Thus, the differential between white and colored workers is being perpetuated and may become greater unless immediate effective action is taken.

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CORE - CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York

SKILLED TRADES GUIDE

INTRODUCTION

CORE has traditionally been and continues to be in sympathy with the basic goals of the trade union movement -- economic and social advancement for all workers, black and white. Where Negroes and other minority group workers have been organized on an integrated basis, the result has been material betterment for the Negro and a stronger union.

However, we are concerned with the difference between the stated goal and the reality for minority group workers. Discrimination exists in the form of segregated locals, membership exclusion clauses, separate seniority lines, and limiting job assignments for Negro workers, particularly among the building crafts, printing trades, transportation and metal crafts industries.

Examples of major breakthroughs achieved recently in New York City are:

1) 130 of 300 apprentices in plumbing industry are Negro and Puerto Rican;

2) 5 out of 15 graduates of the International Typographers Union are nonwhite;

3) Over 300 Negro and Puerto Rican applicants were sent to a new apprenticeship program instituted in Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers by CORE, the NAACP, Negro American Labor Council and the Urban League.

Our aim is to make a reality for nonwhite workers the benefits of trade unionism and pressure those derelict individual unions into insuring a democratic labor union for all workers.

F) A major reason for the lack of Negro and Puerto Rican craftsmen is the closing of apprenticeship opportunities to nonwhite youth. Associated factors are the decline of craft opportunities for Negroes in the South and the traditional discriminatory practices of craft unions, especially the building trades, transportation and printing industry and in tool and die and related metal crafts.

G) Factors influencing exclusion of Negroes from formal training programs in the skilled trades, all of which are not specifically anti- Negro are:

1. Because of a standing historical pattern of discrimination, Negro youth are not presented with skilled Negro role models (parent, relative or neighbor who is skilled craftsman), for identification.

2. Other influences are: Lack of understanding of industrial environment (procedure for applying for apprenticeship, qualifications for apprenticeship) poor and ill-informed vocational guidance.

3. Consequently, large sections of Negro and other minority group youth lack adequate preparation for those skilled training opportunities that are open to them.

4. The informal and haphazard recruitment procedure, with exception of large industrial plants, results in general lack of knowledge of apprenticeship openings. To date, management, labor and government have condoned informal arrangements whereby apprenticeship opportunities are limited to offspring, relatives or friends. As a result, many programs in this area of employment are characterized by "nepotism" and "cronyism."

5. With relatively few apprenticeship openings and an over-abundant supply of white applicants some Negroes will not be hired.

6. Because of residential segregation some apprentice opportunities are closed to Negroes by geographical location.

7. Some ambitious nonwhites will not be motivated to enter the field because of the general low-prestige of manual labor in American society and a desire to escape the family background of "blue-collar" employment.

8. Other minority group youth will reject apprenticeship because of the long training period with no immediate substantial economic gain. Emerging from a background of poverty, a large portion of the Negro labor force will accept less mobile unskilled or semi-skilled jobs to satisfy immediate economic needs and wants.

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B) There are and will be significant numbers of Negro and other minority group youth who are qualified and will apply for admission into certified apprenticeship programs. They are then confronted with the problem of racial discrimination overtly or covertly, North and South, by unions and management often with the indirect sanction of federal and state government by the following means:

1. Discriminatory application of objective standards to Negro and white applicants; non-communication of management policy to subordinate personnel, apprenticeship recruitment from sources least likely to produce Negro applicants.

2. Motivations for discriminatory practices in the skilled trades vary:

a) Management may in fact believe that Negroes have undesirable characteristics for skilled positions, fear placing Negroes in public contact positions and may not want nonwhites to gain experience or training which may lead to positions of authority in the lower ranks of the industrial hierarchy.

b) Unions may reject Negroes because of real or fancied membership opposition, intra-union power considerations (leadership retention) desire to maintain control of labor supply, and uncontested autonomy of prejudiced local union officials operating contrary to stated international union policy. There prevails in some locals a caste psychology by which some workers think of their jobs as "white men's jobs," to which no Negro should aspire.

c) State governments may subsidize and assist discriminatory apprenticeship programs.

II. OPENING OPPORTUNITIES

A. The aid of social service agencies, vocational guidance counselors, teachers and ministers in both the Negro and white community should be enlisted to direct nonwhite youth toward skilled-craft training and employment.

B) Determine what firms (including government agencies and installations) are the major employers of manpower in your community, e.g., largest 5 or 10? What are the employment practices of each as to his use of Negroes? Excluded? Unrestricted use? Use in traditional Negro categories? Other practices?

1. Public or Private Ownership: If public, is it operated by the Federal Government, State, City, or County? joint relationship: Federal-State, City-County, or other types of relationship. If private, does it have a contract with the Federal Government to furnish goods or services?

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2. Size of establishment, number of employees, turnover in employees, volume of sales or product output?

3. Part of chain or single unit firm?

4. Scale of production: Labor-capital ratio; distribution of labor force by occupational level; assembly line vs. custom precision technique of production?

C) Determine who specifically are the major parties (Employer, Employees, Customers) in a given firm and what information about each may be helpful in plotting the course of your merit employment program?

1. General reputation of employer in community

2. Response of employees and customers to merit hiring program particularly picketing or boycott

D) What are the possible sources of redress in case of discrimination by any of the parties -- present and future?

1. Agencies with operating staffs and resources

2. Local organizations and Agencies

3. Laws -- federal, state, city

E) What important resources (organizations, individuals, financial backing, etc.) are there in your community that are working or may be motivated to work for full employment of Negroes on basis of merit (predominantly Negro; Bi-racial or predominantly white in membership, outlook and program.)

F) To which major areas of activity listed below can various groups significantly contribute in achieving the employment of Negroes on basis of the merit of each applicant (capacity, qualification, seniority in some cases?)

1. Strengthen old and create strong and valid new incentives (motivation) to maximum effort and a high level of achievement among Negro (youth) for education for future employment at its highest capacity; and in fostering the full utilization in present employment of qualified Negro workers at their highest skills.

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2. Pre-employment training for future employment: Increase the quality, quantity, and diversification of educational opportunity available by strengthening the educational establishments, (facilities, personnel, and equipment) now open to Negro students and by fostering their non-discriminatory access to such establishments (educational institutions, training facilities of employers and/or unions) now closed to them by law, custom, defiance of law, or inertia. Such new opportunities should include equality of access to financial aid and educational subsidy -- scholarships, trainee wages for in-plant training, reduced tuition fees to in-state or-city students of public educational institutions.

3. Strengthen present employment and utilization practices on merit.

III. DIRECT ACTION PROCEDURE

A) Determine whether basic responsibility rests with union or management in order to best focus action.

B) Negotiations with those you believe to be responsible. These should be detailed good-faith negotiations but should not be so delayed as to miss entrance deadlines.

C) Picketing of responsible hiring party -- union or firm -- to assess reaction and possible support from other workers and surrounding community. Informal talks, surveys and leaflets may be used to this end.

D) Sit-ins may be used in employment office of management or appropriate union headquarters.

E) Make sure press knows nature of discrimination and history of CORE negotiations.

F) Keep the Program and Community Relations Departments informed of your progress in this vital area.

* * * * *

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JUL 2 8 1963

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MEMORANDUM No. 1 July 25, 1963

TO: Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

Implementing the decision of the July 2 meeting in New York, we have opened a Washington office to serve as headquarters for the campaign to effect the passage by this Congress of the strongest possible civil rights bill. Our address is Room 314, Mills Building, 704 17th Street, N. W. We owe special thanks to the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, which has made this office space available.

Although we are still moving in office furniture and recruiting staff we have begun to hold legislative strategy meetings involving the legislative representatives of the cooperating organizations. About forty organizations have been represented at our first two meetings. These sessions will be held weekly; oftener if that appears necessary. Clarence Mitchell, Director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP, is serving as chairman of the legislative committee. If your organization has a legislative representative in Washington, please let us have his name and address so that we can invite him to future meetings.

This is the present legislative situation:

The House Judiciary Committee under the chairmanship of Rep. Emanuel Celler (D., N.Y.) is scheduled to terminate its hearings by August 2. Mr. Celler has announced he will hold night sessions if necessary to complete hearings by that date. Since there is little likelihood that the House itself will strengthen a civil rights bill on the floor and even less likelihood that the Senate will go beyond the House, the ultimate shape of the legislation will be determined in large measure by what the Judiciary Committee does. It is essential, therefore, that the bill be reported out of the committee in the strongest possible form. Present reports indicate that opponents of effective

PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS

A.M.E. Zion Church
Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity
American Civil Liberties Union
American Council on Human Rights
American Ethical Union
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
American Jewish Committee
American Jewish Congress
American Veterans Committee
Americans for Democratic Action
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
Catholic Interracial Council
Colored Methodist Episcopal Church
Congress of Racial Equality
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority
Hotel, Restaurant and Bartenders International Union of America
Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World
International Ladies Garment Workers Union
International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers
Japanese American Citizens League
Jewish Labor Committee
Jewish War Veterans
National Alliance of Postal Employees
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Association of Colored Women, Inc.
National Baptist Convention, U.S.A.
National Bar Association
National Catholic Committee on Race Relations
National Catholic Council for Interracial Justice
National Community Relations Advisory Council
National Council of Negro Women
National Frontiers Club
National Newspaper Publishers Association
Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity
Phi Delta Kappa Sorority
Pioneer Women
Religion and Labor Council of America
State, County and Municipal Employees
Textile Workers Union
Transport Workers Union of America
Union of American Hebrew Congregation
Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice
United Automobile Workers of America
United Hebrew Trades
United Rubber Workers
United Steelworkers of America
United Transport Service Employees of America
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Workers Defense League
Workmen's Circle

legislation are sending in letters in increasing quantities. Although a majority of the committee is friendly to civil rights, even supporters need assurance from home to keep from accepting weakening amendments. It is especially important, therefore, that all members of the Committee hear from people in their Districts within the next two weeks.

The other members of the committee, besides Mr. Celler are:

Democrats:

*Michael A. Feighan (Ohio)
*Frank Chelf (Ky.)
Edwin E. Willis (La.)
Peter W. Rodino,Jr. (N.J.)
E. L. Forrester (Fa.)
Byron G. Rogers (Colo.)
Harold D. Donohue (Mass.)
Jack Brooks (Texas)
William M. Tuck (Va.)
Robert T. Ashmore (S.C.)
John Dowdy (Texas)
Basil L. Whitener (N.C.)
Roland V. Libonati (Ill.)
Herman Toll (Pa.)
Robert W. Kastenmeier (Wisc.)
Jacob H. Gilbert (N.Y.)
James C. Corman (Calif.)
William L. St. Onge (Conn.)
George F. Senner,Jr. (Ariz.)

Republicans:

*William M. McCulloch (Ohio)
*William E. Miller (N.Y.)
Richard H. Poff (Va.)
William C. Cramer (Fla.)
Arch A. Moore,Jr. (W. Va.)
*George Meader (Mich.)
John V. Lindsay (N.Y.)
William T. Cahill (N.J.)
Garner E. Shriver (Kan.)
Clark MacGregor (Minn.)
Charles McC. Mathias,Jr. (Md.)
James E. Bromwell (Iowa)
Carleton J. King (N.Y.)
Pat Minor Martin (Calif.)

* Merit special attention.

Letters to Committee members should call for support of the President's total civil rights package plus:

1. An "across the board Part III" authorizing the Attorney General to bring injunctive suits in all civil rights violations (the Administration bill authorizes such suits only with respect to school desegregation);

2. A full FEPC with enforcement powers (the Administration bill is limited to firms holding government contracts);

3. Coverage of all places of public accommodation, regardless of size (the Administration bill lends itself to the possibility of exempting smaller businesses);

4. Recognition that a sixth grade education is conclusive proof of sufficient literacy to vote in both state and federal elections (the bill considers a sixth grade education presumptive proof and this would apply on to federal contests); and,

5. A requirement that school districts begin complying with the Supreme Court's school decisions in 1963, as promised in the Democratic platform.

Please send us copies of any replies you receive.

These other Committee hearings are now in progress:

1. Senate Commerce Committee, under the chairmanship of Senator Warren Magnuson (D., Wash.) is still holding hearings on a bill (S.1732) to prohibit discrimination in places of public accommodation.

2. Senate Labor Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower, under the chairmanship of Senator Joseph Clark (D., Pa.) has just begun hearings on Fair Employment Practices legislation and hopes to complete them in a week.

3. Senate Judiciary Committee, whose chairman is Sen. James O. Eastland (D., Miss.) is conducting hearings on the Administration's omnibus civil rights measure (S.1731).

Since the Commerce Committee and Labor Subcommittee both have friendly majorities our legislative representatives suggest that organizations not prolong these hearings by seeking to present oral testimony. Written statements are enough. Eastland can be expected to try to use delaying tactics and so his hearings can be used to some extent as a forum for the views of organizations supporting civil rights legislation. However, these organizations should not contribute to prolonging the hearings and should make that point clear in any requests to testify.

* * * * *

At the strategy meeting on July 24, a spokesman for Rep. James Roosevelt (D., Calif) appeared and asked the help of all the groups represented in using the very difficult Calendar Wednesday technique for bringing the Congressman's FEPC bill to the House floor for a vote. It is generally agreed it cannot be brought out through regular procedures.

But several representatives were reluctant to use this "last ditch tactic" so early in the fight. Some felt that because of the complexity of using the procedure, the effort could misfire and that could have an adverse effect on the omnibus civil rights bill. However, final decision on this matter was reserved for the next meeting.

Ammunition:

The Washington Post for July 15, in a special opinion poll by Louis Harris, reports favorable public reaction to the President's recommendations.

Nation-wide and Southern Attitudes Toward Federal Action on Negro Rights Today

	Nation-Wide		Southern Attitudes	
Federal Action to Insure:	Approve	Disapprove & No Opinion	Approve	Disapprove or No Opinion
Voting Opportunities	91%	9%	88%	12%
Job Opportunities	86	14	79	21
Public Accommodations	74	26	54	46
Mixed Lunch Counters	68	32	43	57
Mixed Housing	52	48	29	71

****

Because of the importance of the debate on whether prohibitions against discrimination in places of public accommodation should be based on the Fourteenth Amendment or the Commerce Clause of the Constitution, we enclose a discussion of this matter by Joseph Rauh.

Copies of the analysis on civil rights legislation and the legislative situation presented at the July 2 meeting are still available upon request.

******

(This is our first memo. We plan to send you others periodically.)

-30-

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

"Cooperation in the Common Cause of Civil Rights Legislation"
704-17th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006 phone 783-8032
New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400
ROY WILKINS Chairman ARNOLD ARONSON Secretary

OCT 1 8 1963

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Washington _____ The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights today sent the following telegram to all members of the House Judiciary Committee, to the President and to the U. S. Attorney General:

On behalf of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, its cooperating organizations and their many millions of members, I wish to express sharp disagreement with the U. S. Attorney General's proposals for softening the Subcommittee's Civil Rights Bill.

To weaken the bill at this time would simply encourage civil unrest and heighten racial tensions. It would be an invitation for other attempts to weaken the measure.

We recommend that the strengthening amendments adopted by the Subcommittee be kept intact. These are the four major respects in which we disagree with the Attorney General:

1. The Attorney General urges deletion of Title III giving him authority to sue to protect citizens against all violations of constitutional rights. The Leadership Conference believes that the Attorney General must have authority to protect peaceful demonstrators from dogs, fire hoses and other manifestations of police brutality. It is not enough for the Attorney General to raise legalistic objections to the authority proposed in Part III. The burden is upon him to suggest alternatives for dealing with wrongs that have shocked the conscience of the nation.

2. The Attorney General opposes the provision which would make the public accommodations section applicable to all businesses including those operating under state authorization, permission or license. It is ironic that he should attack the broad provision the subcommittee bill as vague and unclear when in his testimony in support of the narrower Administration proposal he had difficulty defining its specific applications. He says the principle on which the public accommodations provision is based is a moral one and that "all forms of racial discrimination are equally objectionable." Yet he then proposes to make exceptions. We think it is immoral to admit any exceptions and believe that the racial policies of all enterprises serving the public are within corrective reach of the Constitution.

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

A. M. E. ZION CHURCH
ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY
ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY
AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION
AFL-CIO
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD
AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY
FRONTIERS INTERNATIONAL
HADASSAH
HOTEL, RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES & BARTENDERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
IMPROVED BENEVOLENT & PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS OF THE WORLD
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS
JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
JEWISH WAR VETERANS
LABOR ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, USA
NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL BEAUTY CULTURISTS LEAGUE, INC.
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES—COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
NATIONAL FARMERS UNION
NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY
PHI DELTA KAPPA SORORITY
PIONEER WOMEN
RETAIL, WHOLESALE & DEPARTMENT STORE UNION
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
STATE, COUNTY, MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST FELLOWSHIP FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE
UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED HEBREW TRADES
UNITED PACKINGHOUSE, FOOD & ALLIED WORKERS
UNITED RUBBER WORKERS
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA
UNITED TRANSPORT SERVICE EMPLOYEES OF AMERICA
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

3. The attorney General, while supporting FEPC, indicated his willingness to have it removed from the Committee bill and brought up on the floor or to have it treated as separate legislation. Either course may spell disaster for the enactment of a piece of legislation both he and the President concede is of vital importance to our national welfare.

4. The Attorney General agreed to limit the right to vote to Federal elections. We strongly suggest that non-discrimination in state elections, where governors, mayors and sheriffs, win their offices, may well be more important to the safety and well-being of millions of Americans than Federal elections.

The Attorney General said that "failure to enact comprehensive and effective legislation at this session could have tragic consequences." It is precisely because we agree with this judgement that we deplore any attempt to cutback on the broad protections contained in the Subcommittee bill. Once again we urge its passage upon the full Committee.

Arnold Aronson, Secretary

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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704-17th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006 phone 783-8032
New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400
ROY WILKINS Chairman **ARNOLD ARONSON** Secretary

OCT 18 1963

TO: ALL COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS MEMO NO. 11, October 18, 1963

FROM: ARNOLD ARONSON, SECRETARY

ACT TO KEEP THE BILL INTACT!

Swift action by those of us who want a strong civil rights bill can still save the measure pending before the House Judiciary Committee. The bill faces a crisis. The Committee starts voting on it this Tuesday, October 22. A blow against holding the bill intact was delivered by U. S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy, whose every proposal for changing it, when he testified in closed session this week, was in the direction of weakening it.

The Leadership Conference's reaction to those proposals was a unanimous recommendation from the legislative strategy committee, that we express our disagreement with them. A copy of the telegram we sent to every member of the House Judiciary Committee, to The President and to the Attorney General is attached.

If we are to keep the bill in the strengthened form approved by the House Judiciary Subcommittee, it is important that we take such steps as these:

1. There must be a barrage of messages making the point our telegram does. Cooperating organizations are already beginning to express their displeasure with the Attorney General's testimony. The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, for instance, sent an immediate telegram to The President declaring "it incredible that a member of your administration should do anything to weaken prospective civil rights legislation. The Attorney General's request for weak legislation is intolerable at this stage in our American democracy."

2. Organize mass delegations to call on members of the House Judiciary Committee who may be home over the weekend. A list of the home offices of key members of that Committee is included. Urge them on their representatives to hold on to the Subcommittee bill.

more

3. Much of the Attorney General's argument for cutting back on the provisions of the bill is based on the need to win Republican support. But at least one Republican took sharp issue with that. Senator Clifford P. Case, (R., N. J.) declared, "I cannot stand silently by while Congress is urged to take only timid, short steps toward according equal rights to all Americans." On the Attorney General's request that he not be given authority to obtain court injunctions against local police interference with peaceful protests, Senator Case commented, "Have we learned nothing from the demonstrations in Birmingham, Alabama, Albany, Georgia and Jackson, Mississippi? Did the police dogs, the electric cattle prods and the fire hoses make no lasting impression? Has the March on Washington been so soon forgotten? People of conscience throughout the nation have been hoping that Congress would once and for all face the issue and do a job which has needed doing for the past century." One of the most effective answers to the Attorney General's argument for watering down the bill to win bipartisan support would be to get other Republicans to issue the kind of statement Senator Case has.

4. Try to get local papers to run editorials in support of the Subcommittee bill. The New York Times did just that in the editorial we are enclosing, and admonished that "retreat before battle is the worst way to block the campaign of Southern Democrats to scuttle any meaningful civil rights legislation."

Messages. Telegrams. Phone Calls. Delegations to home offices. Editorials.

Statements that place the issue of a strong bill above Partisanship.

This is the kind of action we need if we are to stave off attacks of those whose notion of moderation is emasculation. This kind of action on a massive basis is what we need if we are to keep a strong, comprehensive bill.

-30-

How Strong a Civil Rights Law?

In submitting—at long last—his omnibus civil rights bill to Congress in June, President Kennedy said: "In this year of the Emancipation Centennial, justice requires us to insure the blessings of equality for all Americans and their posterity—not merely for reasons of economic efficiency, world diplomacy and domestic tranquillity—but, above all, because it is right." Now the Administration finds itself embarrassed because a House Judiciary subcommittee has approved a civil rights bill the White House considers too strong to have any realistic chance of passage.

Attorney General Kennedy has gone before the full committee to urge that some of the strengthening provisions be knocked out in the interest of attracting more support from middle-of-the-road Republicans and Democrats. That any bill finally adopted will need the backing of Republicans, as well as of Northern and Western Democrats, is incontestable. But its concessions to political expediency contrast sharply to the Administration's previous emphasis on the primacy of the moral issue in the national struggle for full equality for every American.

The Attorney General may be right in suggesting that "unclear" language in some sections of the revised bill would give the Federal Government authority to encroach on state powers in areas totally divorced from civil rights. If so, the language ought to be, and can be, made more explicit. A similar clarification of language may be in order in other sections but always with a concern for protecting Negro rights, not restricting them.

The inclusion of state, as well as Federal, elections in the bill's provisions to safeguard voting rights is a significant improvement over the original Administration bill. So is the provision for a Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission, with power over discrimination by employers and unions. Both deserve more forceful backing than the Attorney General gave them.

Retreat before the battle is the worst way to block the campaign of Southern Democrats to scuttle any meaningful civil rights legislation. There is no place for partisanship in the fight for a sound civil rights bill; but to seek unity through an approach based on the lowest common denominator of consensus arms the bill's enemies more than it does its friends.

In the appeal to conscience he addressed to the nation a few days before his civil rights message, the President declared that this country, for all its hopes and all its boasts, "will not be fully free until all its citizens are free." That is the yardstick that ought to guide Congress in the debate now nearing a climax in the House Judiciary Committee.

HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

Emanuel Celler (D N.Y.) - 1501 Broadway, New York City - LA 4-9700
Chairman

DEMOCRATS

Michael A. Feighan (Ohio)	- 306 Federal Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio CHerry 1-7900, ext. 249
Frank Chelf (Ky.)	- Federal Bldg., Lebanon, Ky. - 692-2161 Open on adjournment
Edwin E. Willis (La.)	- St. Martinville, La. - EXpress 4-3034 Open when home
Peter Rodino, Jr. (N.J.)	- 10 Commerce Ct., Newark, N.J. - MArket 3-7362
E. L. Forrester (Ga.)	- Post Office Bldg., Americus, Ga. Open on adjournment
Byron G. Rogers (Colo.)	- New Custom House, Denver, Colo.
Harold D. Donohue (Mass.)	390 Main St., Worcester, Mass. PLeasant 4-7264
Jack Brooks (Texas)	- (No District Office listed)
William M. Tuck (Va.)	- Harris Bldg., South Boston, Va. - 2-8785
Robert Ashmore (S.C.)	- 106 Lawyers Bldg., Spartanburg, S.C. 58-2-6422 255 Federal Bldg., Greenville - CEdar 2-1141
John Dowdy (Texas)	- Kinabrew Bldg., Athens, Tex. - OR 5-3022 Open when home
Basil L. Whitener (N.C.)	- 129 South St., Gastonia, N.C. - UN 5-4522
Roland V. Libonati (Ill.)	- (No District Office listed)
Herman Toll (Pa.)	- 8325 Stenton Ave., Phila. 50, Pa. - Chestnut Hill 8-1122
Robert Kastenmeier (Wis.)	- 300½ Main St., Watertown, Wis. - 261-6050
Jacob Gilbert (N.Y.)	- (No District Office listed)
James C. Corman (Calif.)	- 7020 Reseda Blvd., Reseda, Calif. - 345-1776
William St. Onge (Conn.)	- 168 Main St., Putnam, Conn. - WAlnut 8-5045
George F. Senner, Jr. (Ariz.)	- P.O. Box 1895, Flagstaff, Ariz. - 774-6035
W. Donlon Edwards (Calif.)	- 40 North First St., San Jose, Calif. 292-6012 1065 A Street, Hayward, Calif. - 581-2121

REPUBLICANS

William E. McCulloch (Ohio)	- (No District Office listed)
William E. Miller (N.Y.)	- 135 E. Avenue, Lockport, N.Y. - HF 3-3133 514 Erie County Bank Bldg., Buffalo - TL 2-4369
Richard H. Poff (Va.)	- Federal Bldg., Roanoke, Va. - DIamond 5-1118
William C. Cramer (Fla.)	- 302 Security Federal Bldg., St. Petersburg, Fla. 862-6708
Arch A. Moore, Jr. (W.Va.)	- Merchantile Bank Bldg., Moundsville, W. Va. TIlden 5-5900 Post Office Bldg., Clarksburg, W. Va. 624-7411
George Meader (Mich.)	- 327 E. Liberty St., Ann Arbor, Mich. NO 3-5740
John V. Lindsay (N.Y.)	- 30 W. 44th St., NYC 36, N.Y. - MUrrayhill 2-1130
William T. Cahill (N.J.)	- 108 No. 7th, Camden, N.J. - WOodlawn 3-7600
Garner E. Shriver (Kan.)	- (No District Office listed)
Clark MacGregor (Minn.)	- U.S. Courthouse, Minneapolis, Minn. - 339-0112, ext. 2173
Charles McC. Mathias (Md.)	- Post Office Bldg., Hagerstown, Md.- REgent 3-2710 Post Office Bldg., Cumberland, Md.
James E. Bromwell (Iowa)	- 90 First Ave., NW, Cedar Rapids, Iowa EMpire 4-0124
Carleton J. King (N.Y.)	- Post Office Bldg., Troy, New York 444 Broadway, Saratoga Springs, New York
Pat M. Martin (Calif.)	- (No District Office Listed)

Unless otherwise specified, all officesare open year round.

WRITE - WIRE
PHONE - VISIT

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400
ROY WILKINS Chairman ARNOLD ARONSON Secretary

TO: COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS MEMO NO. 15

FROM: ARNOLD ARONSON November 26, 1963

JOHN F. KENNEDY - A PLEA AND A RESPONSE .....

"We in this country, in this generation, are -- by destiny, rather than choice -- the watchmen on the walls of world freedom. We ask, therefore, that we may be worthy of our power and responsibility--- that we may exercise our strength with wisdom and restraint--and that we may achieve in our time and for all time the ancient vision of peace on earth, goodwill toward men. That must always be our goal--and the righteousness of our cause must always underlie our strength. For as was written long ago; "Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain."

--from the President's undelivered speech in Dallas, Texas, November 22, 1963.

* * * * * *

"He gave us his love that we, too, in turn, might give. He gave that we might give of ourselves, that we might give to one another until there would be no room, no room at all, for the bigotry, the hatred, prejudice and the arrogance which converged in that moment of horror to strike him down."

--from the eulogy by Senator Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.) Senate Majority Leader, November 24, 1963.

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ROY WILKINS Chairman ARNOLD ARONSON Secretary

TO: COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

MEMO NO. 16, December 2, 1963

FROM: ARNOLD ARONSON

PRESIDENT JOHNSON CALLS FOR ACTION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

"We have talked long enough in this country about equal rights. We have talked for 100 years or more. It is time now to write the next chapter - and to write it in books of law."

In such forthright words, President Lyndon B. Johnson, in his address to the joint session of the House and Senate on November 27, laid an injunction upon the laggard 88th Congress to delay no longer; to get to work and begin to deal with an issue that divides and envenoms the nation. As evidence of his willingness to match words with deeds, Mr. Johnson met with Roy Wilkins, Chairman of the Leadership Conference, this past Friday.

In his speech, Mr. Johnson gave all of us in the Leadership Conference a watchword and a goal when he said there could be no more fitting memorial for President John F. Kennedy than "the earliest possible passage of the civil rights bill for which he fought so long."

In response to this memorable message, the Leadership Conference will convoke an extraordinary session of leaders and Washington representatives of its cooperating organizations. The session will be held in The Mayflower Hotel in Washington, Wednesday, December 4, at 1:00 P.M. (The statement announcing the session is enclosed.) The purpose of the meeting will be to determine how we can best support President Johnson's requests for unity and action. Following the meeting at The Mayflower, we plan to go to Arlington National Cemetery to lay a wreath on President Kennedy's grave and to dedicate our organizations to the task of speeding Congressional consideration of civil rights legislation.

Can organizations and individuals outside of Washington help? Certainly. There never was a more suitable moment for memorial services or massive letter-writing campaigns. Examples abound. One may be sufficient. In St. Louis, on Sunday, November 24, about 35,000 persons, who had originally planned an equal rights march, gathered instead to mourn President Kennedy's death. The leaders said rightly, we think, that the President would have wanted them to continue the meeting and that his death had only emphasized the steps he had taken to ease racial tension and to promote equality. It was the largest demonstration in the 199-year history of the city.

Everyone can help build the memorial President Johnson proposes. The most effective way, as always, is to let Washington know how you and your members feel:

1. Write to President Lyndon B. Johnson. Commend him for his speech to the joint session and pledge your support in obtaining enactment of the civil rights bill as soon as possible.

(over)

2. Write to your Congressmen. Urge them to support President Johnson fully in his plea for a Congress that will unite behind him and act "...wisely ...vigorously...speedily."

The memorial is prompt passage. "It is time NOW."

* * *

(NOTE: To Washington representatives of cooperating organizations. Instead of our regular weekly strategy meeting, we will meet in The Mayflower Hotel, 1:00 P.M., on December 4.)

Attachment #1

STATEMENT BY THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS - November 27, 1963, FOLLOWING THE ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON TO A JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS.

In calling for the earliest possible passage of a civil rights bill, the President has thrown down a challenge to Congress. Members of the House and Senate, we believe, can do no less than honor his wishes for prompt action. The House Rules Committee has the most pressing obligation: to clear the bill immediately for a vote by the House. The fact that the President's plea for civil rights legislation drew the longest and most sustained applause of a memorable address gives us hope that every member of Congress will heed his request.

The President's words are no less a challenge to all Americans who were moved by the wisdom and urgency of his message. We welcome the challenge. We share the vision he evoked of a country that will take our moment of appalling tragedy as the occasion to unite against fanaticism and hatred; to stop talking about equal rights and to work to see them written now into our books of law.

To that end the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights is convoking an extraordinary session of the heads of the more than 70 national religious, civic, labor and fraternal organizations that cooperate in its work. They will meet here in Washington on December 4, to develop a program that will fulfil the obligations the President's words and the events of the past few days have placed inescapably upon us all.

We agree with the President that no memorial could honor Mr. Kennedy's memory "more than the earliest possible passage of the civil rights bill for which he fought so long." For that reason we plan to go in a body to the Arlington National Cemetery next Wednesday and there, at the grave of John F. Kennedy, dedicate ourselves to the realization of the dream that President Lyndon B. Johnson singled out above all others - "the dream of equal rights for all Americans whatever their race or color."

Attachment #2

"...ABOVE ALL, THE DREAM OF EQUAL RIGHTS....."

(Relevant excerpts from President Johnson's address to the joint session of Congress, November 27, 1963.)

..."above all, the dream of equal rights for all Americans, whatever their race or color - these and other American dreams have been vitalized by his (John F. Kennedy's) drive and by his dedication."

..."First, no memorial oration or eulogy could more eloquently honor President Kennedy's memory than the earliest possible passage of the civil rights bill for which he fought so long. We have talked long enough in this country about equal rights. We have talked for 100 years or more. It is time now to write the next chapter - and to write it in books of law.

"I urge you again, as I did in 1957, and again in 1960 to enact a civil rights law so that we can move forward to eliminate from this Nation every trace of discrimination and oppression based upon race or color. There could be no greater source of strength to this Nation both at home and abroad."

..."The time has come for Americans of all races and creeds and political beliefs to understand and to respect one another. So let us put an end to the teaching and the preaching of hate and evil and violence. Let us turn away from the fanatics of the far left and the far right, from the apostles of bitterness and bigotry, from those defiant of law, and those who pour venom into our Nation's bloodstream."

..."And on this Thanksgiving Eve, as we gather together to ask the Lord's blessing, and give Him our thanks let us unite in those familiar and cherished words:

America, America,
God shed His grace on thee,
And crown thy good
With brotherhood
From sea to shining sea."

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file

MEMO 12/2/63

TO: JIM FARMER
FROM: MARVIN RICH
RE: LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS.

The attached letter from Arnold Aronson requests a contribution for the leadership conference. Can this be done independently of the NAC or should it be pleaced on the agenda for the December 6th meeting?

I would suggest a relatively modest contribution--around $500. We make a rather substantial contribution through my attendence and that of Jerome Smith. Also, The trade unions have been picking up most of the bill and will probably continue to do so. We would not want to appear too affluent to them. However, we should not avoid a contribution in my opinion. We should carry at least some of the load.

OK
9.7

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

"Cooperation in the Common Cause of Civil Rights Legislation"
704-17th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006 phone 783-8032
New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400
ROY WILKINS Chairman ARNOLD ARONSON Secretary

November 12, 1963

NOV 15 1963

Mravin Rich
Community Relations Director, CORE
38 Park Row
New York City, New York

Dear Mr. Rich:

A crucial stage in the fight for civil rights legislation has just begun. If there is to be any worthwhile legislation this year those of us who want an effective civil rights measure will have to mount a massive campaign of support in Washington and throughout the country.

Although the bill just approved by the House Judiciary Committee is deficient in several critical areas, the fact that it is better than the original measure proposed by the Administration is a tribute to the hard work of your organization and others cooperating in the Leadership Conference. But we cannot rest. The work of the Washington office of the Conference must be stepped up as we direct our efforts to the members of the House Rules Committee and then to every member of the House. Our staff and our financial resources are very limited. And our opponents, accoriding to the attached story from the New York Times, are pouring sizeable funds into the fight against us.

Our effectiveness would be greatly increased if cooperating organizations were able to assist us financially. Your cooperation has helped the conference achieve whatever success it has. Can you possibly help us now through a contribution?

The next few week will determine whether or not we shall have a good bill out of this session. We know you recognize as clearly as we do that we must pool our efforts and our resources if we are to deal a death blow to discrimination in 1963.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold Aronson

Enclosure:

Arnold Aronson
Secretary

The New York Times.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1963.

MISSISSIPPI FUNDS FIGHT RIGHTS BILL

State Gives $20,000 in Tax Money to Capitol Lobby

By BEN A. FRANKLIN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 3 — Public funds of the State of Mississippi are supporting the most active lobby here against civil rights legislation.

Reports filed with the Clerk of the House of Representatives show that $20,000 has been paid by the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission, a tax-supported state agency, to the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms, Inc.

The committee, which was organized last July to oppose the Administration's civil rights bill "and all similar legislation," recently registered as a lobby.

The committee maintains a suite at the Carroll Arms Hotel, a Capitol Hill landmark that overlooks the two Senate office buildings.

Industry Backing Sought

It has tried to enlist the support of other lobbyists here, notably those representing industrial and trade associations and has spent more than $23,000 in two months.

Since its creation by the Legislature in 1956, the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission has used public funds extensively to underwrite programs of the Citizens Councils of America, an extreme segregationist organization. Attempts to challenge this use of tax funds have failed in the courts.

The coordinating committee reported the $20,000 contribution in its lobbyist's registration statement. Such statements are required to be filed quarterly. The committee's report covered its operations during the three months ending Sept. 30.

The committee said earlier that it would count heavily on contributions from all Southern states that maintain so-called sovereignty commissions. Besides Mississippi, these are Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia. The committee had called its program "the greatest unified project ever undertaken in the South."

But many sovereignty commissions were largely paper organizations at the outset and are now dormant, with little financial backing. The committee's report shows that, through Sept. 30, only Mississippi had contributed.

The only other reported contributions have been made by two Virginians — Landon B. Lane of Altavista, vice president of the Lane Company, which manufactures cedar chests, and Bruce Dunstan, a Richmond real estate owner and philanthropist. Each contribution was $1,000.

Loeb Is Chairman

The committee chairman is William Loeb, the conservative editor and publisher of The Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader and other newspapers. The vice chairman is James J. Kilpatrick, editor of The Richmond News Leader. These posts were described as largely honorary.

The secretary-treasurer and most active top officer is John C. Satterfield of Yazoo City, Miss., a close adviser to Gov. Ross R. Barnett.

As president of the American Bar Association in 1961 and 1962, Mr. Satterfield charged that the Supreme Court was eroding states' rights and threatening the country's liberty and security by giving "inordinate weight" to the rights of individuals.

A year ago he served as a special adviser to Governor Barnett during the crisis that followed the admission of James H. Meredith as the University of Mississippi's first Negro student.

The committee's assistant secretary and staff director is John J. Synon, a Richmond public relations man who once served as a special assistant to former Gov. Goodwin J. Knight of California. The committee's lobbying report said Mr. Synon was paid $519.63 a week, plus expenses.

The committee was also hired a Washington lawyer, George Stephen Leonard, at a reported fee of $750 a month.

Its report showed that it had paid $500 to Horace B. Clay, a former legislative assistant to Senator John B. Tower, Republican of Texas, for "research on pamphlets."

Senator Tower's office said Mr. Clay had resigned his job there Sept. 30.

The report also listed a payment of $250 to William Schulz, an assistant to Fulton Lewis Jr., the radio commentator, for "research service for pamphlets." It disclosed a payment of $114.64 for "travel, committee meetings," to Mrs. Ray L. Erb of Washington, former national defense chairman of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Mrs. Erb is now an employe of the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, Inc.

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ROY WILKINS Chairman ARNOLD ARONSON Secretary

DEC 9 1963

TO: COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS MEMO NO. 17, December 9, 1963

FROM: ARNOLD ARONSON, SECRETARY

OUR GOAL: 218 SIGNATURES IN FIVE DAYS

A deep sense of urgency. That's what characterized the assembly of 200 persons who met in extraordinary session in the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, on Wednesday, December 4, at the call of the Leadership Conference. Throughout the meeting delegates slipped out of the room to call their offices and set them working on our last best chance to get some action on the civil rights bill in the remaining weeks of the year: that is, by persuading 218 Representatives to sign a discharge petition.

This is the present legislative situation. Rep. Howard W. Smith (D., Va.), Chairman of the House Rules Committee, where the bill is now pending, has stated bluntly that he opposes the measure. Although he has announced hearings in January, there is no assurance that this is not another attempt to delay House consideration of the bill. To get around that, Rep. Richard Bolling (D., Mo.) initiated the procedure that will permit the filing of a discharge petition in the House this Monday, December 9. As he told the Conference Wednesday, "If a majority of the members of the House, 218 in number, sign the petition, the Rules Committee is 'discharged' from custody of the bill. It can then be brought to the floor."

Listen to Mr. Bolling on the parliamentary intricacies involved in using the petition method: "A bill for which a discharge petition has been successfully filed can be called up under the rules of the House on only two days a month--the second and fourth Mondays. This month, therefore, the Mondays are December 9th and 23rd. The 9th of December is obviously not available to us-the petition won't be filed until that day and, most importantly, once the required number of signatures are acquired, the petition must be on a discharge calendar for seven more legislative days before the bill can be brought to the floor for general debate.

"To meet this deadline, the signatures must be gotten between December 9th and 13th at the latest." (our emphasis.) Five days at the most.

Can we get the signatures? It will not be easy. Though the President and the House leadership are backing Mr. Bolling's move, we are dealing with a growing disposition in Congress to quit and go home for Christmas and a reluctance on the part of many Congressmen to use such legislative shortcuts as the discharge petition. Although the President has given the civil rights bill top priority and urged its "earliest possible

(more)

passage" as a memorial to John F. Kennedy, Congress is largely immune to pleas and shocks. Already it seems to have absorbed the great convulsion of President Kennedy's death. For too many Congressmen the struggle between sentiment and tradition is unequal. Tradition must always win. Against these powerful internal forces in the legislative body we have only aroused public opinion. Our chance lies in evoking an outpouring of public feeling, through messages, delegations, rallies and whatever other means we can devise so that we may get enough signatures in five days, so that we may force an extension of the session and get the bill up for a vote before the end of the year.

A number of those attending the December 4 meeting have already undertaken direct action programs to line up support for the petition. Several labor unions have brought in delegations to start visiting Congressmen. The National Council of Churches, meeting in Philadelphia for a triennial session, instructed its 4,000 delegates to go home by way of Washington and visit their Congressmen. Roman Catholic bishops returning from the Ecumenical Council in Rome will start building grass roots support throughout the dioceses. Many other groups, religious, civic, fraternal, announced the start of their own campaigns to persuade members of Congress to sign the petition.

It is possible, of course, that the effort will fail; that insufficient signatures will be obtained and the House will adjourn without acting. But, as several speakers said, it would be tragic if that should discourage or demoralize cooperating organizations. Everything is carried over intact until next year. We continue the fight for the bill then.

But let's concentrate on the next step. All of your members should be immediately alerted to let their Congressmen know, by telegrams, phone calls, personal visits, letters, they want them to be in the well of the House this Monday, at noon, ready to sign their names to the discharge petition. "It is time NOW."

Enclosed are: (1) a copy of the statement adopted by the Leadership Conference meeting in Washington on December 4th;

(2) a response by Washington representatives to Rep. Howard Smith's announcement that he will hold hearings in January.

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NOTE TO WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVES OF COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS:

We will resume our regular weekly meetings this Wednesday, December 11, 2 P.M. in the Conference Office, 704 17th Street, N.W.

* * * * *

Attachment # 1 Memo: # 17

STATEMENT BY THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS,
FOLLOWING A MEETING AT THE MAYFLOWER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 4, 1963.

The Leadership Conference On Civil Rights supports President Lyndon B. Johnson's proposal, in his recent address to Congress, that "the earliest possible passage of the civil rights bill for which he fought so long" would be the most fitting way in which to honor the memory of John F. Kennedy.

To this end, we call upon the President and Congressional leaders of both parties to keep the House of Representatives in session without recess so that the civil rights bill can be passed this year.

We are aware of the obstacles that confront the bill. The Chairman of the House Rules Committee has publicly announced his opposition to sending it to the House floor. We recognize that there are members of Congress who, in spite of our national tragedy, are willing to let the bill languish in Committee and to put the pleasures of a Christmas recess before public interest. We cannot believe, however, that they constitute a majority.

To those members of Congress ready to act we give our unswerving support. Because it is the most immediate and practical course open to us, we commit the resources of our more than 70 organizations to the effort to force the bill out of the Rules Committee through the use of a discharge petition. We leave today's meeting with one thing uppermost in our minds: that is our determination to mobilize the millions of Americans we represent in a vast nationwide drive to convince 218 members of Congress to sign the petition so that the bill can be brought up for a vote by the House this session.

While we do our part in pressing for the discharge petition,we urge House leadership to undertake alternative ways of expediting the legislation. We know, for instance, that bipartisan agreement would make it possible to report out the bill before Christmas using a procedure that would involve no more than eight members of the Rules Committee.

For those citizens, members of Congress and members of the public alike, who wish to honor Mr. Kennedy's memory in a way that recognizes his dedication to the task of creating an American society free of the kind of hatred that caused his death, there is an unshakeable obligation to do everything in their power to see this bill enacted.

(more)

With President Johnson we say, "we have talked long enough in this country about equal rights. We have talked for 100 years or more. It is time NOW to write the next chapter -- and write it in the books of law."

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Attachment #2

STATEMENT BY WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVES IN RESPONSE TO THE ANNOUNCEMENT BY REP. HOWARD SMITH THAT HE WILL HOLD HEARINGS IN JANUARY.

The announcement by Chairman Howard Smith, (D., Va.), of the House Rules Committee that there may be hearings on civil rights legislation "reasonably soon in January" in no way alters the determination of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights to convince 218 members of the House to sign the discharge petition which will be before them on Monday, December 9.

We still call upon Congressional leaders from both parties to keep the House in session without recess so that the civil rights bill may be passed this year.

A "reasonably soon" time for hearings is now; a reasonable duration of such hearings should be no more than a very few days. Under this schedule a bill could be enacted in the House before the end of the year. After six months of consideration in the House Judiciary Committee, what possible excuse is there for further delay?

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ROY WILKINS Chairman ARNOLD ARONSON Secretary

DEC 18 1963

December 12, 1963

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Jim:

This is to acknowledge receipt of the generous contribution of $500 from CORE to the work of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. We are deeply grateful for this support.

With best wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

Roy Wilkins
Chairman

RW:erb

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ROY WILKINS Chairman ARNOLD ARONSON Secretary

TO: COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS December 19, 1963

FROM: ARNOLD ARONSON, SECRETARY

We are enclosing a list of the home addresses and phone numbers of members of the House and Senate for whatever use your organization and its local affiliates may make of it during the holiday recess. It is our suggestion that each organization duplicate from this list the pertinent information for those districts and states where it has local or state organizations.

The holiday recess must be used for intensive home visiting to members of Congress--both House and Senate--to support early action on civil rights legislation in the 2nd session of the 88th Congress.

Additional copies of the home listings may be obtained from the Leadership Conference office here in Washington. We urge cooperating organizations to select from the list those members of Congress in whose districts they have sufficient strength to make visits meaningful and impressive. The time for this activity is very short. Make the most of it. Congress quits December 20, 1963 and will be back in Washington on the 6th of January.

You will be receiving in a day or so a memorandum outlining the present legislative situation. In the meantime try to set up meetings with your Congressmen and Senators.

Glenda Lubelsky

State and District addresses for members of U.S. Senate and House of Representatives

Alaska

E. L. Bartlett (D)(Sen)
P.O.Box 871, Juneau

Ernest Gruening (D)(Sen)
P.O.Box 1001, Juneau

Ralph J. Rivers (D)(AL)
P.O.Box 1951, Fairbanks

Arizona

Carl Hayden (D)(Sen)(Phoenix)
133 Old Senate House Bldg.
Capitol 4-3121 Ext. 2235

Barry M. Goldwater (R)(Sen.)
5420 Federal Bldg.
Phoenix, (261-3391)

John J. Rhodes (R)(1 dist)
6081 Federal Bldg.
Phoenix, (261-3181)

Morris K. Udall (D)(2 dist)
232 Federal Bldg. Tucson
Main 3-7731 Ext. 255

George F. Senner, Jr. (D)(3 dist)
P. O. Box, 1895
Flgstaff.

California

Thomas H. Kuchel (R)(sen)
312 N. Spring St.
Los Angeles 12, (Madison 5-7411)

Clair Engle (D)(Sen) Red Bluff
443 Old Senate Office Building
Capitol 4-3121, Ext. 4521

Donald Clausen (R)(1 dist)
229 Old House Office Building
Capitol 4-3121, Ext 3311

Harold T. Johnson (D)(2 dist)
205 Vermon St.
Roseville (Sunset 3-8845)

John Emerson Moss (D)(3 dist)
8012 Federal Building
Sacramento, (449-2121)

Robert L. Leggett (D)(4 dist
1522 Tennessee St. Vallejo
933 Snyder Drive, Davis.
251 Glenmore Drive, Olivehurst.

John Francis Shelley (D)(5 dist)
208 Federal Office Building
San Francisco, Klondike 2-2350
Ext. 6693

William S. Mailliard (R) (6 dist)
224 Federal Office Building
Civic Center, San Francisco

Jeffery Cohelan, (D)(7 dist)
Latham Sq. Building, Oakland
Gl.-1-4773

George P. Miller (D)(8 dist)
Alameda, California

W. Donlon Edwards(D) (9 dist)
40 N. First St. , San Jose
(292-6012)

Charles S. Gubser(R) (10 dist)
201 Bank of America Building
San Jose, (Cypress 2-6334)

J. Arthur Younger, (R)(11 dist)
23 Second Avenue, San Mateo
(Diamond 4-8127)

Bert L. Talcott (R)(12 dist)
44 W. Alisal St. Salinas,
(424-0844)

Charles M. Teague (R)(13 dist)
616 East Main Street, Ventura,
(Miller 3-8597)

John F. Baldwin (R)(14 dist)
447 10th St. Richmond,(233-6343)

John J. McFall(D)(15 dist)
146 No. Grant, Manteca
(Talbott 3-3109)

B. F. Sisk (D)(16 dist)
Post Office Courts Bldg.
Fresno. (Amhurst 8-7421)

Cecil R. King (D)(17 dist)
1125 New House Office Building
Capitol 4, 3121 Ext. 6676

Harlan Francis Hagen (D)(18 dist)
306 Haberfielde Building
Bakersfield,(Fa-5-6292)

Chet Holifield (D)(19 dist)
5707 Whittier Blvd. Los Angeles
Raymond 3-6561

State and District addresses for members of U.S. Senate and House of Representatives

California (Continued)

H. Allen Smith (R)(20th dist)
203 Post Office Bldg. Glendale
(Citrus 1-2182)

Augustus F. Hawkins (D)(21 dist)
8563 S. Broadway, Suite 206
Los Angeles, (750-0260)

James C. Corman (D) (22 dist)
7020 Reseda Blvd. Reseda
(345-1776)

Clyde Doyle (D)(23 dist)
2710 Zoe, Huntington Park
(Ludlow 3-5230)

Glenard P. Lipscomb (R)(24 dist)
1936 Huntington Drive, So. Pasadena
(Sycamore 9-4138)

Roland Brooks Cameron (D)(25 dist)
139 Old House Office Bldg.
(Capitol 4-3121 Ext.4111)

James Roosevelt (D)(26 dist)
5308 W. Adams Blvd, Los Angeles
(Webster 4-0144)

Everett G. Burkhalter (D)(27dist)
Post Office Bldg., Lancaster

Alphonzo Bell (R)(28 dist)
Santa Monica Post Office Bldg.
(Santa Monica -394-5016)

George E. Brown Jr., (D)(29 dist)
214 S. Garfield Ave.
Monterey Park (Cu-3-5633)

Edward R. Roybal (D)(30 dist)
140 Old House Office Building
Capitol 4-3121 Ext. 6235

Charles H. Wilson (D)(31 dist)
1902 West Florence, Los Angeles
Pl-3-2521

Craig Hosmer (R)(32 dist)
1115 Security Bldg. Long Beach
(Hemlock 6-4865)

Harry R. Sheppard (D)(33 dist)
258 Old House Office Building
Capitol 4-3121 Ext. 4011

Richard T. Hanna (D)(34 dist)
1516 Old House Office Building
Capitol 4-3121, Ext. 2965

James B. Utt (R)(35 dist)
2133 W. Champman, Orange
Kellogg 2-1960

Bob Wilson (R)(36 dist.)
209 Main Post Office Building
Belmont 4-5363

Lionel Van Deerlin (D)(37 dist)
211 Post Office Bldg. San Diego
Be-4-6211, Ext. 528

Minor C. Martin (R) (Riverside)
220 Old House Office Building
Capitol 4-3121, Ext 5406 (38dist)

Colorado

Gordon Llewellyn Allott (R)(Sen.)
New Customs Bldg., Denver
Keystone 4-4151, Ext 288

Peter H, Dominick (R) (Sen)
221 Old Senate Office Bldg.
(Englewood Colo.)
Capitol 4-3121, Ext. 5852

Byron Giles Rogers (D) (1st Dist)
201 New Custom Bldg. Denver
Keystone 4-4151

Donald G. Brotzman (R) (2nd Dist)
Rm. 202 Denver Federal Center
Bldg.40, Lakewood (Be-3-3811)

J. Edgar Chenoweth (R) (3rd Dist)
Colorado Bldg. Trinidad

Wayne Norviel Aspinall (D) (4th di
Post Office Bldg. Grand Junction
Chapel 3-1736

Connecticut

Thomas J. Dodd (D) (Sen)
332 P. O. Bldg. Hartford
Jackson 7-3281

Abraham Ribicoff (D) (Sen)
525 Main St. Hartford
525-7913

Bernard F. Grabowiski (D) (AL)
133 Main St. Bristol.
(LU-3-4177)

Emilio Quincy Daddario (D) (1st)
242 Trumbull St. Hartford

William L. St. Onge (D) (2 Dist)
Put,am Connecticut

State and District addresses for Members of U.S. Senate and House of Representatives

Connecticut (continued)

Robert N. Giaimo(D) (3 dist)
301 Post Office Bldg.
New Haven, (Main 4-1308)

Abner W. Sibal(R) (4 dist)
69 Wall St., Norwalk
(Volunteer 6-5685)

John Stephen Monagan(D)(5 dist)
213 Post Office Bldg. Waterbury
(754-2424)

Delaware

John J. Williams (R) (Sen.)
Millsboro.

J. Caleb Boggs (R) (Sen.)
Wilmington.

Harris B. McDowell, Jr.(R)(AL)
401 Penn. Bldg. Wilmington
(OL-2-7782)

Florida

Spessard Lindsey Holland(D)(Sen.)
245 S. Central, Bartow
(533-9455)

George Armstead Smathers(D)(Sen.)
Miami

Robert L.F. Sikes(D)(1 dist)
Co. Court House, Crestview
(682-3131)

Charles E. Bennett(D)(2 dist)
Federal Bldg., Jacksonville
(El-4-7111, Ext-380)

Claude Pepper(D)(3 dist)
1701 Meridian Ave., Miami Beach
(Jefferson 2-4853)

Dante B. Fascell(D)(4 dist)
340 Federal Bldg Miami
(Franklin 9-5431)

A. Sydney Herlong, Jr. (D)(5 dist)
Leesburg (787-3421)

Paul G. Rogers(D)(6 dist)
Harvey Bldg. West Palm Beach

James Andrew Haley(D)(7 dist)
Post Office Box 844, Bartlow
(Capitol 3-2881)

Donald Ray (Billy)Matthews(d)(8dist)
P.O.Box 229, Gainesville
(Franklin 6-4215)

Don Fuqua(D)(9 dist)
308 Post Office, Tallahassee
(224-7510)

Sam Gibbons(D)(10dist)
918 First Nat'l Bank Bldg.
P.O.Box 1363, Tampa

Edward J. Gurney (R)(11 dist)
Cherry Plaza Hotel, Orlando

William C. Cramer(R)(12 dist)
302 Security Federal Bldg.
St. Petersburg, (862-67-8)

Hawaii

Hiram Leong Fong (R) (Sen)
Fiance Factors Bldg.
195 So. King St. , Honolulu
(504441)

Daniel K. Inouye (D)(Sen)
201 Capitol Investment Bldg.
Honolulu (576-262)

Thomas P. Gill(D)(AL)
440 Merchandise Mart Bldg.
Honolulu, (512-512)

Spark M. Matsunaga(D)(AL)
Rm. 406, 1022 Bethel St.
Honolulu (5-4867)

Idaho

Frank Church (D)(Sen)
425 Fed. Bldg. Boise. (2-6569)

Len B. Jordan (R)(Sen)
Bank of Idaho, P. O. Box 2832
Boise, (342-2661)

Compton I. White(D)(1 dist)
P.O.Box 536, Clark Fork
(AM-6-2311)

Ralph R. Harding(D)(2 dist)
Blackfoot.

Illinois

Paul H. Douglas(D)(Sen)
337 U.S.Court House
219 S. Clark St. Chicago(828-5423)

Everett McKinley Dirksen(R)(Sen)
U.S.Court House, 219 S.Clark St.
Chicago, (Ha-7-4700 Ext 318)

William L. Dawson(D)(1 dist)
315 E. 35th St. Chicago(CA-5-7073)

State and District addresses for Members of U.S. Senate and House of Representatives

Illinois (continued)

Barratt O'Hara(D)(2 dist)
Fifth Army Hq. 1660 E Hyde Park Blvd.,Chicago. (MI-3-2413)

William T. Murphy(D)(3 dist)
Chicago

Edward J. Derwinski(R)(4 dist)
2441 Vermont St., Blue Island
(Fulton 9-2440)

John C. Kluczynski(D)(5 dist)
4270 Archer Ave. Chicago
(Yards 7-0606)

Thomas J. O'Brien(D)(6 dist)
327 U.S.Court House 219 S.Clark
Chicago (Harrison 7-4700)

Roland Victor Libonati(D)(7 dist)
Chicago(Bellwood)(Cook County)

Dan Rostenkowski(D)(8 dist)
2547 W. North Ave. Chicago
(Armitage 6-6000)

Edward R. Finnegan(D)(9 dist)
Suite 2117, 111 W. Washington St.
Chicago (Fr-2-0616)

Harold R. Collier (R)(10 dist)
6608 West Cermark, Berwyn.

Roman C. Pucinski (D)(11 dist)
3420 W. Diversey, Chicago
(AL-2-6776)

Robert McClory(R)(12 dist)
2524 N. Poplar St. Waukegan
(ON-2-0921)

Donald Rumsfeld (R)(13 dist)
Glenview

Elmer J. Hoffman(R)(14 dist)
Wheaton

Charlotte T. Reid (R)(15 dist)
Aurora.

John B. Anderson (R)(16 dist)
Rock River Savings Bldg.
Rockford, (962-1411)

Leslie C. Arends (R)(17 dist)
Melvin, 176

Robert H. Michel (R)(18 dist)
First Nat'l Bank Bldg. Peoria
(673-6358)

Robert T. McLoskey(R)(19 dist)
111 W. Broadway, Monmouth
(734-6114)

Paul Findley(R)(20 dist)
P. O. Bldg., Quincy(BA 2-2817)

Kenneth J. Gray(D)(21 dist)
Federal Bldg., Benton (439-3131)
411 E. Main St., West Frankfort

William L. Springer (R)(22 dist)
501 W. Church St. Champaign
(Fleetwood 6-8633)

George E. Shipley(D)(23 dist)
308 1/2 E. Main St. Olney
(Ex-2-0151)

Charles M. Price (D)(24 dist)
East St. Louis

Indiana

Vance Hartke (D)(Sen)
Evansville

Birch E. Bayh(D)(Sen)
Federal Bldg. Indianapolis
(Melrose-3-4567)

Ray J. Madden (D)(1 dist)
312 P. O. Bldg. Hammond,
(Westmore 1-8280)

Charles A. Halleck (R)(2 dist)
Forsythe Bldg. Rensselaer
(866-5121)

John Brademas (D)(3 dist)
301 Federal Bldg. South Bend,
(Central 4-5616)

E. Ross Adair(R)(4 dist)
17th Fl. Lincoln Tower, Fort Wayne
(Eastbrook 9706)

J. Edward Roush(D)(5 dist)
2340 College Ave., Huntington
(2723)

Richard L. Roudebush(R)(6 dist)
203 Post Office Bldg.,Terre Haute

William Gilmer Bray (R)(7 dist)
Martinsville (Dickens 2-2205)

Winfield K. Denton(D)(8 dist)
222 Court Bldg. Evansville
(Harrison 5-8350)

State and District addresses of Members of U.S. Senate and House of Representatives

Indiana (continued)

Earl Wilson (R)(9 dist)
Bedford

Ralph Harvey (R)(10 dist)
Mt. Summit

Donald C. Bruce (R)(11 dist)
Room 311 Federal Bldg.,Indianapolis
(Melrose 2-1551)

Iowa

Bourke Blakemore Hickenlooper(R_Sen)
Cedar Rapids

Jack Miller (R)(Sen)
Sioux City

Fred Schwengel (R) 1 dist)
623 Union Arcade Bldg, Davemport
(324-9153)

James E. Bromwell(R)(2 dist)
90 First Ave., N.W. Cedar Rapids
(Em-4-0124)

H. R. Gross (R)(3 dist)
Waterloo

John Kyl (R) (4 dist)
Bloomfield

Neal Smith (D)(5 dist)
544 Insurance Exhange Bldg.
Des Moines, (At-3-C693)

Charles B. Hoeven (R)(6 dist)
320 Federal Bldg. Sioux City
(5-3909)

Ben Fl Jensen (R)(7 dist)
Exira (571-)

Kansas

Frank Carlson (R)(Sen)
Jayhawk Hotel Topeka(Ce-4-8269)

James B. Pearson (R)(Sen)
Shawnee Mission

Robert Dole (R)(1 dist)
Russell, Box 31

William H. Avery(R)(2 dist)
Topeka

Robert F. Ellsworth(R)(3 dist)
204 Federal Bldg. Kansas City
Mayfair 1-0832

Garner E. Shriver (R)(4 dist)
Wichita

Joe Skubitz(R(5 dist)
909 N. 9th St. Pittsburg
(Ad-1-1117)

Kentucky

John Sherman Cooper(R)(Sen)
Beacher Hotel, Somerset (324)

Thurston B. Morton(R)(Sen)
304 Madrid Bldg, Louisville,
(Ju-4-6021)

Frank A. Stubblefield(D)(1 dist)
Murray

William H. Matcher(D)(2 dist)
414 East 10th St. Bowling Breen
(Victor 2-7376)

M. Gene Snyder(R)(3 dist)
Jeffersontown

Frank Chelf(D)(4 dist)
Federal Bldg., Lebanon (692-2161)

Eugene Siler(R)(5dist)
Bank of Williamsburg Bldg.
Williamsburg, (2191)

John Clarence Watts(D)(6 dist)
c/o Watts & Garrison,Nicholas-
ville (Tuxedo 5-4185)

Carl D. Perkins(D)(7 dist)
Hindman

Maine

Margaret Chase Smith (R)(Sen)
Skowhegan

Edmund S. Muskie (D)(Sen)
137 Main St. Waterville
(Trinity 2-2637)

Stanley R. Tupper (R)(1 dist)
76 Pearl St. Portland (Sp-2-2591)

Clifford Guy McIntire(R)(2 dist)
Bangor (942-7180)
Washburn (Glendale 5-6271)

State and District addresses of Members of U.S. Senate and House of Representatives

Maryland

James Gleen Beall(R)(Sen.)
P. O. Bldg. Cumberland
(Parkway 2-4535)

Daniel B. Brewster (D)(Sen)
204 Post Office Bldg. , Towson

Carlton R. Sickles (D)(AL)
Lanham

Rogers C. B. Morton (R)(1 dist)
113 E. Dover St., Easton
(Ta-2-4300)

Clarence D. Long(D)(2 dist)
Room 200 Towson Post Office,Towson
(828-6616)

Edward A Garmatz (D)(3 dist)
627 Main Post Office Bldg.
Baltimore, (LE-9-2995)

George H. Fallon (D)(4 dist)
Main Post Office Bldg. Baltimore

Richard E. Lankford (D)(5 dist)
18 West St. Anapolis (Co-3-4651)

Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (R)(6 dist)
Post Office Bldg, Hagerstown
Re-3-2710

Samuel N. Friedel (D)(7 dist)
323 Post Office Bldg. Baltimore
Mulberry 5-8320, Ext. 451

Massachusetts

Leverett Saltonstall(R)(Sen)
1703 Federal Bldg. Boston
(Ca-3-2774)

Edward M. Kennedy (D)(Sen)
1?0? Federal Bldg., Boston
(223-4600)

Silvio O. Conte (R)(1 dist)
7 North St. Pittsfield (Hi-2-0946)

Edward P. Boland(D)(2 dist)
326 Post Office Bldg. Springfield
(Re-7-2164)

Philip J. Philbin(D)(3 dist)
7 High St. Clinton(Em-5-4550)

Harold D. Donohue(D)(4 dist)
390 Main St., Worcester(Pl-4-7264)

F. Bradford Morse (R)(5 dist)
Lowell, (Gl-8-1221)
Post Office Bldg. Lawrence

William H. Bates(R)(6 dist)
208 Post Office Bldg. Salem
Pi-4-1950; Rm.210 P.O.Bldg. Lynn

Torbert H. Macdonald(D)(7 dist)
1802 Fed. Off. Bldg. Boston
Ca-3-2781

Thomas P. O'Neill(D)(8 dist)
1803 Fed. Bldg. Boston-Ca-3-2784

John W. McCormack (D)(9 dist)
1408 Fed. Bldg.,Boston,Ca-3-2777

Joseph W. Martin,Jr.(R)(10 dist)
217 Post Off. Bldg. Fall River
Osborne 2-3568

James A. Burke(D)(11 dist)
Post Office Bldg. Quincy
(Gr-2-1314) P. O. Brockton
(Ju-6-3823),Dedham-Oakdale Sq.
(Da-6-9890)

Hastings Keith(R)(12 dist)
243 P.O.Bldg. New Bedford (Wy-3-7393) Town Hall West Bridgewater

Michigan

Patrick V. McNamara(D)(Sen)
1039 Fed. Bldg. Detroit(Wo-3-9330

Philip A. Hart(D)(Sen)
848 Fed. Bldg. Detroit(226-2189)

Neil Staebler(D)(AL)
208 Wolverine Bldg. AnnArbor
(NO-3-0464)

Lucien Norbert Nedzi(D)(1 dist)
2930 Holbrook, Hamtramck
(Tr-1-8878)

George Meader(R)(2 dist)
327 East Liberty St.,AnnArbor
(NO-3-5740)

August E. Hohansen(R)(3 dist)
Federal Center, Battle Creek
(Wo-2-4039)

Edward Hutchinson(R)(4 dist)
Fennville

Gerald R. Ford, Jr.(R)(5 dist)
425 Cherry St., SE Grand Rapids
(Gl-6-9747)

Charles E. Chamberlain(R)(6 dist)
501 Dryden Bldg. Flint(Ce-8-1820
245 Fed. Bldg.Lansing(Iv-9-6517)

State and District addresses of Members of U.S. Senate and House of Representatives

Michigan (continued)

James G. O'Hara(D)(7 dist)
13 1/2 N. Gratiot, Mt.Clemens
(465-0911),311McMorran Blvd,
Port Huron (Yukon 5-8381)

James Harvey (R)(8 dist)
1232 N. Michigan Ave.,Saginaw
(PL_2-8172)

Robert P. Griffin(R)(9 dist)
411 State Bank Bldg, Traverse City
(Wi-6-5760)

Elford A. Cederberg(R)(10 dist)
318 Fed. Bldg. Bay City(TW_3-9443)

Victor A. Knox (R)(11 dist)
Sault Ste. Marie (Melrose 2-9322)

John B. Bennett(R)(12 dist)
612 River St. Ontonagon (128)

Charles C. Diggs, Jr.(D)(13 dist)
8401 Woodward Ave., Detroit
(875-4430)

Harold M. Ryan(D)(14 dist)
Detroit
14939 East Waren,

John D. Dingell(D)(15 dist)
7310 Grand River , Detroit

John Lesinski(D)(16 dist)
1028 Monroe, Dearborn(278-3300)

Martha W. Griffiths(D)(17 dist)
14815 Grand River, Detroit
(Br-3-9151)

William S. Broomfield(R)(18 dist)
1029 So. Washington, Royal Oak
(Lincoln 3-2400)

Minnesota

Hubert H. Humphery(D)(Sen)
Fed. Courts Bldg. Minneapolis
Federal 2-3211

Eugene J. McCarthy(D)(Sen)
315 Fed. Bldg. St. Paul

Albert H. Quie(R)(1 dist)
Faribault

Archer Nelsen(R)(2 dist)
Citizens Bank Bldg., Hutchinson

Clark McCGregor(R)(3 dist)
501 Fed. Courthouse, Minneapolis
(339-0112, Ext. 2173)

Joseph E. Karth(D)(4 dist)
Fed. Courts Bldg. St. Paul
(Ca-2-8011)

Donald M. Fraser(D)(5 dist)
180 Fed. Courts Bdg. Minneapolis
(399-0112)

Alec G. Olson(D)(6 dist)
Montevideo

Odin Langen(R)(7 dist)
205 Post Ofc. Crookston

John A. Blatnik(D)(8 dist)
412 Fed. Bldg. Duluth

Missouri

Stuart Symington(D)(Sen)
U.S.Court House Kansas City
(Ba-1-7000)

Edward V. Long(D)(Sen)
120 1/2 W. Main, Bowling Green(8)

Frank M. Karsten(D)(1 dist)
332 Old Custom House, St. Louis
(Ma-1-8100)

Thomas B. Curtis(R)(2 dist)
34 N. Brentwood, Suite 201,
Clayton, (Pa-5-8788)

Leonor K. Sullivan(D_(3 dist)
2918 Fed. Bldg. 1520 Market St.
St. Louis

William J. Randall(D)(4 dist)
First Nat'l Bank Bldg. Independenc
(Cl-2-7171)

Richard Bolling(D)(5 dist)
643 Fed. Courts Bldg., Kansas City
(Vi-2-4798)

W. R. Hull, Jr. (D)(6 dist)
Platte City (431-2451

Durward G. Hall(R)(7 dist)
204 Wilhot Bldg., Springfield,
(UN-2-4317),302 Post Ofc.Bldg.
Joplin(Sunset 1-1041)

Richard Ichord(D)(8 dist)
Houston

Clarence Cannon(D)(9 dist)
Elsberry

Paul C. Jones(D)(10 dist)
P.O.Bldg. Dexter(Ma-4-4116)

State and District addresses of Members of U.S. Senate and House of Representatives

Montana

Michael J. Mansfield (D) (Sen)
Missoula

Lee Metcalf (D) (Sen)
Atlas Block, Last Chance Gulch
Helena, (Hi-2-7410)

Arnold Olsen (D) (1 dist)
347 No. Last Chance Gulch, Helena
(PH-442-7380)

James F. Battin (R) (2 dist)
1101 No. 27th St. Billings

Nebraska

Carl T. Curtis (R) (Sen)
Minden (298)

Roman L. Hruska (R) (Sen)
8424 Fed. Ofc. Bldg. Omaha
(221-4791)

Ralph F. Beerman (R) (1 dist)
Cornhusker Hotel, Lincoln P.O.Box
98 Dakota City.

Glenn C. Cunningham (R) (2 dist)
3412 New Federal Bldg. Omahe
(221-4631)

Dave Martin (R) (3 dist)
Kearney

Nevada

Alan Bible (D) (Sen)
300 So. Virginia St. Reno (Fa2-0635)
Howard W. Cannon (D) (Sen)
112 N. Third St. , Las Vegas
(Du-2-1223)

Walter S. Baring (D) (AL)
506 Holcomb Ave., Reno
(Fa-3-6466)

New Hampshire

Norris Cotton (R) (Sen)
10 School St., Concord (224-7477)

Thomas J. McIntyre (D) (Sen)
Federal Bldg, Manchester

Louis C. Wyman (R) (1 dist)
410 Chestnut St. Manchester
(603-699-3661)

James C. Cleveland (R) (2 dist)
136 N. Main St., Concord

New Jersey

Clifford P. Case
Rahway

Harrison A. Willisms, Jr. (D) (Sen)
436 Fed. Bldg. Newark, (Mi-2-2020)

William T. Cahill (R) (1 dist)
108 No. 7th St. Camden (WO-3-7600)

Milton W. Glenn (R) (2 dist)
538 Guaranty Trust Bldg, Atlantic
City (5-6200)

James C. Auchincloss (R) (3 dist)
25 Waterman St. Rumson (842-0411)

Frank Thompson Jr. (D) (4 dist)
122 W. State, Trenton (LY-9-1619)

Peter Frelinghuysen, Jr. (R) (5 dist)
Washington Bldg., Schuyler Pl. &
Wash. St. Morristown. (Je-8-7267)

Florence P. Dwyer (R) (6 dist)
286 No. Broad St. Elezabeth
(El. 5-0400)

William B. Widnall (R) (7 dist)
15 Main St., Hackensack (Di-3-4341)

Charles S. Joelson (D) (8 dist)
P.O.Bldg., Paterson (La-3-5152)

Frank C. Osmers Jr. (R) (9 dist)
8 Depot Sq. Englewood (Lo-7-1500)

Peter W. Rodino, Jr. (D) (10 dist)
10 Commerce Court Newark
(Ma-3-7362)

Joseph G. Minish (D) (11 dist)
308 Maine St. Orange (Or-6-0827)

George M. Wallhauser (R) (12 dist)
1065 Springfield Ave. Irvington
(Es-4-5050)

Cornesius E. Gallagher (D) (13 dist)
28 W. 22 St. Bayonne (He-6-1666)
220 Stegman, Jersey City (De-3-4174)
522 Breadway, Bayonne (Fe-9-3800)

Dominick V. Daniels (D) (14 dist)
Main Office Bldg., Union City
(Un-3-0015)

Edward J. Patten (D) (15 dist)
Perth Amboy

New Mexico

Clinton P. Anderson (D) (Sen)
3118 Fed. Bldg, Albuquerque
(Ch-7-0311)

State and District addresses of Members of U.S. Senate and House of Representatives

New Mexico (Continued)

Edwin L. Mechem(R)(Sen)
Fed. Ofc. Bldg.(247-0311-Ext 2251)

Joseph M Montoya(D)(AL)
New Fed. Bldg. Albuquerque
(Ch-7-0311)

Thomas B. Morris (D)(AL)
P.O.Box 1297, Tucumcari

New York

Jacob K. Javits(R)(Sen)
110 E. 45th St. New York City
(MU_9-0770)

Kenneth B. Keating(R)(Sen)
107 Fed. Bldg., Rochester
(Ha-6-8181)

Otis G. Pike(D)(1 Dist)
130 Ostrander Ave. Riverhead
(Pa-7-2332)

James R. Grover Jr.(R)(2 dist)
Babylon

Steven B. Derounian(R)(3 dist)
1517 Franklin Ave. Mineola
(Pi-7-6600)

John W. Wydler(R)(4 dist)
150 Old Country Rd. Mineola
(CH-8-7676)

Frank J. Becker(R)(5 dist)
54 Forest Ave. Lynbrook Long Island
(LY-9-1023)

Seymour Halpern(R)(6 dist)
No. 1 Station Sq. Forrest Hills 75,
(BO-8-1900)

Benjamin S. Rosenthal(D)(8 dist)
Elmhurst, Long Island

James J. Delaney(D_(9 dist)
44 Court St. Brooklyn

Emanuel Celler(D)(10 dist)
1501 Broadway, New York city
(Lu-4-9700)

Euguene J. Keogh(D)(11 dist)
30 Rockerfeller Plaza, Rm. 5060
New York City (Ci-7-4640)

Edna F. Kelly (D)(12 dist)
Brooklyn

Abraham J. Multed (D)(13 dist)
New York City

John J. Rooney(D)(14 dist)
Brooklyn

Hugh L. Carey (D)(15 dist)
Fed. P.O.Bldg. 271 Wash. St.
Brooklyn (Ma-4-5553)

John M. Murphy(D)(16 dist)
Staten Island

John V. Lindsay(R)(17 dist)
30 West 44 St. New York City
(MU-Hill 2-1130)

Adam C. Powell (D)(18 dist)
Suite 550, 110 E. 45 St. N. Y.
(Or-9-4640)

Leonard Farbstein(D)(19 dist)
276 5th Ave. N.Y.City (Or-7-5099)

William F. Ryan(D)(20 dist)
Rm. 308, 100 W. 72 St. N.Y.City
(TR-7-4192)

James C. Helaey(D)21 dist)
(Mon,Thurs, evenings,)1405 Edw. L
Grant Highway, Bronx

Jacob H. Gilbert (D)(22 dist)
Bronx

Charles A. Buckley(D)(23 dist)
529 Courtland Ave. Bronx
(Mott Haven 9-1800)

Paul A. Fino(R)(24 dist)
2704 E. Tremont Ave. Bronx
(Ty-2-7207)

Robert R. Barry (R)(25 dist)
214 P.O.Bldg. Yonkers (Yo-8-8383)

Ogden R. Reid(R)(26 dist)
227 Harrison Ave. Harrison
(Te-5-3370) 7 Moger Ave. No. Mt.
Kisco (Mt. Kisco 6-3003)

Katherine St. Geoge(R)(27 dist)
139 Pike St. Port Jervis (5-1011)

J. Ernest Wharton (R)(28 dist)
Richmondville

Leo William O'Brien(D)(29 dist)
176 Washington Ave. Albany
(HO-2-2573

Carleton J. King(R)(30 dist)
P.O. Bldg. Troy; 444 Broadway
Saratoga Springs

Clarence E. Kilburn(R)(31 dist)
Malone

State and District addressess of Members of U.S. Senate and House of Representatives

New York (continued)

Alexamder Pirnie(R) (32 dist)
19 Hopper St. Utica(Ra-4-9302)

Howard W. Robison(R)(33 dist)
302 Fed. Bldg. Binghamton
(Ra-3-4425)

R. Walter Riehlman(R)(34 dist)
968 James St. Syracuse(Gr-6-4287)

Samuel S. Stratton(D)(35 dist)
P.O.Box Amsterdam(Vi-3-3400)
P.O.Box, Auburn (Al-2-8575)

Frank J. Horton(R)(36 dist)
104 Fed. Bldg. Rochester(Ba-5-1581)

Harold C. Ostertag(R)(37 dist)
105 Fed. Bldg. Rochester (Ha-6-2151)

Charles Goodell(R)(38 dist)
413 N. Main St. Jamestown(71-938)
(

John R. Pillion(R)(39 dist)
212 U.B.Court House, Buffalo
(T1-3-4856)

William E. Miller(R)(40 dist)
135 East Ave. Lockport(HF-3-3133)
514 Erie Co.Bank Bldg.Buffalo
(TL-2-4369)

Thaddeus J. Dulski(D)(41 dist)
402 U.S.Court House, Buffalo
(TL-3-4131)

North Dakota

Milton R. Young(R)(Sen)
LaMoure

Quentin N. Burdick(D)(Sen)
6071/2 M.P.Ave., Fargo(Ad-5-5752)

Hjalmar Nygaard(R)(1 dist)
Medora

Don L. Short(R)(2 dist)
Grand Pacific Hotel, Bismarck
(Ca-3-6900)

Ohio

Frank J. Lausche(D)(Sen)
Cleveland

Stephen M. Young(D)(Sen)
Cleveland

Robert Taft, Jr. (R)(AL)
603 Dixie Terminal, Cincinnaci
(381-2838)

Carl W. Rich(R)(1 dist)
607 Second National Bldg. Cinn.
(381-4832)

Donald D. Clancy(R)(2 dist)
Carew Tower, Cincinnati

Paul F. Schenck(R)(3 dist)
Box 1048, P.O.Bldg, Dayton

William M. McCulloch(R)(4 dist)
Piqua

Delbert L. Latta(R)(5 dist)
304 Wood County Bank Bldg.
Bowling Green(3-3971)

William H. Harsha, Jr. (R)(6 dist)
Portsmouth

Clarence J. Brown(R)(7 dist)
Blanchester (Su-3-2351)

Jackson E. Betts(R)(8 dist)
302 Niles Bldg, Findlay
(Ga-2-5203)

Thomas L. Ashley(D)(9 dist)
313 Madison Bldg. Toledo
(Ch-8-5325)

Homer E. Abele(R)(10 dist)
Mc Arthur

Oliver P. Bolton(R)(11 dist)
38121 Euclid Ave. Willoughby
(946-2380)

Samuel L. Devine(R)(12 dist)
Old Post Office Bldg, Columbus
(Ca-1-3533)

Charles A. Mosher(R)(13 dist)
611 Fleck Bldg. Sandusky
(Ma-5-2707) 517 E. 28th St.
Lorain (Ch-4-1572)

William H. Ayres(R)(14 dist)
221 W. Exchange St., Akron
(He-4-6518)

Robert T. Secrest(D)(15 dist)
Caldwell

Frank T. Bow(R)(16 dist)
Peoples-Merchants Trust Bldg.
Canton (Gl-3-8852)

John M. Ashbrook(R)(17 dist)
53 S. Main St. Johnstown,
(1471) Rm.305 Richland Trust Bldg
Mansfield (La-5-3111)

State and District addressess of Members of U.S. Senate and House of Representatives

Ohio (continued)

Wayne L. Hays (D) (18 dist)
Flushing (2741), Columbiana
(Iv-2-2374)

Michael J. Kirwan (D) (19 dist)
336 P.O.Bldg. Youngstown

Michael A. Feighan (D) (20 dist)
306 Fed. Bldg. Cleveland
(Ch-1-7900 Ext 249)

Charles A. Vanik (D) (21 dist)
506 Fed. Bldg., Cleveland
(Ch-1-7900)

Frances P.Bolton (R) (22 dist)
206 Fed. Bldg. ,Cleveland
(Ch-1-2386)

William E. Minshall (R) (23 dist)
525 Fed. Bldg. Cleveland.
(Ma-1-0244)

Oklahoma

A.S.Mike Monroney (D) (Sen)
710 P.O.Bldg. Oklahoma City
(Ce-5-1103)

J. Howard Edmondson (D) (Sen)
910 P.O.Bldg, Oklahoma City
(Ce-2-4149)

Page Belcher (R) (1 dist)
304 Broadway Tower, Enid

Ed Edmondson (D) (2 dist)
P.O.Box 11, Muskogee (Mu-2-6230)

Carl Bert Albert (D) (3 dist)
P. O. Bldg., McAlester

Tom Steed (D) (4 dist)
Masonic Bldg. Shawnee

John Jarman (D) (5 dist)
611 Fed. Bldg. Oklahoma City
(Ce-6-2311)

Victor Wickersham (D) (6 dist)
328 Koehler Bldg. Lawton

Oregon

Wayne L. Morse (D) (Sen)
706 U.S.Courthouse, 620 SW Main
St., Portland (Ca-63361, Ex.1764)

Maurine B. Neuberger (D) (Sen)
326 New US Courthouse, Portland

Walter Norblad (R) (1 dist)
219 P.O. Bldg. Salem

Al Ullman (D) (2 dist)
1875 Valley Baker (ja-3-4964)

Edith S. Green (D) (3 dist)
313 Old Courthouse Bldg. Portland
(Ca-7-6913)

Robert B. Duncan (D) (4 dist)
Rm. 312, 858 Pearl St., Eugene
(Di-3-1869)

Pennsylvania

Joseph S. Clark (D) (Sen)
448 US Courthouse Bldg. 9th &
Chestnut Sts, Phila. (Wa-3-1898)

Hugh Scott (R) (Sen)
4004 US Courthouse, Phila. (Wa-5-
8181) 502A New Fedl.Bldg. Pitts-
burgh, (Gr-1-3636)

William A. Barrett (D) (1 dist)
2401 Wharton St. Phila (Fu-9-2822)

Robert N.C.Nix (D) (2 dist)
2139 N. 22nd St. Phila (Ce-6-8341)

James A. Byrne (D) (3 dist)
114 US.Custom House Bldg., Phila
(Wa-2-3230)

HermanTollQD) (4 dist)
8325 Stenton Ave., Phila,
(Chestnut Hill 8-1122)

William J. Green, Jr. (D) (5 dist)
3036 US Courthouse , Phila
(Ma-7-5548)

George M. Rhodes (D) (6 dist)
Reading, Pa.

William H. MIlliken, Jr. (R) (7 dist)
84 Ridley Ave., Sheron Hill
(Ludlow 6-1122)

Willard S. Curtin (R) (8 dist)
214 P.O.Bldg.Allentown (434-3721)
101 N. Penn.Ave.Morrisville
(Cy-5-4104)

Paul B. Dague (R) (9 dist)
3 No. Church St. West Chester
(Owens 6-1872)

Joseph M. McDade (R) (10 dist)
First Nat'l Bank Bldg. Scranton
(Diamond 6-3834

Daniel J. Flood (D) (11 dist)
1015 Miners Bank Bldg. Wilkes-
Barre. (Valley 2-2194)

State and District addresses of Members of U.S. Senate and House of Representatives

Pennsylvania (continued)

J. Irving Whalley (R) (12 dist)
1203 Graham Ave. Windber (467-4000)

Richard S. Schweiker (R) (13 dist)
Room. 500, 301 Swede St. Norristown
(Broadway 5-3200)

William S. Moorhead (D) (14 dist)
718 Fed. Bldg. Pittsburgh
(Gr-1-0800, Ext 623)

Francis E. Walter (D) (15 dist)
210 Drake Bldg. Easton

John C. Kunkel (R) (16 dist)
20 S. River St., Harrisburg
(Ce-8-0395)

Herman T. Schneebeli (R) (17 dist)
202 P. O. Bldg. Williamsport
(326-2814)

Robert J. Corbett (R) (18 dist)
503 New Fed. Bldg. Pittsburgh
(Gr-1-0800)

George A. Goodling (R) (19 dist)
Fed. Bldg. York (8-2731)

Elmer J. Holland (D) (20 dist)
722 New Fed. Bldg. Pittsburgh
(Gr-1-0800) Ext-769, 808 Peoples
Union Bank Bldg. McKeesport
(Orchard 8-4448)

John H. Dent (D) (21 dist)
224 S. 5th St. Heannnette
(Lafayette 3-9547)

John P. Saylor (R) (22 dist)
Cambria County Courthouse,
Edensburgh (Gr-2-9873)

Leon H. Gavin (R) (23 dist)
Oil City

James D. Weaver (R) (24 dist)
107 A US Post Office and Court
House Bldg. Erie

Frank M. Clark (D) (25 dist)
Courthouse Annex, New Castle
(01-4-9176) Fed. Bldg. Bever Falls
(Ti-3-6840) Fed. Bldg. Butler
(Butler 7-1065)

Thomas E. Morgan (D) (26 dist)
P.O.Bldg., Uniontown (Ge-8-9131)

James G. Fulton (R) (27 dist)
724 Fulton Bldg. Pittsburgh
(Granit 1-0800)

Rhode Island

John O. Pastore (D) (Sen)
301 P.O. Annex, Providence
(Gaspee 1-4583)

Clairborne Pell (D) (Sen)
418 Fed. Bldg. Providence (Te-1-
4400)

Fernand J. St. Germain (D) (1 dist)
208 P.O. Bldg. Pawtucket

John E. Fogarty (D) (2 dist)
200 Custom House, Providence
(Gaspee 1-3341)

South Dakota

Karl E. Mundt (R) (Sen)
Box 303, Madison (Cl-6-3031)

George S. McGovern (D) (Sen)
Mitchell (Wyman 6-7746)

Ben Reifel (R) (1 dist)
Sioux Falls, and Aberdeen

E. Y. Berry (R) (2 dist)
508 7th St. Rapid City (Fi-3-7315)

Tennessee

Estes Kefauver (D) (Sen)
443 Fed. Bldg. Nashville
(Alpine 6-6352)

Albert Gore (D) (Sen)
Carthage, (494)

James H. Quillen (R) (1 dist)
Kingsport (247-4139)

Howard H. Baker (R) (2 dist)
313 P.O. Bldg., Knoxville

W.E. Brock (R) (3 dist)
230 Fed. Bldg. Chattanooga
(266-5930)

Joe L. Evins (D) (4 dist)
So. 4th St., Smithville (Lu-595-
5475)

Richard Fulton (D) (5 dist)
U.S. Courthouse, Nashville
(244-1930)

Ross Bass (D) (6 dist)
Pulaski

Tom Murray (D) (7 dist)
209 E. Baltimore St., Jackson
(7-4481)

State and District addresses of Members of U.S. Senate and House of Representatives

Tennessee (continued)

Robert A. Everett(D)(8 dist)
Union City

Clifford Davis(D)(9 dist)
81 Madison Bldg, Memphis
(Jackson 7-3505)

Texas

Ralph W. Yarborough(D)(Sen)
509 Lowich Bldg, 314 W.11 St.
Austin (Greenwood 8-2573)

John G. Tower(R)(Sen)
Wichita Falls

Joe R. Pool(D)(AL)
530 Lowich Bldg. 314 W 11 St.
Austin (Greenwood 6-6411, Ext 292)
1409 Sante Fe Bldg. 1114 Commerce
Callas (Ri-8-5611, ext 3474)

Wright Patman(D)(1 dist)
P.O. Box 1868,(214-793-2471)

Jack Brooks(D)(2 dist)
Beaumont

Lindley Beckworth(D)(3 dist)
R.R. No. 2(Gladewater) (6241)

Ray Roberts(D)(4 dist)
McKinney

Bruce Alger(R)(5 dist)
408 Fed. Bldg. Dallas, (Ri-1-1041)

Olin E. Teague(D)(6 dist)
Varisco Bldg. Bryan

John Dowdy(D)(7 dist)
Kinabrew Bldg. Athens,(Or-5-3022)

Albert Thomas(D)(8 dist)
New Fed. Offic, Houston(Ca-7-8011)
Clark W. Thompson(D)(9 dist)
501 Post Office Bldg. Galveston
(Southfield 3-4588)

Homer Thornberry(D)(10 dist)
308-A US Courthouse, Austin
(Greenwood 8-8039)

William R. Poage(D)(11 dist)
205 Fed. Bldg. Waco(Pl.2-7271)

James C. Wright,Jr.(D)(12 dist)
320 US Courthouse Fort Worth
(Edison 2-1934)

Graham Purcell(D)(13 dist)
206 Fed. B.dg Wichita Falls
(322-8379)

John Young(D)(14 dist)
Fed. Bldg. Corpus Christi
(Tulip 3-0691)

Joe M. Kilgore(D)(15 dist)
801 Quince St. McAllen

Ed. Foreman(R)(16 dist)
A.B.C.Bank Bldg. Odessa

Omar Burleson(D)(17 dist)
99 Crescondo Bldg. Abilene
(Orchard 4-2011)

Walter E. Rogers(D)(18 dist)
Hughes Bldg., Pampa

George H. Mahon(D)(19 dist)
217 P.O. Bldg., P.O. Box 1555,
Lubbock (Porter 3-1611)

Henry B. Gonzalez(D)(20 dist)
201 Fed. Bldg., San Antonio
(Ca-3-8851)

O. Clark Fisher(D)(21 dist)
San Angelo

Robert R. Casey(D)(22 dist)
8632 Fed. Ofc Bldg. Houston
(Capitol 8-0611 ext. 486)

Utah

Wallace F. Bennett(R)(Sen)
65 W. First South, Salt Lake
(Elgin 5-3441)

Frank E. Moss(D)(Sen)
617 Kearns Bldg. Salt Lake City
(Davis 2-4616)

Laurence J. Burton(R)(1 dist)
Ben Lomond Hotel Ogden

Sherman P. Lloyd(R)(2 dist)
Salt Lake City

Vermont

George D. Aiken(R)(Sem)
Montpelier

Winston L. Prouty(R)(Sen)
96 State St. Montpelier(Ca-3-7772)

Robert T. Stafford(R)(AL)
Gryphen Bldg. Rutland
(Prospect 5-5446)

State and District addresses of Members of U.S. Senate and House of Representatives

Washington

Warren G. Magnuson (D) (Sen)
US Courthouse, Seattle (Mu-2-3300)

Henry M. Jackson (D) (Sen)
US Courthouse, Seattle (Mu-2-3300)

Thomas M. Pelly (R) (1 dist)
702 Fed. Ofc Bldg, Seattle
(Ma-2-8819)

Jack Westland (R) (2 dist)
2828 Rockerfeller, Everett
(Al-9-2134)

Julia B. Hansen (D) (3 dist)
P.O. Bldg., P.O. Box 779 (Kelso)
(393-5652)

Catherine May (R) (4 dist)
P.O. Box 352 Yaklma (Ch-8-2231)

Walt Horan (R) (5 dist)
Wenatchee

Thor C. Tollefson (R) (6 dist)
205 Security Bldg. Tacoma
(Ma07-7842)

K. W. Stinson (R) (7 dist)
Fed. Bldg., Seattle (Mu-2-5377)

West Virginia

Jennings Randolph (D) (Sen)
Rm. 303-5, New Post Ofc Bldg.
Clarksburg (Ma-3-2811)

Robert C. Byrd (D) (Sen)
Atlas Bldg. Beckley (Cl-3-7230)

Arch A. Moore, Jr. (R) (1 dist)
Post Ofc Bldg. Clarksburg
(624-7411)

Harley O. Staggers (D) (2 dist)
Keyser

John M. Slack, Jr. (D) (3 dist)
Charleston

Ken Hechler (D) (4 dist)
219 Post Ofc Bldg. Huntington
(523-6000) 239 Court Sq. Parkersburg
(428-6789(

Elizabeth Kee (D) (5 dist)
Post Ofc Bldg. Oak Hill (469-4661)

Wisconsin

William Proximire (D) (Sen)
Madison

Gaylord Nelson (D) (Sen)
Madison

Henry C. Schadeberg (R) (1 dist)
533 Milwaukee Ave., Burlington

Robert W. Kastenmeier (D) (2 dist)
300 1/2 Main St., Watertown
(261-6050)

Vernon W. Thomson (R) (3 dist)
Farmers & Merchants Bank Bldg.
Richland Center

Clement J. Zablocki (D) (4 dist)
1439 W. Lincoln Ave., Milwaukee
(Ev-3-8178)

Henry S. Reuss (D) (5 dist)
135 W. Wells St., Milwaukee
(Broadway 2-1226)

William K. Van Pelt (R) (6 dist)
First Nat'l Bank Bldg. Oshkosh
(Be-5-7300)

Melvin R. Laird (R) (7 dist)
Marshfield, (Fu-4-5656)

John W. Byrnes (R) (8 dist)
207 Fed. Bldg. Green Bay
(He-7-8186)

Lester R. Johnson (D) (9 dist)
Black River Falls (6735)

Alvin E. O'Konski (R) (10 dist)
Mercer

Wyoming

Gale W. McGee (D) (Sen)
142 N. Center, Casper (234-9377)

Milward L. Simpson (R) (Sen)
Cheyenne

William H. Harrison (R) (AL)
Bank of Comm. Bldg. (Sheridan)
(674-6173)

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

"Cooperation in the Common Cause of Civil Rights Legislation"
704-17th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006 phone 783-8032
New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400
ROY WILKINS Chairman ARNOLD ARONSON Secretary

DEC 3 1963

TO: COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

Memo No. 19, December 23, 1963

FROM: ARNOLD ARONSON, SECRETARY

MAKE THE HOLIDAYS COUNT - VISIT YOUR SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN

The announcement by Howard W. Smith (D., Va.), chairman of the House Rules Committee, that he will start hearings on the civil rights bill on January 9, must be counted as a victory for those of us who support the legislation.

One factor that helped move Mr. Smith to set a definite date was the Conference's ability to organize prompt nation-wide support for the petition to discharge the Rules Committee from consideration of the bill. Another probable factor was a series of visits a special delegation from the Conference made to top leaders of the House, exploring with them the possibility of a fixed schedule of hearings as an alternative to the petition, which seemed to have bogged down.

It is now entirely feasible to expect the Rules Committee to complete its hearings and the House to vote for final passage of the bill all within the month of January. Our efforts during the next two weeks, when most members of Congress will be home for the holidays, must be directed toward getting them committed to this goal.

Why Did Mr. Smith Fix a Date?

When he announced in a floor speech that he would begin hearings on January 9, Mr. Smith observed, "I know something about the facts of life around here and I know that many Members want this bill considered." He also conceded that Rules Committee members could "take it (the bill) away from me, and they can do it any minute they want to."

This is an apparent reference to a procedural manuever, (mentioned in Memo # 17) whereby a majority of the 15-member House Rules Committee, if it thinks the chairman is stalling on a bill, can vote it out in spite of his objections. The Conference delegation that met with House leaders learned that at least five Democrats and all five Republicans on the Committee are ready to undertake such action if Mr. Smith shows an inclination to use the hearings as a means of delaying the bill. These members are our assurance that Mr. Smith really means it when he told the House, "I shall not encourage any dilatory tactics on the matter."

What is Our Plan of Action?

The start of hearings on a specific date is one dividend of Leadership Conference efforts. Another is a by-product of the drive to get signatures for the discharge petition. Although a number of members said they wouldn't sign, they did say they would vote for the bill. We need to get more Congressmen on record. Attempts will certainly be

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made in both the House and Senate to weaken the measure. To counteract that, we need not just a majority but an overwhelming vote in support of at least the bill now pending in the Rules Committee. An overwhelming vote, it should be noted, would only reflect the large margin by which the public has endorsed the civil rights bill in recent opinion polls.

At the last meeting of Washington representatives of the Leadership Conference, it was unanimously agreed that we must take full advantage of the improved situation in which we find the bill and use the holiday period to get firm commitments from members to resist dilution and delay.

Every member of the House and every Senator ought to be visited at home during the holiday period running from December 21 through January 5. NOW is the time to get in touch with your local branches and chapters and get them to designate an individual in each district who will organize visits. A source of people for good representative delegations is the list of cooperating organizations on the back of our stationery.

The Washington representatives agreed upon this program for visiting delegations.

When seeing House members:

1. Get them committed to work for final House passage of the bill (H.R. 7152) next month and to vote against all weakening amendments.

2. Urge them to consider strengthening the bill in at least three respects when it reaches the floor by including a guarantee of equal access to all businesses open to the general public; by providing for a Fair Employment Practices Commission with powers to issue cease and desist orders enforceable in the courts; and by empowering the Justice Department to initiate Federal suits to protect the constitutional rights of citizens.

3. Urge them, if they are on the Rules Committee, to be ready to join the majority needed to take the bill away from the chairman if there is any evidence of delay.

4. Ask them if they have signed the discharge petition; if they have not, get them to pledge that they will sign if it looks as though the Rules Committee hearings may be prolonged to an extent that would prevent final passage by the House in January.

When visiting Senators:

1. Try to get them to commit themselves to a civil rights bill that contains all the present provisions of H.R. 7152, including FEPC, access to places of public accommodation, authority for the Justice Department to initiate suits in the protection of constitutional rights, and protection of franchise privileges.

2. Urge them to vote to close off debate once the Senate filibuster starts.

We will all enjoy the holidays more if we feel we are working to secure an American society that is truly dedicated, not seasonally dedicated, to brotherhood.

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NOTE TO WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVES OF COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS: Please mark your new calendars. Our first weekly meeting in 1964 will be held in this office, Thursday, January 2, at 2 P.M.

* * * *

I would like, finally, to express my personal appreciation for the wonderful cooperation your organization has given the Conference during 1963 and to offer my best wishes for a fruitful year.

Arnold Aronson

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ROY WILKINS Chairman ARNOLD ARONSON Secretary

JAN 20 1964

MEMO NUMBER 21
JANUARY 20, 1964

put in order

TO: COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

FROM: ARNOLD ARONSON, SECRETARY

RULES COMMITTEE HEARING GRINDS ON - WITH POSSIBLE END IN SIGHT

Three witnesses in four days. At least 30 more to go.

That was the discouraging score of the House Rules Committee as it completed its second week of public hearings on the omnibus Civil Rights Bill (H.R. 7152). In spite of the slow pace, House leaders still assure our delegations that the hearings will be over by the end of January and the bill will be reported out after that. The latest assurance was given to Roy Wilkins, chairman of the Leadership Conference by House Majority Leader Carl Albert (D.,Okla.), only last Wednesday.

Even so, we cannot lose sight of the fact that the bill is still under the control of Rules Committee Chairman Howard W. Smith (D.,Va.) who refers to H.R. 7152 as "this nefarious bill" and who has said, as recent profiles in Newsweek (Jan.20) and the Sunday New York Times (Jan.12) both recall, that in a legislative battle "you grasp any snickersnee you can get hold of and fight the best way you can."

A Good Time To Visit Washington

The Memorandum for November 11, 1963 No.,13 , suggested that organizations in the Conference prepare to send delegations to Washington to watch the voting on the bill once it reaches the House floor. At this moment the last week of January or the first week of February would appear to be target dates for the happy occasion. But we cannot give these dates with any certainty. The cardinal rule in discussing Congress is Never Predict. Nevertheless, the situation in the Rules Committee is moving to a resolution. Or it can be forced to a resolution by getting new names onto the petition to discharge the Rules Committee from consideration of the bill.

If your organization has members in particular Districts who know their Congressmen well; who have special connections with them; who can speak to them and sit in the gallery and watch how they vote when the bill comes up; or who can urge them to help move the bill out of Rules; now is the time to urge them to clear their calendars and be ready to come to the Capitol. Send us their names, addresses, telephone numbers and the names of the Congressmen they will be ready to work with.

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Two Principal Witnesses Heard First

There is at least an understandable reason for the time taken by the Rules Committee with the first two witnesses. They were Rep. Emanuel Celler (D.,N.Y.) chairman of the House Judiciary Committee which wrote the bill and Rep. William McCulloch (R.,O.) ranking Republican member of the committee. Mr. Celler came in for the most intensive questioning - not only by Southern members of the Committee hostile to the legislation but also by members we count as friends. One of the mysteries of the past two weeks is why supporters of the bill have chosen these hearings as a time for raising legalistic niceties about the substance of it when they ought to be concentrating on getting it cleared for House floor action as quickly as possible.

Mr. McCulloch's political position gave special importance to his testimony. His spirited defense of the bill, his flat commitment to all of its provisions, raises hope that it will draw sufficient support from both parties to permit it to be brought through the House in good shape. Roy Wilkins, with the unanimous approval of the Washington representatives of the cooperating organizations in the Conference, sent a wire to Mr. McCulloch congratulating him upon the stand he took and saying in part, "we know full well it will take the strongest possible bipartisan effort to bring through the House and Senate a strong bill with a full public accommodations provision and an FEPC with enforcement powers."

Is FEPC In Peril Again?

Rumors are abroad again that the FEPC provision in H.R. 7152 - the one that would establish and Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to deal with discrimination in employment - is up for trading. Columnists and news accounts of the Rules Committee hearings have begun to raise this speculatively. A typical story in the New York Times (Jan.15, 1964) made a special point of noting that U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy in just-released testimony before the House Judiciary Committee last October 16, said the Administration was ready to sacrifice FEPC in order to get the votes necessary for passage of the provisions on voting, schools and public accommodations. However, Mr. Kennedy also said at that time "I am not going to suggest that it (FEPC) be taken out at the present time, because I would like to have it passed, and I think the possible chance of its passage is to have it included."

If the price of keeping FEPC in the bill is bipartisan support it should be clear by now it has bipartisan support. The FEPC provision incorporated in altered form in the omnibus bill was passed by the House Labor Committee with a strong bipartisan vote; and the FEPC bill recently approved by the Senate Labor Committee also has supporters from both parties. Mr. McCulloch gave unhesitating endorsement to FEPC in his statement

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to the Rules Committee, saying that by its passage the "well-being of each individual is advanced and the taproot of the country's economy is strengthened."

Unquestionably FEPC is one of the indispensable features of the bill. With unemployment on the rise and its principal victims Negroes, the other provisions, such as education and public accommodations, are hollow without it. Education for what?- if an educated Negro can still be denied a job because of race. And access to theaters, hotels and restaurants to what end?- if Negroes have no money to enjoy them.

The MEMO has urged this before. It urges this again. In messages to your members emphasize the paramount importance of FEPC and advise them to remember, in letters and approaches to Congressmen that H.R. 7152 in it present form is the irreducible minimum.

It must include not only public accommodations and the other more widely-known provisions but an FEPC strengthened through the addition of enforcement powers.

We must fight to hold it.

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NOTE TO WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVES OF COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS:

The next weekly meeting is this Wednesday, January 22, at 2 P.M. in our offices, Room 314, 704 17th Street, N. W.

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

"Cooperation in the Common Cause of Civil Rights Legislation"
704-17th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006 phone 783-8032
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ROY WILKINS Chairman ARNOLD ARONSON Secretary

FEB 11 1964

Memo No. 24 February 11, 1964

TO: COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

FROM: ARNOLD ARONSON, SECRETARY

'GALLERY "VULTURES" HELP HOUSE PASS AN EFFECTIVE BILL

The most dangerous hurdles in the civil rights bill have been leaped and the measure to which the House is giving final approval, as this MEMO is written, is substantially the same measure it began debating on January 31.

Let us try to convey some of the dimensions of this victory and some of the reasons for it. The House debated the bill for an unprecedented 9 days. More than a hundred amendments were proposed, with rare exception amendments meant to cripple or weaken the bill. All but a very few were beaten down.

Major credit for this astonishing performance must go to the bipartisan efforts of Northern Democrats and Republicans. Special recognition should go to Emanuel Celler, the Brooklyn Democrat and to William McCulloch, the rural Ohio Republican, who served as floor managers for the bill, and to the group of dedicated liberals of both parties who served as their faithful lieutenants. Credit must also go to the White House for the strong backing it gave the proponents of the bill. But we, the cooperating organizations of the Leadership Conference, can also claim a share in this success.

Foes and Friends Cite Conference Role

The effectiveness of our operations drew comment from friends and foes of the bill. Frank Thompson (D., N.J.), a member of the Democratic Study Group, the unofficial organization of Northern Democratic liberals, paid tribute to the Leadership Conference by name on NBC News, February 7. Mr. Thompson headed the Group's "whip" system, which alerted supporters of the bill every time a vote came up on the floor. On the same NBC program, Rep. William Colmer (D., Miss.), an implacable opponent of the bill, grumbled about "galleries and corridors filled with representatives of organized pressure groups." Rep. James A. Haley (D., Fla.) was harsher. In the course of last Friday's floor debate he declared that if you took away the "vultures" in the galleries, who were "controlling votes in the House or at least calling the turn on them....I do not think you would have 25 votes for this monstrous bill...."

The "vultures" were the hundreds of representatives of cooperating organizations, who sat in the House galleries for long hours, watching how votes went on amendments. E. P. Kenworthy, in the Sunday New York Times (February 9), gave as one of the compelling reasons why so many representatives were on hand for quorum

calls and votes "the presence in the galleries of mental tellers from civil rights groups, labor organizations, religious affiliates."

We supplied those "mental tellers" - the people who, operating under enormous difficulties posed by House procedure and gallery rules, were still able to keep tabs on how their Congressmen were voting.

The Problems of Gallery Spotters

Since the House met as the Committee of the Whole House, there were no roll call votes on amendments. In these circumstances voting is done by voice, where Representatives simply shout "aye" or "no"; by "division," where they stand up and are counted by the Committee chairman; or by "teller vote," where they march up the center aisle and are tapped on the shoulder by tellers as they pass, to determine if they are for or against an amendment.

Because gallery rules forbid spectators to read or consult any material, or to take notes, our tellers had to depend on their eyes and memories to establish who was voting which way. Confronted by the rapid and chaotic movement of the men and women on the House floor, forced to view them from above, at a considerable height and distance, this was not a simple thing to do. But it was done.

Every morning, before the House went in session, our gallery spotters crowded into our suite in the Congressional Hotel to report on their observations and to discuss the legislative situation. Then they went off to the House galleries. Following them, another group came in for a briefing session. These were the men and women we stationed on every floor in the two House office buildings, who, as soon as they received our alert, went from office to office of friendly Congressmen to be sure they were on hand for the vote. This was a supplement, and a very good one, to the Democratic Study Group "whip" system.

The final version of the bill is evidence of how necessary our efforts were. An analysis of what is now in the bill will have to wait for a late MEMO. But our impression is that in spite of the few amendments of any substance that got by the supporters of the bill, the version the House approved is a significant legislative advance. Now the bill goes to the Senate. For many reasons, we face a harder fight there. But the veterans of the House campaign will muster again on the Senate side. And we expect to win.

* * * *

NOTE: TO REPRESENTATIVES OF COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS. There will be no weekly meeting this Wednesday. Our next meeting will be Wednesday, February 19, at 2 P.M. in our offices, Room 314, 704 17th Street, N.W.

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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ROY WILKINS Chairman ARNOLD ARONSON Secretary

MAR 2 1964

MEMO: NO. 27
MARCH 2, 1964

TO: COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

FROM: ARNOLD ARONSON, SECRETARY

THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL PASSES ITS FIRST SENATE TEST

The long anticipated debate on the civil rights bill, H. R. 7152, will probably get underway in the Senate sometime this week.

If our accounts of what happens to the measure in the next few weeks have a dry, technical sound to them, remember -- it is on the arid field of parliamentary procedure that the battle for a good bill may be won or lost. The first parliamentary test came last week and supporters of the bill met it easily.

That test occurred when Democratic majority leader Mike Mansfield (Mont.) initiated the manuever to place the bill directly on the Senate calendar. Senator Richard Russell (D., Ga.), leader of the Southern opposition, raised a point of order and argued that Senate rules require all bills to be referred first to committee, in this case the Senate Judiciary Committee (and certain interment by its Chairman, James O. Eastland (D., Miss.)).

When he was overruled by Senate Lee Metcalf (D., Mont.), who was presiding in the chair, Senator Russell appealed. The Senate, in its first recorded vote on the bill, sustained the chair, 54 to 37 (see attachment No. 1 for how the vote went). The most encouraging aspect of this vote was that the margin of victory was greater than it was in 1957, when it was also necessary to keep a civil rights bill out of the Judiciary Committee. The vote, then, was 45 to 39.

In an apparent gesture of concilation to Senators like Wayne Morse (D., Ore.), who may be counted on to support and vote for the bill, but who argue that orderly procedure is violated when a committee is by-passed, Senator Mansfield then moved that H. R. 7152 be referred to the Judiciary Committee for hearings with instructions that it be reported back without recommendation or amendment by a specified date.

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In the prevailing parliamentary situation, it would have required unanimous consent to do this and first Senator Jacob Javits (R., N.Y.) objected and then Senator Eastland.

As this is written, the Senate is considering a bill to help wheat producers and the cotton industry. But it is the intention of the Senate leadership to keep down debate and dispose of this in the next few days. Then it will take up civil rights.

New Threats From the Opposition

Even though we who support the bill won a victory in the House, we must continue to exert our fullest effort. The opposition is not resting. In a recent assessment of the civil rights battle, the Congressional Quarterly observed that the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedom was broadening its campaign against the bill. Said the Quarterly, "Reports indicated that the group, amply financed, would center its chief attention on the Senate debate and vote."

There is evidence already of stepped-up activity by this group and other opponents. We are informed by the offices of friendly Senators that mail against the bill is greatly outnumbering mail in favor of it.

We can't let up. In you next mailings to your members urge them not to wait until debate begins. Tell them to get letters out to their Senators now, in support of the House bill without weakening amendments.

Dirksen Names Republican Floor Managers

Republicans who will handle the civil rights bill for their side have been named by Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen (R., Ill.). He has appointed Senators Kenneth Keating, (N.Y.) as captain on Title I (voting); Roman Hruska (Neb.) on Title II (public accommodations); Javits on Title III (desegregation of public facilities); John S. Cooper (Ky.) on Title IV (school desegregation); Hugh Scott (Pa.) on Title V (U. S. Civil Rights Commission); Norris Cotton (N.H.) on Title VI (nondiscrimination in federally assisted programs); and Clifford Case (N.J.) on Title VII (FEPC).

"In addition, Mr. Dirksen said, he and the Republican whip, Senator Thomas Kuchel (Calif.) "will be on hand, I trust, at all hours of the day and night, to give such counsel and guidance as we can."

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The Democrats in charge of the bill, as Memo No. 26 noted, are Senators Warren Magnuson (Wash.) on Title II, Joseph Clark (Pa.) on Title VII, and Philip A. Hart (Mich.) on judicial matters. Democratic whip Hubert Humphrey (Minn.) will have overall responsibility.

How The House Voted On Final Passage

So many people have asked the Conference how their Representatives voted on final passage of H. R. 7152 we are enclosing the roll call vote (See attachment No. 2). In sending this information, we offer a caution. It is good to thank Congressmen who voted for the bill. But it should be mentioned that some of those who voted for final passage supported amendments that would, if adopted, have seriously crippled the measure. The votes on amendments are unrecorded, but Leadership Conference watchers, who sat in the House gallery, were often able to tell how their Congressmen were voting. Another thing to bear in mind is that some members were less than faithful in making sure they were on the floor whenever a vote was taken.

In the Senate fight, floor attendance is again a critical factor in determining our success. In letters to Senators, particularly those you think are friendly, start urging them now to be on the floor for quorum calls.

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NEXT MEETING OF WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVES: Wednesday, March 4, at 2 P.M. in our offices, Room 314, 704 17th Street, N.W.

ATTACHMENT NO. 1 ---

Vote in Rights Skirmish

Associated Press

Following is the 54-to-37 vote by which the Senate tabled and thus killed a Southern Democratic appeal from the presiding officer's ruling that kept the civil rights bill on the Senate calendar:

Democrats For Tabling: 34

Bayh (Ind.)	McCarthy (Minn.)
Brewster (Md.)	McGee (Wyo.)
Burdick (N.D.)	McGovern (S.D.)
Church (Idaho)	McIntyre (N.H.)
Clark (Pa.)	McNamara (Mich.)
Dodd (Conn.)	Metcalf (Mont.)
Douglas (Ill.)	Muskie (Maine)
Edmondson (Okla.)	Nelson (Wis.)
Engle (Calif.)	Neuberger (Ore.)
Hart (Mich.)	Pastore (R.I.)
Humphrey (Minn.)	Pell (R.I.)
Inouye (Hawaii)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Jackson (Wash.)	Randolph (W.Va.)
Kennedy (Mass.)	Ribicoff (Conn.)
Long (Mo.)	Symington (Mo.)
Magnuson (Wash.)	Williams (N.J.)
Mansfield (Mont.)	Young (Ohio)

Republicans For: 20

Aiken (Vt.)	Javits (N.Y.)
Beall (Md.)	Keating (N.Y.)
Boggs (Del.)	Kuchel (Calif.)
Carlson (Kan.)	Miller (Iowa)
Case (N.J.)	Pearson (Kan.)
Cooper (Ky.)	Prouty (Vt.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Saltonstall (Mass.)
Dominick (Wyo.)	Scott (Pa.)
Fong (Hawaii)	Smith (Maine)
Hruska (Neb.)	Williams (Del.)

Democrats Against: 29

Bartlett (Alaska)	Jordan (N.C.)
Bible (Nev.)	Long (La.)
Byrd (Va.)	McClellan (Ark.)
Byrd (W.Va.)	Monroney (Okla.)
Cannon (Nev.)	Morse (Ore.)
Eastland (Miss.)	Robertson (Va.)
Ellender (La.)	Russell (Ga.)
Ervin (N.C.)	Smathers (Fla.)
Fulbright (Ark.)	Sparkman (Ala.)
Gore (Tenn.)	Stennis (Miss.)
Gruening (Alaska)	Talmadge (Ga.)
Hayden (Ariz.)	Thurmond (S.C.)
Hill (Ala.)	Walters (Tenn.)
Holland (Fla.)	Yarborough (Tex.)
Johnston (S.D.)	

Republicans Against: 8

Bennett (Utah)	Mundt (S.D.)
Dirksen (Ill.)	Simpson (Wyo.)
Hickenlooper (Ia.)	Tower (Tex.)
Jordan (Idaho)	Young (N.D.)

Not voting, but announced as paired: Allott (R-Colo), for tabling; Lausche (D-Ohio), against.

(Pairs are used to denote opposing positions of Senators when one or both are absent.)

Not voting or paired, but announced as for the motion to table: Anderson (D-N.M.); announced as against the motion: Goldwater (R-Ariz.); Mechem (R-N.M.).

Vote taken Wednesday, February 26, 1964.

(Source: Washington Post)

ATTACHMENT NO. 2

Rollcall in House on Civil Rights Bill

Here is the rollcall by which the House passed the civil rights bill, which the AFL-CIO termed "the most important moral issue" before Congress this year. The vote was 290-130. Democrats voted 152-96 for the bill; Republicans supported it 138-34.

On labor's scoreboard a vote for the bill was a right vote (R), while a vote against was a wrong vote (W). Other symbols: A—absent; PR—paired right; PW—paired wrong; NV—not voting. Numerals denote districts; AL—at large.

ALABAMA
AL Andrews (D) W
AL Elliott (D) W
AL Grant (D) W
AL Huddleston (D) W
AL Jones (D) W
AL Rains (D) W
AL Roberts (D) W
AL Selden W

ALASKA
AL Rivers (D) R

ARIZONA
1. Rhodes (R) W
2. Udall (D) R
3. Senner (D) R

ARKANSAS
1. Gathings (D) W
2. Mills (D) W
3. Trimble (D) W
4. Harris (D) W

CALIFORNIA
1. Clausen (R) R
2. Johnson (D) R
3. Moss (D) R
4. Leggett (D) R
5. Vacancy
6. Mailliard (R) R
7. Cohelan (D) R
8. Miller (D) R
9. Edwards (D) R
10. Gubser (R) R
11. Younger (R) R
12. Talcott (R) R
13. Teague (R) R
14. Baldwin (R) R
15. McFall (D) R
16. Sisk (D) R
18. Hagen (D) R
33. Sheppard (D) R
34. Hanna (D) R
35. Utt (R) W
36. Wilson, Bob (R) R
37. Van Deerlin (D) R
38. Martin (R) W

Los Angeles County
17. King (D) R
19. Holifield (D) R
20. Smith (R) W
21. Hawkins (D) R
22. Corman (D) R
23. Clawson (R) W
24. Lipscomb (R) W
25. Cameron (D) R
26. Roosevelt (D) R
27. Burkhalter (D) R
28. Bell (R) R
29. Brown (D) R
30. Roybal (D) R
31. Wilson, Charles (D) R
32. Hosmer (R) R

COLORADO
1. Rogers (D) R
2. Brotzman (R) R
3. Chenoweth (R) R
4. Aspinall (D) R

CONNECTICUT
AL Grabowski (D) R
1. Daddario (D) R
2. St. Onge (D) R
3. Giaimo (D) R
4. Sibal (R) R
5. Monagan (D) R

DELAWARE
AL McDowell (D) R

FLORIDA
1. Sikes (D) W
2. Bennett (D) W
3. Pepper (D) R
4. Fascell (D) W
5. Herlong (D) W
6. Rogers (D) W
7. Haley (D) W
8. Matthews (D) W
9. Fuqua (D) W
10. Gibbons (D) W
11. Gurney (R) W
12. Cramer (R) W

GEORGIA
1. Hagan (D) W
2. Pilcher (D) W
3. Forrester (D) W
4. Flynt (D) W
5. Weltner (D) W
6. Vinson (D) W
7. Davis (D) W
8. Tuten (D) W
9. Landrum (D) W
10. Stephens (D) W

HAWAII
AL Gill (D) R
AL Matsunaga (D) R

IDAHO
1. White (D) R
2. Harding (D) R

ILLINOIS
12. McClory (R) R
14. Hoffman (R) A
15. Reid (R) R
16. Anderson (R) R
17. Arends (R) R
18. Michel (R) R
19. McLoskey (R) R
20. Findley (R) R
21. Gray (D) R
22. Springer (R) R
23. Shipley (D) A
24. Price (D) R

Chicago-Cook County
1. Dawson (D) R
2. O'Hara (D) R
3. Murphy (D) R
4. Derwinski (R) R
5. Kluczynski (D) R
6. O'Brien (D) PR
7. Libonati (D) R
8. Rostenkowski (D) R
9. Finnegan (D) R
10. Collier (R) R
11. Pucinski (D) R
13. Rumsfeld (R) R

INDIANA
1. Madden (D) R
2. Halleck (R) R
3. Brademas (D) R
4. Adair (R) R
5. Roush (D) R
6. Roudebush (R) R
7. Bray (R) R
8. Denton (D) R
9. Wilson (R) R
10. Harvey (R) R
11. Bruce (R) R

IOWA
1. Schwengel (R) R
2. Bromwell (R) R
3. Gross (R) W
4. Kyl (R) R
5. Smith (D) R
6. Hoeven (R) R
7. Jensen (R) W

KANSAS
1. Dole (R) R
2. Avery (R) R
3. Ellsworth (R) R
4. Shriver (R) R
5. Skubitz (R) R

KENTUCKY
1. Stubblefield (D) W
2. Natcher (D) W
3. Snyder (R) W
4. Chelf (D) W
5. Siler (R) PW
6. Watts (D) W
7. Perkins (D) R

LOUISIANA
1. Hebert (D) W
2. Boggs (D) W
3. Willis (D) W
4. Waggonner (D) W
5. Passman (D) W
6. Morrison (D) W
7. Thompson (D) W
8. Long (D) W

MAINE
1. Tupper (R) R
2. McIntire (R) R

MARYLAND
AL Sickles (D) R
1. Morton (R) R
2. Long (D) R
3. Garmatz (D) R
4. Fallon (D) R
5. Lankford (D) A
6. Mathias (R) R
7. Friedel (D) R

MASSACHUSETTS
1. Conte (R) R
2. Boland (D) R
3. Philbin (D) R
4. Donohue (D) R
5. Morse (R) R
6. Bates (R) R
7. Macdonald (D) R
8. O'Neill (D) R
9. McCormack (D) (Speaker) NV
10. Martin (R) R
11. Burke (D) R
12. Keith (R) R

MICHIGAN
AL Staebler (D) R
2. Meader (R) W
3. Johansen (R) W
4. Hutchinson (R) W
5. Ford (R) R
6. Chamberlain (R) R
7. O'Hara (D) R
8. Harvey (R) R
9. Griffin (R) R
10. Cederberg (R) R
11. Knox (R) W
12. Bennett (R) R
18. Broomfield (R) R

Metropolitan Detroit
1. Nedzi (D) R
13. Diggs (D) R
14. Ryan (D) R
15. Dingell (D) R
16. Lesinski (D) W
17. Griffiths (D) R

MINNESOTA
1. Quie (R) R
2. Nelsen (R) R
3. MacGregor (R) R
4. Karth (D) R
5. Fraser (D) R
6. Olson (D) R
7. Langen (R) R
8. Blatnik (D) R

MISSISSIPPI
1. Abernethy (D) W
2. Whitten (D) W
3. Williams (D) W
4. Winstead (D) W
5. Colmer (D) W

MISSOURI
1. Karsten (D) R
2. Curtis (R) R
3. Sullivan (D) R
4. Randall (D) R
5. Bolling (D) R
6. Hull (D) W
7. Hall (R) W
8. Ichord (D) R
9. Cannon (D) R
10. Jones (D) W

MONTANA
1. Olsen (D) R
2. Battin (R) W

NEBRASKA
1. Beermann (R) W
2. Cunningham (R) R
3. Martin (R) R

NEVADA
AL Baring (D) W

NEW HAMPSHIRE
1. Wyman (R) W
2. Cleveland (R) R

NEW JERSEY
1. Cahill (R) R
2. Glenn (R) R
3. Auchincloss (R) R
4. Thompson (D) R
5. Frelinghuysen (R) R
6. Dwyer (R) R
7. Widnall (R) R
8. Joelson (D) R
9. Osmers (R) R
10. Rodino (D) R
11. Minish (D) R
12. Wallhauser (R) R
13. Gallagher (D) R
14. Daniels (D) R
15. Patten (D) R

NEW MEXICO
AL Montoya (D) R
AL Morris (D) R

NEW YORK
1. Pike (D) R
2. Grover (R) R
3. Derounian (R) R
4. Wydler (R) R
5. Becker (R) R
25. Barry (R) R
26. Reid (R) R
27. St. George (R) R
28. Wharton (R) R
29. O'Brien (D) R
30. King (R) R
31. Kilburn (R) W
32. Pirnie (R) R
33. Robison (R) R
34. Riehlman (R) R
35. Stratton (D) R
36. Horton (R) R
37. Ostertag (R) R
38. Goodell (R) R
39. Pillion (R) R
40. Miller (R) R
41. Dulski (D) R

New York City
6. Halpern (R) R
7. Addabbo (D) R
8. Rosenthal (D) R
9. Delaney (D) R
10. Celler (D) R
11. Keogh (D) R
12. Kelly (D) R
13. Multer (D) R
14. Rooney (D) R
15. Carey (D) R
16. Murphy (D) R
17. Lindsay (R) R
18. Powell (D) R
19. Farbstein (D) R
20. Ryan (D) R
21. Healey (D) R
22. Gilbert (D) R
23. Buckley (D) R
24. Fino (R) R

NORTH CAROLINA
1. Bonner (D) W
2. Fountain (D) W
3. Henderson (D) W
4. Cooley (D) W
5. Scott (D) W
6. Kornegay (D) W
7. Lennon (D) W
8. Jonas (R) W
9. Broyhill (R) W
10. Whitener (D) W
11. Taylor (D) W

NORTH DAKOTA
1. Andrews R
2. Short (R) W

OHIO
AL Taft (R) R
1. Rich (R) R
2. Clancy (R) R
3. Schenck (R) R
4. McCulloch (R) R
5. Latta (R) R
6. Harsha (R) R
7. Brown (R) R
8. Betts (R) R
9. Ashley (D) R
10. Abele (R) R
11. Bolton, Oliver (R) R
12. Devine (R) R
13. Mosher (R) R
14. Ayres (R) R
15. Secrest (D) R
16. Bow (R) R
17. Ashbrook (R) W
18. Hays (D) R
19. Kirwan (D) R
20. Feighan (D) R
21. Vanik (D) R
22. Bolton, Frances (R) R
23. Minshall (R) R

OKLAHOMA
1. Belcher (R) W
2. Edmondson (D) R
3. Albert (D) R
4. Steed (D) R
5. Jarman (D) W
6. Wickersham (D) W

OREGON
1. Norblad (R) R
2. Ullman (D) R
3. Green (D) R
4. Duncan (D) R

PENNSYLVANA
6. Rhodes (D) R
7. Milliken (R) R
8. Curtin (R) R
9. Dague (R) R
10. McDade (R) R
11. Flood (D) R
12. Whalley (R) R
13. Schweiker (R) R
14. Moorhead (D) R
15. Rooney (D) R
16. Kunkel (R) R
17. Schneebeli (R) R
18. Corbett (R) R
19. Goodling (R) R
20. Holland (D) R
21. Dent (D) R
22. Saylor (R) R
23. Johnson (R) R
24. Weaver (R) R
25. Clark (D) R
26. Morgan (D) R
27. Fulton (R) R

Philadelphia
1. Barrett (D) R
2. Nix (D) R
3. Byrne (D) R
4. Toll (D) R
5. Vacancy

RHODE ISLAND
1. St. Germain (D) R
2. Fogarty (D) R

SOUTH CAROLINA
1. Rivers (D) W
2. Watson (D) W
3. Dorn (D) W
4. Ashmore (D) W
5. Hemphill (D) W
6. McMillan (D) W

SOUTH DAKOTA
1. Reifel (R) R
2. Berry (R) W

TENNESSEE
1. Quillen (R) W
2. Vacancy
3. Brock (R) W
4. Evins (D) W
5. Fulton (D) R
6. Bass (D) R
7. Murray (D) W
8. Everett (D) W
9. Davis (D) PW

TEXAS
AL Pool (D) W
1. Patman (D) W
2. Brooks (D) R
3. Beckworth (D) W
4. Roberts (D) W
5. Alger (R) W
6. Teague (D) W
7. Dowdy (D) W
8. Thomas (D) R
9. Thompson (D) A
10. Pickle (D) R
11. Poage (D) W
12. Wright (D) W
13. Purcell (D) W
14. Young (D) W
15. Kilgore (D) W
16. Foreman (R) W
17. Burleson (D) W
18. Rogers (D) W
19. Mahon (D) W
20. Gonzalez (D) R
21. Fisher (D) W
22. Casey (D) W

UTAH
1. Burton (R) R
2. Lloyd (R) R

VERMONT
AL Stafford (R) R

VIRGINIA
1. Downing (D) W
2. Hardy (D) W
3. Gary (D) W
4. Abbitt (D) W
5. Tuck (D) W
6. Poff (R) W
7. Marsh (D) W
8. Smith (D) W
9. Jennings (D) W
10. Broyhill (R) W

WASHINGTON
1. Pelly (R) PR
2. Westland (R) R
3. Hansen (D) R
4. May (R) R
5. Horan (R) A
6. Tollefson (R) R
7. Stinson (R) R

WEST VIRGINIA
1. Moore (R) R
2. Staggers (D) R
3. Slack (D) R
4. Hechler (D) R
5. Kee (D) A

WISCONSIN
1. Schadeberg (R) R
2. Kastenmeier (D) R
3. Thomson (R) R
4. Zablocki (D) R
5. Reuss (D) R
6. Van Pelt (R) W
7. Laird (R) R
8. Byrnes (R) R
9. Johnson (D) R
10. O'Konski (R) A

WYOMING
AL Harrison (R) W

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

"Cooperation in the Common Cause of Civil Rights Legislation"
704-17th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006 phone 783-8032
New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400
ROY WILKINS Chairman ARNOLD ARONSON Secretary

MAR 9 1964

MEMO: NO. 28
March 9, 1964

TO: COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

FROM: ARNOLD ARONSON, SECRETARY

THE SENATE: FACE TO FACE WITH CIVIL RIGHTS AT LAST

On this historic and momentous day, when the Senate begins the civil rights debate, there is much to raise our hope of victory.

President Lyndon B. Johnson, at his last press conference, said again he wants the House-passed bill without compromise. And both the Senate whips, Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota for the Democrats and Thomas Kuchel of California for the Republicans, have expressed a like determination to keep the bill intact.

Another encouraging sign is the prediction by Senate Majority Leader, Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.), that the debate could last for months. One of the grave failures in previous civil rights debates, was the tendency of the supporters of the legislation to give up too easily and too soon. If they mean what they say, this time they indicate they are ready to stand and fight and finally vote down the opposition.

No Round-The-Clock Sessions

The announced decision against trying to wear out the filibusterers through around-the-clock sessions is also sound strategy. Day and night meetings exhaust supporters of the bill quicker than they do opponents, since the supporters must muster a majority for quorum calls at any hour of the night to keep the opposition from gaining a critical advantage. The Senate does not plan to keep what some members of the body have referred to scornfully as "bankers' hours." Instead, it will start early and stay late. But the Senate will quit in time to give proponents of the bill a chance to get a good night's sleep.

Most encouraging of all, is the reported plan of Senate leaders in the fight to keep a 51-member majority on hand at all times the body is in session to answer quorum calls and vote. A firm majority is essential if we are to win. Considerable thought needs to be given to keeping it intact and ready. The system that worked so

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well during the House debate in bringing Congressmen to the floor can be duplicated on the other side of the Capitol. Both the Senate leadership and we in the Conference are working to put such a system into effect so that friendly Senators can be alerted to be on hand each time the vote and call bells ring.

Compromise?

Will there be a compromise? Some newspaper columnists say so. They have been predicting that the bill will have to be trimmed to get through the Senate. But compromise is not inevitable. The same correspondents, it should be remembered, predicted in advance of the House fight, that the bill reported to the floor would never get through without giving up key sections.

Yet the bill did get through, with little modification, because a majority of the House members realized it expressed the nation's will. A majority of the Senate can come to realize that, too.

Senators Richard Russell (D., Ga.) and John Sparkman (D., Ala.), leaders of the opposition and its hard-core of 18 Senators, have made it clear in press conferences and TV appearances, that they realize there is a national consensus that a civil rights bill must be passed. Their whole strategy is to try to whittle it down. The strategy of proponents is to see that 51 Senators match Southern determination with a determination of their own and force the opposition to recognize that the star of the Old South is on the wane and we, as a nation, must have the dawn of a meaningful bill.

What Can Your Members Do?

Write as they never have before, urging their Senators to join the majority and be on hand to answer quorum calls and vote down all weakening amendments.

* * * * * * *

CELLER-McCULLOCH DINNER TO CELEBRATE HOUSE VICTORY

The Leadership Conference is planning a dinner next month to honor the two leaders of the House fight, Rep. Emanuel Celler (D., N.Y.), Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee and the ranking Republican on the Committee, Rep. William McCulloch (R., O.). Anyone who watched the floor fight from the gallery knows how indebted the country is to both of them for their unwearying and resourceful efforts in getting the civil rights bill through the House with so little change.

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The dinner will be held at the Shoreham Hotel, in Washington, on Wednesday, April 22. Additional details will be supplied later. But anyone who wants to attend and honor these two men can make reservations now, through this office.

CBS TO PRESENT SPECIAL TV PROGRAM ON CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

What promises to be an unusually comprehensive review of the struggle for the civil rights bill will be presented by CBS News on March 18. Consult your papers for the time and channel.

Organizations might consider holding TV parties to view the program together--and hold the viewers on to discuss what they can do to support the bill.

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NEXT MEETING OF WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVES OF THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE: Wednesday, March 11, 2 P.M., in the office, 704 17th Street, N.W.

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LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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MEMO: Number 29
March 16, 1964

TO: COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

FROM: ARNOLD ARONSON, SECRETARY

SENATE CIVIL RIGHTS SUPPORTERS ORGANIZE TO PASS THE BILL

The most encouraging thing to emerge in the first week of Senate debate is the evident determination of the Senators supporting the civil rights bill (H.R. 7152) to make a fight for it. This determination found its most significant expression in how well the supporters have organized themselves; its most engaging expression, in their tendency to talk back to the Southerners.

Senate supporters need to be well-organized. They face two tests this week. First comes a vote on the motion by Democratic majority leader Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.) to make the bill the Senate's pending business. It should be remembered that the "filibuster" going on now, is on this motion and is only a prelude to the longer one that will come on the substance of the bill itself. A further obstacle is a motion by Senator Wayne Morse (D., Ore.) to refer the bill to the Senate Judiciary Committee for 10 days of hearings. That has to be beaten if the bill is to continue to make steady progress.

The Importance of Quorums

The effectiveness of the new organization was never better displayed -- although it has fallen down a couple of times -- than in the way in which the supporters have been able to summon Senators to answer quorum calls. To carry on its business, the Senate must have a quorum--51 of its 100 members. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of being able to maintain one at all times. If opponents, surveying an empty Senate floor, call for a quorum the supporters must be able to muster one or the Senate will adjourn. If it does, whatever went before is wiped out. The next day the Senate meets the filibusterers can begin a fresh round of speeches.

To guard against any such unhappy likelihood, proponents of the bill have set up a telephone system to summon Senators to the floor. This supplements the Senate's own system of bells. Democratic Senators who have out-of-town

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engagements during the next two months are being asked to submit a list of them, ranked according to priority, to Senator Hubert Humphrey (D. Minn.), Democratic whip, and co-leader, with Senator Thomas Kuchel (R., Calif.) Republican whip, of the fight for the bill. If a Senator will not be present for a quorum, he is asked to get a replacement for that day. The Republicans are setting up a similar system. Democrats are committed to produce 36 Senators a day, Republicans 15.

How Quorums Help Break Filibusters

A loyal force of 51 Senators -- and strict adherence to the Senate rules -- can break a filibuster. So long as the Senate recesses each day, and is not forced to adjourn, an opponent of the bill can be limited by the rules to two speeches on the measure. While he can also speak twice on each amendment, and therefor prolong discussion indefinitely it is possible to stop this by having a 51-member majority ready and willing to vote to table amendments as they are brought up. Since a motion to table is not debateable, this would help keep the talking down.

The "Answer Back" Technique Gets Results

Although maintaining a quorum is their major task, supporters of the bill have begun to challenge some of the statements being made by the team of 18 Southerners. In earlier civil rights debates, the supporters in order to save time, generally left the Senate floor to the opponents, permitting them to put on an inbred self-reinforcing performance that caused their views to dominate the headlines.

The decision to answer back, while limited in usefulness, since it does prolong debate, has proven effective, particularly when it takes the form of brief, pointed questions that elicit embarrassing answers. At least twice last week, this tactic took the headlines away from the Southerners. Washington papers played up a frank admission from Senator Allen J. Ellender (D., La.) that "scared" whites in his state were defying the Constitution and denying the vote to Negroes. They also featured an amazing reply by Senator John Stennis (D., Miss.) that there are no restaurants in Mississippi that would require a Negro servicement to go to the back door for a cup of coffee.

What Makes Southerners Sore

Even better, was the fine irritant effect proponents achieved with a daily bipartisan newsletter that their staff members have been preparing and circulating. This simple sheet, which summarizes the actions of the previous

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day and then answers distortions and exaggerations in the opposition statements, was attacked by the Southerners as "mysterious," "anonymous," and "sinister." Senator Stennis's demand to know where the funds for the newsletter were coming from was particularly absurd, for the newsletter is a single-sheet, single-spaced, hastily mimeographed job that cannot cost more than a dollar or so to produce.

Republicans and Democrats were quick to acknowledge its parentage. "It is not a foundling but a very legitimate child," Senator Jacob Javits (R., N.Y.) declared. "Don't get angry because we got the jump on you in getting it out," Senator Humphrey told the nettled Southerners. And Senator Clifford Case (R., N.J.) put his finger on the cause of Southern ire when he observed, "the thing that burns is the fact that for the first time in a long history of efforts to place this kind of effective legislation on the Federal statute books in the field of civil rights, we are finally organized in a way which is in some sense comparable to the way in which the opposition has always operated."

Time Works For The Determined

The newsletter, the quorum call system and the instant rebuttals all show the determination of the Senate leadership and the President to stay with the bill and fight off attempts to weaken it.

In the past, when the filibusterers have shown their resolve to keep talking, that threat, more than the Senate rules, seemed to intimidate civil rights supporters. They displayed a lamentable tendency to cave in too quickly and to put the bill aside or compromise it in order to bring it to a vote. This time their determination to fight, may mean the difference between a good bill and a weak one. Once it is made clear to the Southerners and the neutrals that the majority plans to keep on and not give in, the pressure for compromise begins to build up on them. Many who will not vote today for cloture (the move to shut off debate by two-thirds of the Senators present and voting) will most likely do so, when they realize the Senate will not take up any other legislation until there is a vote on civil rights.

And the bipartisan supporters evidently will not file a cloture petition until they are sure they have the necessary votes.

The Uses of Unanimous Consent

Special mention needs to be made of the use the bipartisan coalition plans to make of the unanimous consent procedure. Their intention, once the Mansfield motion is approved, the Morse motion defeated and the bill before

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the Senate, is to have a Democrat and a Republican speak on each title of the bill. They have made the following assignments: Title I (Voting Rights) Senators Hart (D., Mich.) and Keating (R., N.Y.); Title II (Public Accommodations), Senators Hruska (R., Neb.) and Magnuson (D., Wash.); Title III (Desegregation of Public Facilities) Senators Javits (R., N.Y.) and Morse (D., Ore.); Title IV (Education) Senators Douglas (D., Ill.) and Cooper (R., Ky.); Title V (Extend Civil Rights Commission) Senators Long (D., Mo.) and Scott (R., N.Y.); Title VI (Nondiscrimination in Federally-assisted programs) Senators Cotton (R., N.H.) and Pastore (D., R.I.); Title VII (Equal Employment Opportunity) Senators Case (R., N.J.) and Clark (D., Pa.); Titles VIII to XI, Senator Dodd (D., Conn.) and one or more Republicans.

Each time a supporter speaks for a Title he will ask unanimous consent that the debate on that title be ended within a specific time, say 3 or 4 days. The Southerners will object and block this. But the request for unanimous consent will be renewed by the proponents throughout the length of time they speak on the bill, possibly two and a half weeks. This will give the supporters an opportunity to make a case for the bill and the record of continuous Southern objection will demonstrate to the nation what should already be obvious, that the opponents are not motivated by a high-minded desire to educate the country on the bill, but by a low-minded wish to frustrate the Senate in a vote on civil rights.

What Needs To Be Done Now?

1. Defeat the Morse motion -- Have your national officers and members wire their Senators today to oppose the Morse motion to refer the bill to the Senate Judiciary Committee for further hearings. Civil rights forces have good prospects of success and if such a motion succeeds, it can throw the floor fight out of kilter, introduce a new element of delay and endanger the bill.

Numerous hearings have already been held in House and Senate on key provisions of H.R. 7152. As for the Senate Judiciary, its hearings on the bill last June, when only one witness, U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy was interrogated by only one Senator, Sam Ervin (D., N.C.) for 11 days and its record of killing 120 civil rights bills in the last 10 years scarcely inspires confidence.

2. Build letter-writing campaigns. -- Mail adverse to the bill is still running high. Mobilize your membership. Urge them to write to their Senators saying:

(a) be present for quorum calls ("A speedy response to quorum calls is the single most important factor in making steady progress on the bill," the daily bipartisan newsletter observed.)

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(b) defeat weakening amendments.

(c) if a cloture petition is filed, vote for it.

* * * * * *

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (R&O)

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CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, JAMES FARMER

38 PARK ROW NYK

URGE YOU ATTEND EMERGENCY STRATEGY MEETING ON SENATE CIVIL RIGHTS DEVELOPMENTS. NEED PARTICIPATION OF TOP LEADERS ALL ORGANIZATIONS COOPERATING WITH LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE TO MAKE IMPORT DECISIONS. STATLER HOTEL, WASHINGTON D.C. 9:30 A.M. WEDNESDAY, APRIL FIRST, PLEASE WIRE REPLY LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE 704 17TH STREET, N.W., WASH.D.C.

ROY WILKINS CHAIRMAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS.

64 MAR 20 PM 6 35 NFW STREET

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LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

"Cooperation in the Common Cause of Civil Rights Legislation"
704-17th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006 phone 783-8032
New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400
ROY WILKINS Chairman **ARNOLD ARONSON** Secretary

MEMO NO. 31
March 31, 1964

TO: COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

FROM: ARNOLD ARONSON, SECRETARY

SIGNIFICANT VICTORY IN THE SENATE !

Civil rights forces won a significant victory with the defeat of the Morse motion to refer the civil rights bill (H.R. 7152) to the Senate Judiciary Committee. The defeat of the Morse move was all the more impressive because of the wide margin (50-34) by which it was accomplished, a margin anticipated by the Leadership Conference on the basis of careful daily checking but, generally hailed by the press as "unexpected."

Sixteen Republicans joined 34 Democrats in supporting Majority Leader Mansfield's motion to table the Morse referral motion -- the parliamentary strategy to effectively kill it. The entire Southern bloc plus seven Democrats from northern and western states were joined by only 9 Republicans in support of the Morse motion.

Mansfield's Role

Much credit must be given to Majority Leader Mike Mansfield for his skillful and impressively sincere handling of the Morse motion. In his speech supporting his own motion to table--a plea characterized by Clarence Mitchell, Washington Representative of the NAACP, as a "trumpet call for decency" -- the Majority Leader rejected the referral move as an invitation to "unconsionable delay" in civil rights legislation.

"It seems to me we owe it to the President to face this question now. We owe it to the House....we owe it to the Senate....we owe it in the last analysis to the Nation and to ourselves."

The vote on the Morse motion was the second victory of the day for pro-civil rights forces. The first came with the lopsided 67 to 17 vote in support of Majority Leader Mansfield's motion to make the civil rights bill (H.R. 7152) the pending business before the Senate. Only the solid Southern bloc voted against it. Thus, after 16 days of talk technically address to whether or not the Senate should even consider civil rights legislation, it decided that it should.

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With the defeat of the Morse motion, Senate civil rights forces have passed the third test of strength. The first occurred when Majority Leader Mansfield (D., Mont.), moved to put H.R. 7152 directly on the Senate calendar instead of sending it to committee as is the normal procedure. Senator Russell's objection was voted down by the Senate 54-37. When you contrast that vote with the vote on the Morse motion involving the same question of Committee referral it is encouragingly obvious that in the intervening 16 days of Southern talkathon civil rights forces in the Senate have been strengthened. (Taking into account absent Senators, the Administration's bill gained three votes. Among those who supported the Morse procedural tactic, there are a number of civil rights advocates, including Senator Morse himself). It is now unmistakably clear that H.R. 7152 has a healthy bi-partisan majority in the Senate.

No Time To Rest On Our Laurels.

At the conclusion of the day when he was handed two defeats, Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, the generalissimo of the Southerners, vowed to continue his fight. "We lost a skirmish in the battle .....Now we begin to win the war."

The "war" begins today -Easter Monday- with the bi-partisan team led by Senator Humphrey (D., Minn.) and Senator Kuchel, (R. Cal.) taking to the Senate floor for detailed presentation of the case for the bill. Senators Humphrey and Kuchel are lead-off men with over-all exposition and clarification of the bill. Thereafter, for several days, proponents will speak to each section of the bill. After they have concluded, the opponents take over. The filibuster begins in earnest.

Civil rights supporters have every reason to be encouraged--but no reason at all to be complacent. While there is some indication that opposition mail is beginning to be countered by mail from civil rights supporters, we must exert even greater efforts. The real tough, long fight is ahead.

Urge your members to write, wire, and visit (if they can) their Senators. Tell them to ask for support of H.R. 7152 as it is. Tell them to ask for a vote for cloture if such a vote comes up. Tell them to ask their Senators to be available at all times to answer quorum calls.

Pour the letters on. They are important.

* * * * * * * *

Roll-Calls on Rights Bill

WASHINGTON, March 26 (AP)—Following are the roll-call votes by which the Senate took up for consideration today the House-passed civil rights bill and by which it tabled a motion to refer the measure to the Judiciary Committee:

On Taking Up the Bill

FOR THE MOTION—67

Democrats—41

Bartlett (Alaska)
Bayh (Ind.)
Bible (Nev.)
Brewster (Md.)
Burdick (N. D.)
Byrd (W. Va.)
Cannon (Nev.)
Clark (Pa.)
Dodd (Conn.)
Douglas (Ill.)
Edmondson (Okla.)
Gore (Tenn.)
Gruening (Alaska)
Hart (Mich.)
Hartke (Ind.)
Hayden (Ariz.)
Humphrey (Minn.)
Inouye (Hawaii)
Jackson (Wash.)
Kennedy (Mass.)
Lausche (Ohio)
Long (Mo.)
Magnuson (Wash.)
Mansfield (Mont.)
McCarthy (Minn.)
McGee (Wyo.)
McGovern (S. D.)
McIntyre (N. H.)
Metcalf (Mont.)
Morse (Ore.)
Muskie (Me.)
Neuberger (Ore.)
Pastore (R. I.)
Pell (R. I.)
Proxmire (Wis.)
Ribicoff (Conn.)
Symington (Mo.)
Walters (Tenn.)
Williams (N. J.)
Yarborough (Tex.)
Young (Ohio)

Republicans—26

Aiken (Vt.)
Beall (Md.)
Boggs (Del.)
Carlson (Kan.)
Case (N. J.)
Cooper (Ky.)
Cotton (N. H.)
Dirksen (Ill.)
Dominick (Colo.)
Fong (Hawaii)
Hickenlooper (Iowa)
Hruska (Neb.)
Javits (N.Y.)
Jordan (Idaho)
Keating (N. Y.)
Kuchel (Calif.)
Mechem (N. M.)
Miller (Iowa)
Morton (Ky.)
Mundt (S. D.)
Prouty (Vt.)
Saltonstall (Mass.)
Scott (Pa.)
Smith (Me.)
Williams (Del.)
Young (N. D.)

AGAINST THE MOTION—17

Democrats—17

Byrd (Va.)
Eastland (Miss.)
Ellender (La.)
Ervin (N. C.)
Hill (Ala.)
Holland (Fla.)
Johnston (S. C.)
Jordan (N. C.)
Long (La.)
McClellan (Ark.)
Robertson (Va.)
Russell (Ga.)
Smathers (Fla.)
Sparkman (Ala.)
Stennis (Miss.)
Talmadge (Ga.)
Thurmond (S. C.)

Republicans—0

Not voting but announced as paired (pairs are used to denote the opposing positions of Senators when one or both are absent)—For the motion: Democrat—Randolph (W. Va.); Republican—Allott (Colo.). Against the motion: Democrat—Fulbright (Ark.); Republican—Tower (Tex.).

Not voting or paired but announced as for the motion: Republicans—Bennett (Utah), Curtis (Neb.), Goldwater (Ariz.), Pearson (Kan.), Simpson (Wyo.).

On Referral to Committee

FOR TABLING—50

Democrats—34

Bartlett (Alska)
Bayh (Ind.)
Brewster (Md.)
Burdick (N.D.)
Clark (Pa.)
Dodd (Conn.)
Douglas (Ill.)
Edmondson (Okla.)
Engle (Calif.)
Hart (Mich.)
Hartke (Ind.)
Humphrey (Minn.)
Inouye (Hawaii)
Kennedy (Mass.)
Long (Mo.)
Magnuson (Wash.)
Mansfield (Mont.)
McCarthy (Minn.)
McGee (Wyo.)
McGovern (S.D.)
McIntyre (N.H.)
McNamara (Mich.)
Metcalf (Mont.)
Nelson (Wis.)
Neuberger (Ore.)
Pastore (R.I.)
Proxmire (Wis.)
Ribicoff (Conn.)
Symington (Mo.)
Williams (N.J.)
Yarborough (Tex.)
Young (Ohio)

Republicans—16

Aiken (Vt.)
Beall (Md.)
Boggs (Del.)
Carlson (Kan.)
Case (N.J.)
Fong (Hawaii)
Hruska (Neb.)
Javits (N.Y.)
Keating (N.Y.)
Kuchel (Calif.)
Miller (Iowa)
Mundt (S.D.)
Prouty (Vt.)
Saltonstall (Mass.)
Scott (Pa.)
Smith (Me.)

AGAINST TABLING

Democrats—25

Byrd (Va.)
Byrd (W. Va.)
Cannon (Nev.)
Eastland (Miss.)
Ellender (La.)
Ervin (N. C.)
Fulbright (Ark.)
Gore (Tenn.)
Gruening (Alaska)
Hayden (Ariz.)
Hill (Ala.)
Holland (Fla.)
Johnston (S. C.)
Jordan (N. C.)
Lausche (Ohio)
Long (La.)
McClellan (Ark.)
Morse (Ore.)
Robertson (Va.)
Russell (Ga.)
Smathers (Fla.)
Sparkman (Ala.)
Stennis (Miss.)
Talmadge (Ga.)
Thurmond (S. C.)

Republicans—9

Cooper (Ky.)
Dirksen (Ill.)
Dominick (Colo.)
Goldwater (Ariz.)
Hickenlooper (Iowa)
Mechem (N. M.)
Morton (Ky.)
Williams (Del.)
Young (N. D.)

Not voting but paired: For tabling: Democrats—Church (Idaho), Jackson (Wash.), Randolph (W. Va.); Republicans—Allott (Colo.), Bennett (Utah), Curtis (Neb.). Against tabling: Democrats—Bible (Nev.), Walters (Tenn.); Republicans—Jordan (Idaho), Tower (Tex.), Simpson (Wyo.), Cotton (N. H.).

Not voting or paired but announced as for tabling: Democrats—Anderson (N. M.), Monroney (Okla.), Moss (Utah).

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

"Cooperation in the Common Cause of Civil Rights Legislation"
704-17th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006 phone 783-8032
New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400
ROY WILKINS Chairman **ARNOLD ARONSON** Secretary

TO: Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

MEMO: NO. 37
May 4, 1964
(52nd Day of the Senate "stall-in" on Civil Rights)

A VICTORY TOO CLOSE FOR COMFORT

The Senate's first votes on the Civil Rights Bill (H.R. 7152) came last week, one of them a hairbreadth victory that should make all of us who support the measure reach for our pens and start writing our Senators to stand firm.

By a vote of 46-to-45, the Senate rejected one of the most restrictive of the so-called "jury-trial" amendments. Offered by Senator Thruston B. Morton, (R., Ky.), it would have authorized a jury trial to anyone accused of criminal contempt for violating a court order issued in cases arising under H. R. 7152. How the Senators voted on this is shown in one of the attachments to the MEMO.

While the closeness of the vote is not an accurate reflection of sentiment for the bill, since some of those voting for the Morton amendment may be counted as supporters of the legislation, just the same, the rejection by a single vote and an earlier rejection of this amendment by a tie vote emphasize the need for redoubled efforts on our part.

The Senate went on after that, to defeat decisively, 74-to-19, an amendment offered by Senator John S. Cooper (R., Ky.). This would extend the jury trial right Senator Morton was proposing to everyone except state and local officials who, Senator Cooper reasons, have a sworn duty to obey the law and when they violate it, are more to be condemned than the average citizen.

A Real Test May Come Today

Today or tomorrow, the Senate may vote on a compromise "jury-trial" amendment offered by its bipartisan leaders, Senator Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.) and Everett M. Dirksen (R., Ill.). In contrast to the proposals by the Kentucky Senators, this would permit a judge in a criminal contempt case arising under the bill to impose, without a jury trial, sentences up to 30 days or fines up to $300. (See MEMO #36 for additional details.)

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However, before they reach the compromise, the Senators will probably vote first on one or more pending amendments that would provide for automatic jury trial or limit a judge's discretion. These should all be opposed. They are contrary in spirit, to court decisions since the birth of the Republic that have denied jury trials as a matter of right in criminal proceedings.

The vote on the Mansfield-Dirksen compromise, when it comes, may provide a much clearer test of civil rights sentiment than the votes last week. The amendment is the least restrictive of the jury trial proposals being offered and will not substantially affect enforcement under the bill. It may open the way to votes on other provisions of H. R. 7152.

With last week's votes to remind us of the close margins by which supporters may succeed or fail, now is the time to pour out messages. These are the crucial weeks. To assure passage of a strong bill, your organization must urge Senators:

1. to be present on the floor at all times;

2. to oppose all weakening amendments;

3. to commit themselves to vote for cloture.

46-to-45 is too close for comfort. The supporters of the bill will have to start winning by wider margins if we are to keep the gains won in the House.

MAKE THE 10th ANNIVERSARY OF THE SCHOOL DECISION MEANINGFUL

One of the most important dates in the struggle for freedom, the Supreme Court's school decision of May 17, falls on this coming Sunday. This marks the 10th year since the Court affirmed rights that the 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution affirmed 100 years ago.

A number of organizations are planning to use the occasion for rallies and marches in general support of civil rights. The NAACP, in anticipation of the day, will hold a "Freedom Spectacular" on the evening of Thursday, May 14, when an array of the country's greatest artists take part in a closed-circuit TV program that will be seen in 50 cities throughout the country. Many churches plan to hold special morning worship services, mass meetings and prayer marches. In New York, Protestant groups are planning a big rally.

But there should be hundreds of similar meetings throughout the country. If you are planning ceremonies let us know. If you need material to give to participants, we can supply it. May 17th affords us an opportunity to express the furious impatience abroad in the country that the Senate's response to a century of injustice is further quibbling delay. The best way to commemorate the day is to call for prompt passage of the bill.

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SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIANS AND YALE LAW SCHOOL BACK THE BILL

Four hundred and thirty-five courageous Southern Presbyterians, including a nephew of Senator Richard Russell (D., Ga.), leader of the filibusterers, joined in a letter to the Senate last week for passage of "a strong and effective civil rights bill."

The signers, most of them members of "A Fellowship of Concern", including 165 ministers, one of them the Rev. William D. Russell, Decatur, Ga., prophesy "that if this bill is debilitated, deferred or defeated, the resulting crisis in the South and in the Nation will be tragic."

Another evidence of how wide and deep support for the bill runs, was a peitition a group of Yale Law School students presented to the Senate last week. Signed by 60.2 per cent of the student body, 79.4 per cent of the faculty and a group of distinguished alumni, including Governor William Scranton of Pennsylvania, the petition called for prompt enactment. The legislation, it said, "is the product of an unprecedented national consensus born of an awakened conscience." Noting that the House has passed the bill, the petition declared, "The nation's Senate must not abdicate its compelling obligation."

Other law schools ought to follow Yale's example. As for other concerned Southerners, this is the moment to speak so that the country can hear, as the Presbyterians say, that "the South's most authentic voice is the voice of conscience and of faith."

A GOOD JUDGE COULD HELP REMAKE JUSTICE IN MISSISSIPPI

The death of Judge Ben Cameron, of Mississippi, leaves a vacancy in the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals that ought to be filled by someone who can redress the South's reputation for less than equal justice.

The circuit hears cases from Federal district courts in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas. Since these are the states with the highest Negro populations in the South it is no surprise that the circuit has the largest number of civil rights cases of any in the country. The NAACP Legal Defense Fund alone has 50 cases pending in this area. Typical of some of the judges who dispense justice here is District Judge Harold Cox, who, while on the bench, referred to a group of plaintiffs in a voting case as "a bunch of niggers." The judge, a former law partner of Senator James O. Eastland (D., Miss.), has been affirmed only once in a civil rights case.

What makes Judge Cameron's successor a critical matter is that the Court of Appeals is now in delicate balance. Of the nine justices, four have consistently

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supported civil rights, two have opposed them, three are inconsistent. Since Judge Cameron was one of the opposing Justices, his replacement could shift the balance in favor of civil rights.

No Reason Why There Can't Be A Good Judge Here

Nothing prevents President Johnson from making a good appointment. There is no reason why Judge Cameron's successor has to be a Mississippian. The Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Circuits, for instance, all contain unrepresented states. There is equally no reason why the rule of Senatorial courtesy requires a candidate acceptable to Senator Eastland. In the past, the Senate has confirmed men for Federal judgeships over the objections of Senator Theodore Bilbo and Senator "Pappy" O'Daniel.

Write the President

Your organization can help by writing the President now, urging him to appoint a Judge who will uphold the Supreme Court and enforce the civil rights bill. Point out that if he does not, he risks seeing the legislation whose necessity he has repeatedly espoused, rendered ineffective in the very section of the country in which it is most badly needed.

ADL BEINGS BUSINESSMEN TO WASHINGTON TO PLEAD FOR BILL

More than 120 business and professional men and five women leaders came to Washington recently, under the auspices of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith to urge their Senators to work for the civil rights bill.

A former law partner of one senator, a client of another's law firm, a former Miss America contest winner were among those in the group. They told their Senators, in substance, you have heard the moral and constitutional reasons for enacting the bill, we are here to present the community and economic reasons.

NEW CIVIL RIGHTS CAMPAIGN: MIDWEST CATHOLICS UNDERTAKE CAMPAIGN IN SUPPORT OF THE BILL

Following a meeting in Omaha, Neb., last week, about 140 Catholic leaders, in midwest states, initiated a campaign in support of the civil rights bill. Ascension Thursday, May 7, was the start of a special letter-writing campaign. They plan to take part in interreligious advertising that will affirm the church's role in the struggle for more equal rights. They are also planning special interreligious meetings.

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CALLING EVERYONE IN MASSACHUSETTS, KENTUCKY AND IOWA

Delegations from states throughout the nation are continuing to come to Washington to meet with Senators and present them with living proof that large numbers of their constitutents want to see H. R. 7152 enacted.

Here is the schedule in the coming week:

State	Date	Coordinator
Kentucky	Tuesday, May 12	Galen Martin, Frankfort, Ky. Phone: 227-9661
Massachusetts	Friday, May 15	Mrs. Paul Meyerson 25 Larch Road Waban, Massachusetts Phone: 527-0324
Iowa	Monday, May 18	Miss Joanne Bott Westminster Foundation Iowa City, Iowa Phone: 337-5779

If you live in one of these states, get in touch with the coordinator and come along!

QUORUM BOXSCORE

Now that some voting on the bill has started, it is more important than ever that Senators answer quorum calls promptly. Take a look at this week's boxscore (see Attachment No. 1) and see how your Senators are doing. Congratulate those who are making the calls and respectfully urge those who aren't to try to improve their record.

* * * * * *

NOTE TO WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVES: Next regular meeting, May 13th, 2 P.M., in this office, 704 17th Street, N. W.

* * * * *

ATTACHMENT NO. 1

MEMO # 37
May 11, 1964

QUORUM BOXSCORE NO. # 6

Since March 30, when the formal debate on the bill began, through Thursday, April 30th, there have been 98 quorum calls. During the period from May 1st thru May 7th, there have been 18 calls. Here's how the Senators, other than the hard-core Southern opposition, answered these roll-calls, (the first column gives the cumulative responses; the second the May 1st thru May 7th responses):

Total calls	98-18	Total calls	98-18	Total calls	98-18
Aiken, (R.Vt.)	78-11	Jordan, (R.Idaho	92-18	Yarborough (D.Tex.)	26-10
Allott, (R.Colo.)	87-18	Keating, (R.N.Y.)	87-16	Young, (R.N.D.)	69-16
Anderson, (D.N.M.)	71-15	Kennedy, (D.Mass.)	67-10	Young, (D.Ohio)	77-13
Bartlett, (D.Alaska)	70-17	Kuchel, (R.Calif.)	82-15		
Bayh, (D.Ind.)	71-17	Lausche, (D.Ohio)	64-12		
Beall, (R.Md.)	69-11	Long, (D.Mo.)	75-18		
Bennett, (R.Utah)	66-16	McCarthy, (D.Minn.)	74-17		
Bible, (D.Nev.)	82-18	McGee, (D.Wyo.)	61-10		
Boggs, (R.Del.)	81-15	McGovern, (D.S.D.)	92-17		
Brewster, (R.Md.)	53-8	McIntyre, (D.N.H.)	83-14		
Burdick, (D.N.D.)	71-14	McNamara, (D.Mich.)	75-13		
Byrd, (D.W.Va.)	16-4	Magnuson, (D.Wash.)	68-17		
Cannon, (D.Nev.)	81-18	Mansfield, (D.Mont.)	94-18		
Carlson, (R.Kans.)	61-4	Mechem, (R.N.Mex.)	5-1		
Case, (R.N.J.)	91-16	Metcalf, (D.Mont.)	91-18		
Church, (D.Idaho)	74-15	Miller, (R.Iowa)	72-12		
Clark, (D.Pa.)	74-17	Monroney, (D.Okla.)	87-17		
Cooper, (R.Kty.)	55-8	Morse, (D.Oregon)	63-12		
Cotton, (R.N.H.)	92-18	Morton, (R.Kty.)	71-14		
Curtis, (R.Neb.)	73-13	Moss, (D.Utah)	63-13		
Dirksen, (R.Ill.)	77-17	Mundt, (R.S.D.)	93-17		
Dodd, (D.Conn.)	79-16	Muskie, (D.Maine)	67-14		
Dominick, (R.Colo.)	79-13	Nelson, (D.Wisc.)	60-9		
Douglas, (D.Ill.)	93-18	Neuberger, (D.Oreg.)	76-17		
Edmonson, (D.Okla.)	3-2	Pastore, (D.R.I.)	75-16		
Engle, (D.Calif.)	0-0	Pearson, (R.Kans.)	74-16		
Fong, (R.Hawaii)	80-18	Pell, (D.R.I.)	84-12		
Goldwater, (R.Ariz.)	20-5	Prouty, (R.Vt.)	74-10		
Gore, (D.Tenn.)	37-7	Proxmire, (D.Wis.)	62-13		
Gruening, (D.Alaska)	76-13	Randolph, (D.W.Va.)	21-12		
Hart, (D.Mich.)	86-16	Ribcoff, (D.Conn.)	78-7		
Hartke, (D.Ind.)	46-17	Saltonstall, (R.Mass)	75-15		
Hayden, (D.Ariz.)	55-9	Scott, (D.Pa.)	85-17		
Hickenlooper, (R.Iowa)	68-15	Simpson, (R.Wyo.)	66-13		
Hruska, (R.Neb.)	81-17	Smith, (R.Maine)	92-17		
Humphrey, (D.Minn.)	95-18	Symington, (D.Mo.)	76-17		
Inouye, (D.Hawaii)	87-18	Walters, (D.Tenn.)	61-14		
Jackson, (D.Wash.)	68-10	Williams, (D.N.J.)	78-15		
Javits, (R.N.Y.)	54-8	Williams, (R.Del.)	81-14		

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

MAY 7 1964

"Cooperation in the Common Cause of Civil Rights Legislation"
704-17th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006 phone 783-8032
New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400
ROY WILKINS Chairman ARNOLD ARONSON Secretary

MEMO: NO. 36
May 4, 1964

(47th Day of the Senate "stall-in" on Civil Rights)

TO: COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

FROM: ARNOLD ARONSON, SECRETARY

SENATE PREPARES TO TAKE FIRST VOTES ON CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

This Wednesday, after more than eight weeks of debate, the Senate is expected, finally, to begin casting its first votes on the civil rights bill.

The occasion for this bit of progress is provided by a cluster of amendments aimed at inserting a jury trial provision into the measure (H. R. 7152). It is a foregone conclusion that the Senate will approve something of this sort. At the moment it has four alternatives:

(1) the original amendment offered by Senator Herman Talmadge (D., Ga.), and the most sweeping of the lot, which would provide a jury trial for any person accused of criminal contempt for violating a court order;

(2) a "perfecting amendment" to this, offered by Senator Thruston B. Morton (R., Ky.), which would limit the right of jury trial to criminal contempt cases arising under H. R. 7152;

(3) another "perfecting amendment," offered by Senator John S. Cooper (R., Ky.), which would deny the jury trial right to state and local officials who disobey a court order; and

(4) a bipartisan substitute to the Talmadge amendment, offered jointly by Senate leaders Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.) and Everett M. Dirksen (R., Ill.), which would leave to the discretion of the judge the right to authorize a jury trial in all criminal contempt cases arising under the bill. If the accused were tried without jury, the judge would be limited in the penalties he could impose to 30 days or a fine of $300.

Dirksen-Mansfield Proposal is the Best

Senator Morton's "perfecting amendment" will be the pending business when the Senate starts to vote. There is no question, though, that the most preferable of the four is the Mansfield-Dirksen compromise. It is the most clearly delimited; it is the one most in line with applicable court decisions; and it would affect the bill's enforcement procedures very little. (See MEMO NO. 35 for additional details.)

(more)

Wednesday's schedule represents the first break in the filibuster and the first instance in which the Southerners have agreed to stop talking long enough to let the Senate vote. It should be kept in mind, however, that the Southerners yielded only because they had to. They realized the Senate was growing restive; they sensed the likelihood that the Senators would be able to muster the two-thirds present and voting needed to impose cloture and shut off debate. They gave in only to avoid a humiliating defeat. Unfortunately, the Senate is in a mood to impose cloture only on the discussion of the jury trial amendment. Still unresolved, is the problem of getting Senators to vote for cloture on the entire bill.

Write-Wire-Phone-Visit-Pray

Nevertheless, if cloture votes are available on the jury trial amendments, they should be forthcoming for the entire bill. That is the point that ought to be made in all approaches to the Senate.

And those approaches must be made right now. Things will not drag on much longer. The pace is going to accelerate. Decisions will be made in the next few weeks or days that will determine whether or not the Senate passes a good bill.

Now is the time to alert your members. If you urged them to write last week, urge them to write again. Flood the Senate with letters and wires calling for:

a vote for cloture on the entire bill, without weakening amendments, particularly the Dirksen proposals for amending Title VII, the equal employment opportunity section of the bill.

Now is the time for delegations to Senators, mass meetings, rallies and prayer vigils. Victory is not assured. The Senate will pass a strong civil rights bill only if the public demands it.

NATIONWIDE SUPPORT FOR RIGHTS BILL CONTINUES TO GROW

In spite of the massive advertising campaigns against the bill, public support for it actually increased during the past month. This was the encouraging conclusion of a new poll by Louis Harris. He found that in April, 70 per cent of the nation favored the legislation compared with 68 per cent in February and 63 per cent in November 1963.

He also found that the filibuster has won few supporters. By nearly 3-to-1, people in all regions, including the South, said they would like to see an end to endless debate. Asked if they favored a limit on Senate talkathons, here's how the general public responded:

	Nationwide (%)	White South (%)
Favor	63	44
Oppose	24	43
Not Sure	13	13

(more)

The sentiment is there It is up to us to translate it into messages to Senators.

THREE MAJOR FAITHS HOLD UNPRECEDENTED RIGHTS RALLY

At the conclusion of the First Interreligious Convocation on Civil Rights, last week, the audience waiting to file out of McDonough Memorial Gymnasium in Georgetown University began, spontaneously, to sing "We Shall Overcome." It was a stirring and, hopefully, a prophetic moment in an evening in which spokesmen for all three major faiths united in calling for strong civil rights legislation.

More than 6,000 persons took part in the ceremony, overflowing the gymnasium into the auditorium of another campus building and onto the parking lot outside. They heard, in the order in which they spoke:

. Rabbi Uri Miller, President of the Synagogue Council of America, declare, "Civil Rights legislation is basic to our progress; it is basic to peace within the American community; it is basic to the moral principles upon which this country is established;"

. The most Rev. Lawrence Shehan, Archbishop of Baltimore urge early passage of the bill since "further delay in bringing about what we have come to recognize as a requirement of justice may well do irreparable harm to this nation's whole future;"

. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, chairman of the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches, affirm that "new federal legislation must and will be enacted, and the time is now."

President Greets Religious Leaders

The next day, nearly 200 leaders of the Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish faiths met President Johnson at the White House. He promised that the bill will pass if it takes all summer and called upon the clergymen, "as men of God, to reawaken the conscience of your beloved land."

Other interreligious convocations are being held in various parts of the country, and it is hoped the first one in Washington will inspire many others.

It is not inappropriate that the Convocation was held in a gym; that messages of the spirit were delivered in a place of strenuous physical exertion. For the burden of what the spokesmen and the President said was that principle and belief don't mean very much unless they are the inspiration of specific action.

CATHOLIC CHURCH UNDERTAKES TO ALERT THE MIDWEST

Typical of the kinds of programs that will follow in the wake of the Convocation, is the Midwest Civil Rights meeting for Catholic leaders, scheduled to be held in

Omaha, Nebraska, Tuesday, May 5, at the Hotel Sheraton Fontenelle. Clergy and lay leaders from 20 states and some 50 dioceses will gather to consider the moral intent of the legislation and to discuss techniques for informing their Senators of their concern for seeing an effective civil rights bill enacted.

STATEMENTS YOU CAN USE IN MOBILIZING CIVIL RIGHTS SUPPORT

At least three recent statements in support of civil rights may help you reach the uncommitted persons in your community. We call them to your attention in the hope they may be useful to you in your action programs:

1. The Republican Citizens Committee's Critical Issues Council has issued a comprehensive report on civil rights that goes beyond the provisions of the bill in its call for protection of equal rights in voting, education, employment, public accommodations, the administration of justice and housing. The Council is not an official arm of the GOP but it was founded at the suggestion of President Eisenhower and it is headed by his brother, Milton Eisenhower. With votes in the Senate imminent, it may prove helpful with members of the Senate.

Copies of the statement in booklet form can be obtained from The Republican Citizens Committee, 1625 K St., N.W., Washington, D. C.(20006). Price: 15¢ each, up to a hundred copies; $10 for each 100 copies.

Get your papers to reprint portions of it and carry stories on it. Call it to the attention of Republican leaders in your area and perhaps get them to issue supporting statements.

2. Rep. William M. McCulloch (R., O.), ranking Republican member of the House Judiciary Committee and one of the chief draftsmen of the legislation, has issued a summary entitled "The Truth About The Civil Rights Bill," in which he cites the "false and misleading charges" being made against the bill and answers them.

You may obtain copies of the summary for use in your community by sending in a specific request in writing for "The Truth About The Civil Rights Bill" to the Republican Congressional Committee at 312 Congressional Hotel, Washington, D. C. (20003).

3. Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges, former governor of North Carolina, gave a speech at the University of Alabama recently that got scant notice in the press. In it, he spoke in support of civil rights and received a standing ovation. William V. Shannon described this interesting event in a column in the New York Post, reprinted here as a special attachment. You can obtain copies of the speech from the Office of Public Information, U. S Department of Commerce, Washington 25, D. C.

A former textile manufacturer himself, Mr. Hodges' words may prove helpful in mobilizing business support for the bill.

(more)

THE FOES OF CIVIL RIGHTS ARE FAKING PUBLIC OPINION

The Senate received evidence last week that some of the anti-civil rights mail Northern Senators have been getting lately may be forgeries. Senator Kenneth B. Keating (R., N.Y.) said he had received a number of petitions that made distorted charges against the bill and were signed, presumably, by constituents. Disturbed by the misinformation they expressed, he sent letters to all his correspondents giving them an accurate summary of the contents of the bill. To his surprise, he began getting letters back from persons saying they had never written to him in the first place! Among the persons who wrote back, for instance, was a father in Forest Hills who said, "I have not and will not sign any petition against civil rights. Further, I have never given permission to anyone to use my name, or my 11-year-old-daughter's name..." Yet, his daughter's name was signed to one of the fake petitions.

It was the Senator's guess that "someone is using anti-civil-rights money to buy telephone books and mailing lists." And undoubtedly, he intimated, some of that money was coming from groups like the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission, one of the bill underwriters of the opposition advertising campaign.

Senator Harrison Williams (D., N.J.) also reported receiving a forgery and urged his colleagues to ascertain how many of the hostile letters they receive are genuine. "Write-in votes are one thing; write-in constituents are quite another," he observed.

QUORUM BOXSCORE

In these critical days, quorum calls become more important than ever. Check the quorum boxscore to see how your Senator is doing. If he's meeting the calls, congratulate him. If he is not, urge him to be there to answer present when his name is called.

* * *

NOTE TO WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVES: The next regular meeting of the Leadership Conference will be held Wednesday, May 6, 2 p.m. in this office, 704 17th Street, N.W.

* * *

ATTACHMENT NO. 1

MEMO # 36
MAY 4, 1964

QUORUM BOXSCORE NO. # 5

Since March 30, when the formal debate on the bill began, through Thursday, April 30th, there have been 80 quorum calls. During the period from April 24th thru April 30th, there have been 20 calls. Here's how the Senators, other than the hard-core Southern opposition, answered these roll-calls,(the first column gives the cumulative responses; the second the April 24th thru 30th responses):

Total calls	80-20	Total calls	80-20	Total calls	80-20
Aiken, (R.Vt.)	67-16	Jordan, (R.Idaho)	74-20	Yarborough (D.Tex.)	16-0
Allott, (R.Colo.)	69-19	Keating, (R.N.Y.)	71-17	Young, (R.N.D.)	53-17
Anderson, (D.N.M.)	56-10	Kennedy, (D.Mass.)	57-10	Young, (D.Ohio)	64-20
Bartlett, (D.Alaska)	53-7	Kuchel, (R.Calif.)	67-19		
Bayh, (D.Ind.)	54-13	Lausche, (D.Ohio)	52-14		
Beall, (R.Md.)	58-14	Long, (D.Mo.)	57-14		
Bennett, (R.Utah.)	50-16	McCarthy, (D.Minn.)	57-15		
Bible, (D.Nev.)	64-14	McGee, (D.Wyo.)	51-15		
Boggs, (R.Del.)	66-14	McGovern, (D.S.D.)	75-19		
Brewster, (R.Md.)	45-6	McIntyre, (D.N.H.)	69-16		
Burdick, (D.N.D.)	57-14	McNamara, (D.Mich.)	62-12		
Byrd, (D.W.V.)	12-4	Magnuson, (D.Wash.)	51-7		
Cannon, (D.Nev.)	63-15	Mansfield, (D.Mont.)	76-19		
Carlson, (R. Kan.)	57-17	Mechem, (R.N.Mex.)	4-1		
Case, (R.N.J.)	75-18	Metcalf, (D.Mont.)	73-20		
Church, (D.Idaho)	59-18	Miller, (R.Iowa)	60-13		
Clark, (D.Pa.)	57-13	Monroney, (D.Okla.)	70-19		
Cooper, (R.Kty.)	47-13	Morse, (D.Oregon)	51-9		
Cotton, (R.N. H.)	74-18	Morton, (R.Kty.)	57-16		
Curtis, (R.Neb.)	60-19	Moss, (D.Utah)	50-9		
Dirksen, (R.Ill.)	60-14	Mundt, (R.S.D.)	76-20		
Dodd, (D.Conn.)	63-19	Muskie, (D.Maine)	53-15		
Dominick, (R.Colo.)	66-15	Nelson, (D.Wis.)	51-12		
Douglas, (D.Ill.)	75-18	Neuberger, (D.Oregon)	59-19		
Edmondson, (D.Okla.)	1-1	Pastore, (D.R.I.)	59-15		
Engle, (D.Calif.)	0-0	Pearson, (R.Kan.)	58-6		
Fong, (R.Hawaii)	62-19	Pell, (D.R.I.)	72-20		
Goldwater, (R.Ariz.)	15-3	Prouty, (R.Vt.)	64-18		
Gore, (D.Tenn.)	30-9	Proxmire, (D.Wis.)	49-20		
Gruening, (D.Alaska)	63-18	Randolph, (D.W.Va.)	9-6		
Hart, (D.Mich.)	70-14	Ribcoff, (D.Conn.)	71-20		
Hartke, (D.Ind.)	29-5	Saltonstall, (R.Mass.)	60-12		
Hayden, (D.Ariz.)	46-12	Scott, (D.Pa.)	68-11		
Hickenlooper, (R.Iowa)	53-18	Simpson, (R.Wyo.)	53-15		
Hruska, (R.Neb.)	64-16	Smith, (R.Maine)	75-20		
Humphrey, (D.Minn.)	77-20	Symington, (D.Mo.)	59-16		
Inouye, (D.Hawaii)	69-20	Walters, (D.Tenn.)	47-12		
Jackson, (D.Wash.)	58-18	Williams, (D.N.J.)	63-12		
Javits, (R.N.Y.)	46-9	Williams, (R.Del.)	67-16		

File Civil Rights Bill

Foreign

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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704-17th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006 phone 783-8032
New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400
ROY WILKINS Chairman ARNOLD ARONSON Secretary

May 26, 1964

MAY 28 1964

Congress of Racial Equality
Mr. James Farmer
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Jim:

The next few weeks will be the crucial period in our long campaign to secure passage of an effective civil rights bill. Unfortunately, it is preciesely at this period, when our need for funds is greatest, that our treasury is virtually depleted.

Our ongoing cash expenses average about $1,400 a week (our current payroll amounts to $750 a week; postage for our weekly MEMO amounts to about $200 a week). This does not include our expenses for special events, such as our emergency leadership meetings in Washington, our printing and mailing costs for the many pamphlets, bulletins and other material we make available without charge to you and other cooperating organizations.

It does not include the expenses we incur in arranging Capitol Hill visits and interviews with Senators and supplying material for delegations coming to Washington. Nor does it take account of that fact that we enjoy free rent through the courtesy of one of our cooperating organizations; the services of three staff persons on assignment by their organizations to this office; and occasional clerical help from volunteers who feel they contribute to the fight for civil rights by working here.

We have received between $40,000 and $50,000 in voluntary cash contributions since we opened our Washington office early in July. Although it is gratifying, it represents a minute fraction of the sums readily available to the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms and other anti-civil rights groups. In the first quarter of 1964 alone, the Coordinating Committee received funds of $192,500, a large part of it in funds from Southern states.

Both proponents and opponents of the civil rights bill have attested to our effectiveness. That effectiveness will be seriously impaired unless we receive additional funds immediately.

We appreciate the $100 contribution we have already received from your organization. We hope you can help us meet our critical need in the present emergency.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold

Arnold Aronson
Secretary

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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ROY WILKINS Chairman **ARNOLD ARONSON** Secretary

MEMO: NO. 40
June 1, 1964
(67th Day of the Senate
"stall-in" on Civil Rights)

TO: Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

THE CLOTURE SHOWDOWN MAY COME NEXT WEEK

On Tuesday, May 26th, the Senate fight for the civil rights bill entered a new and more hopeful phase. On that day, Republican leader Everett M. Dirksen, on behalf of himself, the Democratic leader Mike Mansfield and the two party whips, Hubert Humphrey (D., Minn.) and Thomas Kuchel (R., Calif.) formally introduced the "package" on which they have been laboring for more than a month. It is being offered as a substitute for the pending bill, H. R. 7152. What it amounts to is yet another version of the bill, incorporating the amendments that the bipartisan leaders hope will disarm enough Senators of their objections to obtain the number necessary to impose cloture, stop the Southern filibuster and, after three months debate, bring the measure to a vote.

The "Package" Little Changed Since Last Week.

Basically, the substitute introduced, was in the form described in our special supplement of last week (see MEMO #39). However, in the give and take of final meetings, a few minor changes were made. Some, as a result of our efforts, were even improvements, notably the reduction in the time an aggrieved person's complaint would have to be considered by a state or local agency. That has been cut back from 90 to 60 days and, during the first year an applicable state anti-discrimination law is in effect, from 180 to 120 days. (The additional changes are outlined in a further supplement included in this MEMO.)

Coverage, in all the titles, is still essentially what it was in H. R. 7152 as it passed the House, and the enforcement provisions are still intact.

The Danger of Complacency

The fact that the substitute comes before the Senate endorsed by all its leaders might suggest it will have smooth sailing; that the votes for cloture will be

(more)

readily obtained and that passage is a cinch. There could not be a more dangerous self-deception.

While the substitute has won additional cloture votes, notably Senator Dirksen's, the necessary two-thirds--67 if all 100 Senators are present and voting -- is by no means firmly committed. We must continue to urge all Senators to vote for cloture.

Although the date has not been fixed for instituting the cloture procedure by filing a petition signed by 16 Senators, the move may come next week and the vote by June 10.

But even after cloture is invoked, all the amendments introduced by then -- roughly 200 -- can be called up. Of course debate will be limited to an hour for each Senator on the substitute and all amendments to it. But even that presents dangers. Those who followed the House fight over the civil rights bill earlier this year will recall how swiftly amendments were called up, how much time and effort were spent urging Congressmen to be on hand to vote down weakening changes and how perilously close we came on occasion to seeing vital features of the bill damaged because Congressmen were tardy in getting from their offices to the House.

Keep The Senators On the Floor!

Once the cloture lid is on, the Senate will face a similar situation. Amendments may be called up at dizzying speed to try and get action on them before the deadline. Since there are only 100 Senators as against 437 House members, roll-call votes take only one-fourth the time. There will be only 15 or 20 minutes to summon up the yeas and nays needed to fight back attempts to wreck the bill.

You may be sure, in the hectic weeks of voting, such attempts will be made repeatedly. While every title will be subject to amendment, the major attack is certain to be directed at Title VII, the Equal Employment Opportunity section. Modest as it is already, it won't take much to weaken this provision. Opponents will try that. And they will try to strike it from the bill entirely. In all approaches to Senators make it a point to emphasize the need to fight for this Title.

Beyond that, it is absolutely essential, in every letter, wire, phone-call and visit to urge Senators to:

1. vote for cloture;
2. oppose any amendments that may weaken the bill; and
3. stay near the Senate floor at all times, ready to vote at a moment's notice.

(more)

COLLEGE STUDENTS PLAN A NATION-WIDE LEADERS' CONFERENCE

On Wednesday, June 10, student leaders from 50 states are expected to come to Washington for a special conference on civil rights.

A special feature of the day-long meeting will be the symbolic lighting of a torch of freedom at President Kennedy's grave. It is the students' hope to carry the flame throughout the country.

In preparation for the event, a special office has been set up at 306 9th Street, N. W., in Washington. Miss Mary Jo Barnstead is in charge of the office. The phone number is ME. 8-5032. The chairman is Barry Jaynes.

Student organizations participating in the conference are: B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation, Campus ADA, College Young Democrats, D.C. Students for Civil Rights, Logos, National Council of the Methodist Student Movement, National Federation of Catholic College Students, National Newman Club Federation, National Student Christian Federation Civil Rights Committee, Students for Democratic Society, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Students Religious Liberals and the U. S. National Students Association.

Other student groups are being invited to participate.

MISSISSIPPI VICTIMS TO APPEAR AT PUBLIC HEARING

A public hearing on the situation in Mississippi, to dramatize the extent to which people in the state are deprived of their civil rights, will be held in the National Theater in Washington, on Monday, June 8. The hearings start at 9 A. M. and they are open to the public. Mississippians and civil rights workers who have been victims of Mississippi justice will recount their experiences. A panel of well-known Americans will hear the testimony and issue a statement afterwards setting forth their findings. Among those who have agreed to participate in the panel are Paul Goodman, writer and poet; Dr. Harold Taylor, Former President of Sarah Lawrence College; Dr. Gresham Sykes, President, American Sociologist Association; and Michael Harrington author of "The Other American."

The meeting is being sponsored by the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), a group composed of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, CORE, the NAACP and SNCC.

(more)

SORORITY HOLDS CIVIL RIGHTS LUNCHEONS AND MARCHES

Delta Sigma Theta Sorority has devised an ingenious way of stimulating letters to Senators. During the series of bi-annual regional conferences it is presently holding throughout the country it dedicates one of the luncheons to civil rights. Immediately following a speech by a prominent civil rights leader, it distributes paper, pens, stamps and envelopes to the several hundred diners. After they've written to their Senators they march to the post office, with their mail.

The sorority has held four of these two-day affairs so far in Petersburg, Va., Baltimore, Nashville and Cleveland. In June, it plans to hold three more, in Little Rock, Oklahoma City and Berkeley, California.

Clarence Mitchell, Washington representative of the NAACP, and chairman of the Leadership Conference's weekly meetings, has spoken at three of the luncheons.

QUORUM BOXSCORE

With cloture in the offing and votes on the bill in prospect, it is more important than ever for a live quorum of 51 Senators to be on hand. Check this week's boxscore to see how your Senators are doing. Compliment those who have been meeting the calls; and urge those who have not, to try to improve their records.

* * * * * *

TO WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVES: Next meeting is Wednesday, June 3, at 2 P. M. in our office, 704 17th Street, N. W.

* * * * * *

ATTACHMENT NO. 1

MEMO # 40
June 1, 1964

QUORUM BOXSCORE NO # 8

Since March 30, when the formal debate on the bill began, through Wednesday, May 27th, there have been 146 quorum calls. During the period from May 22nd thru May 27th, there have been 10 calls. Here's how the Senators other than the hard-core Southern opposition, answered these roll-calls (the first column gives the cumulative responses; the second the May 22nd thru 27th, responses):

Total calls	146-10	Total calls	146-10	Total calls	146-10
Aiken, (R.Vt.)	117-10	Jordan, (R.Idaho)	139-10	Yarborough, (D.Tex.)	57-10
Allott, (R.Colo.)	122-10	Keating, (R.N.Y.)	132-10	Young, (R.N.D.)	104-10
Anderson, (D.N.M.)	98-10	Kennedy, (D.Mass.)	96-1	Young, (D.Ohio)	118-7
Bartlett, (D.Alaska)	112-10	Kuchel, (R.Calif.)	111-5		
Bayh, (D.Ind.)	112-9	Lausche, (D.Ohio)	95-6		
Beall, (R.Md.)	97-6	Long, (D.Mo.)	109-4		
Bennett, (R.Utah)	106-10	McCarthy, (D.Minn.)	113-8		
Bible, (D.Nev.)	118-9	McGee, (D.Wyo.)	94-0		
Boggs, (R. Del.)	115-6	McGovern, (D.S.D.)	133-7		
Brewster, (D.Md.)	58-1	McIntyre, (D.N.H.)	123-10		
Burdick, (D.N.D.)	103-0	McNamara, (D.Mich.)	112-7		
Byrd, (D.W.Va.)	24-0	Magnuson, (D.Wash.)	88-3		
Cannon, (D.Nev.)	113-6	Mansfield, (D.Mont.)	137-8		
Carlson, (R.Kans.)	101-8	Mechem, (D.N.M.)	6-0		
Case, (R.N.J.)	139-10	Metcalf, (D.Mont.)	130-10		
Church, (D.Idaho)	109-10	Miller, (R.Ia.)	112-9		
Clark, (D.Pa.)	112-6	Monroney, (D.Okla.)	131-10		
Cooper, (R.KY.)	89-4	Morse, (D.Oreg.)	84-6		
Cotton, (R.N.H.)	125-8	Morton, (R.Ky.)	96-0		
Curtis, (R.Neb.)	105-2	Moss, (D.Utah)	88-0		
Dirksen, (R.Ill.)	118-9	Mundt, (R.S.D.)	132-10		
Dodd, (D.Conn.)	119-2	Muskie, (D.Maine)	88-2		
Dominick, (R.Colo.)	115-8	Nelson, (D.Wis.)	92-0		
Douglas, (D.Ill.)	141-10	Neuberger, (D.Oreg.)	122-9		
Edmondson, (D.Okla.)	3-0	Pastore, (D.R.I.)	99-2		
Engle, (D.Calif.)	0-0	Pearson, (R.Kans.)	110-7		
Fong, (R.Hawaii)	127-9	Pell, (D.R.I.)	115-7		
Goldwater, (R.Ariz.)	24-0	Prouty, (R.Vt.)	107-2		
Gore, (D.Tenn.)	46-0	Proxmire, (D.Wis.)	109-10		
Gruening, (D.Alaska)	122-10	Randolph, (D.W.Va.)	41-4		
Hart, (D.Mich.)	123-5	Ribicoff, (D.Conn.)	114-7		
Hartke, (D.Ind.)	73-3	Saltonstall, (R.Mass.)	115-10		
Hayden, (D.Ariz.)	79-6	Scott, (R.Pa.)	124-5		
Hickenlooper, (R.Ia.)	109-10	Simpson, (R.Wyo.)	86-2		
Hruska, (R.Neb.)	107-0	Smith, (R.Maine)	135-10		
Humphrey, (D.Minn.)	141-10	Symington, (D.Mo.)	107-6		
Inouye, (D.Hawaii)	124-9	Walters, (D.Tenn.)	97-5		
Jackson, (D.Wash.)	102-5	Williams, (D.N.J.)	116-6		
Javits, (R.N.Y.)	82-7	Williams, (R.Del.)	124-8		

Special Supplement June 1, 1964

SUMMARY OF THE BI-PARTISAN SUBSTITUTE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

The new bill that the Senate will probably vote on in mid-June is basically similar to the House passed bill. Changes have been made in the enforcement provisions, with particular emphasis on giving state and local communities the first opportunity to solve the problems of discrimination. The bill contains eleven titles, discribed below.

TITLE I - Voting

The use of different tests or standards for white and colored applicants for voting in Federal elections is prohibited. Also prohibited is the denial of voting rights for immaterial errors or omissions in applications. Literacy tests, where required, must be given in writing. In cases brought by the Attorney General, persons with a sixth grade education shall be presumed to be literate for voting purposes, unless the contrary is shown. Such cases shall be expedited by the courts, and may be heard by a three judge court, with direct appeal to the Supreme Court.

TITLE II - Public Accommodations

All persons shall be entitled to equal access without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin to the following places: hotels, motels, inns, and other lodging places open to transient guests (except an owner-occupied building renting not more than five rooms); restaurants, lunch counters, cafeterias, soda fountains, and other eating establishments; gasoline stations; motion picture theaters, concert halls, arenas, stadiums, etc., presenting entertainment or sporting events.

Enforcement would be by civil suits brought by aggrieved individuals, or by the Attorney General to eliminate a "pattern or practice" of discrimination. Where a state or subdivision has an equal accommodations law, an individual must give it 30 days to solve the complaint before filing a Federal suit. The court may grant additional time.

TITLE III - Public Facilities

The Attorney General is given authority to initiate suits to desegregate facilities operated by governmental bodies, such as libraries, parks, hospitals, etc., where private individuals are unable to sue.

TITLE IV - School Desegregation

The Office of Education is authorized to give technical assistance and financial grants to communities desegregating their schools, and to provide for training institutes for teachers and school personnel to facilitate desegregation. The Attorney General is authorized to file suits to desegregate public schools and colleges, where individuals are unable to do so. Desegregation would not include correction of racial imbalance.

TITLE V - Civil Rights Commission

The Civil Rights Commission is extended for four more years and is given the additional duties of investigating vote fraud cases and serving as a national clearing house for civil rights information.

TITLE VI - Federal Programs

Discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin is prohibited in any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance, such as the Hill-Burton hospital, vocational education and rehabilitation, and area redevelopment programs. Agencies administering such programs are directed to establish rules and regulations to enforce the prohibition. They are authorized to suspend or deny Federal funds to recipients who are found, after a hearing, to discriminate. Such denial of funds would be limited to the particular recipient and only with respect to the program in which the discrimination occurs.

TITLE VII - Employment

Employers, unions and employment agencies whose activities affect inter-state commerce are prohibited from discriminating in employment and membership practices on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. Coverage includes employers and unions with 25 or more employees or members. The number would begin with 100 or more and drop over a period of 4 years to the 25 figure.

An Equal Employment Opportunity Commission would be created to seek voluntary solutions of employment discrimination complaints. If it fails to settle a complaint, the complaining party could sue in Federal court to end the discrimination. The Attorney General is authroized to sue to end a practice or pattern of employment discrimination and to intervene in individual suits, with the court's permission.

In states or localities with laws effectively prohibiting employment discrimination, complainants would first be required to file a complaint with the state or local agency and allow it 60 days to resolve the complaint before

filing with the Federal Commission. The court could grant an additional 60 days to the state agency or the EEO Commission to resolve the complaint.

TITLE VIII - Voting Census

A compilation of voting statistics relating to race, color, and national origin shall be taken as directed by the Commission on Civil Rights.

TITLE IX -Court Procedures

Certain civil rights cases involving transfer from state to Federal courts not now appealable would be made so. The Attorney General would be authorized to intervene in cases of general public importance seeking relief from denial of equal protection of the law because of race, color, religion, or national origin.

TITLE X - Community Relations Service

A Community Relations Service is created in the Department of Commerce to seek voluntary solution of community problems arising from discrimination.

TITLE XI - Jury Trial

Judges are authorized to grant jury trials in all criminal contempt cases arising under any provision of this bill. In a non-jury trial, the judge may impose a sentence in excess of 30 days imprisonment and $300 fine.

Prepared by: J. Francis Pohlhaus
Washington Bureau,
NAACP

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

"Cooperation in the Common Cause of Civil Rights Legislation"
704-17th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006 phone 783-8032
New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400
ROY WILKINS Chairman **ARNOLD ARONSON** Secretary

MEMO NO. 41
June 10, 1964

(V-Day for Civil Rights)

TO: Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

CLOTURE AT LAST!

When the Senate today, for the first time in history invoked cloture to limit debate on a civil rights bill, it was a moment of victory in which all of us had a share. The strong margin by which the cloture petition passed is evidence of Senate weariness with 75 days of talk and a tribute to those in the Leadership Conference who helped marshall support for the move that finally broke the filibuster.

Before galleries so packed with people, Senators' wives were standing and high Justice Department officials sat on stone steps, 71 Senators voted aye. Only 67 of the 100 Senators were needed to vote cloture. As if to underscore the uniqueness of the situation and the will of the Senate to finally Act, Senator Clair Engle (D., Cal.), who is recuperating from brain surgery, had himself wheeled into the chamber and, unable to speak, signalled his affirmative vote.

The overwhelming nature of the victory has broad implications for the future of the Senate and may mark the first real break in Southern domination of the body. Its immediate meaning is that Congress will pass the civil rights bill in the next few weeks.

AN ATTACK ON FEPC IS BEATEN

The day before it imposed cloture, the Senate considered four amendments designed to do serious injury to the bill. It was part of the price it had to pay to get the necessary two-thirds vote. But this hurdle was passed without too much damage.

(more)

Although the equal employment section (Title VII) has long been considered the most vulnerable section of the bill, the Senate defeated, 64-to-33, a move to strike it entirely and rejected, 63-to-34, a proposal to limit coverage to employers with 100 or more employees.

By a closer vote of 56-to-40, it defeated an amendment that would have eliminated Federal grants and payments for training teachers and school officials in the techniques of handling desegregation.

However, it did accept, by the narrow edge of 51-to-48, an amendment that would provide for a jury trial in criminal contempt cases arising under the bill with the exception of those involving voting. The Leadership Conference opposed this amendment and will continue to work to change it in the Senate or the House.

THE BILL STILL FACES DANGERS

Though the victories of the last two days were great, the bill still runs the risk of weakening changes. This was evident when only a few minutes after cloture was voted and Conference representatives were jubilantly congratulating each other in the corridors outside the Senate galleries, an amendment proposed by Senator Sam Ervin (D., N.C.), was called up that would have seriously weakened enforcement provisions of the bill. The amendment passed by one vote, but it is not yet in the bill because of a technicality.

The Ervin amendment is a harbinger. Others like it, will be offered in the coming days. Debate is now limited to 100 hours -- an hour for each Senator on the bill and all pending amendments. Nearly 500 amendments could be called up. Many of them are highly technical and full of booby traps. Never in the years the civil rights bill has been before Congress has it been more necessary to be vigilant. Once more we call upon your help.

THE IMMEDIATE TASK

<u>There isn't time to write.</u> Things are happening too fast. Have your officers and members <u>wire and phone</u> their Senators immediately:

1. If they voted for cloture, congratulate them and express appreciation;

2. Urge them to stay on the floor of the Senate chamber or near it during the remaining days of debate;

(more)

3. Urge them to vote against all amendments opposed by the Senate Leadership.

It would be tragedy if the victory of cloture is nibbled or snatched away through carelessness.

* * * *

NOTE: Supplements to this MEMO give the votes on cloture and on the four amendments.)

* * * *

FOR THE DURATION OF SENATE ACTION -- the Leadership Conference, in addition to its downtown office, will maintain an advance post on the Hill. The address is 245 Second St., N.E. The phone, 543-7022.

* * * *

Washington Post June 10, 1964

Senate Lists Roll Call on Cloture Vote

By the Associated Press

Here is the 71-29 vote by which the Senate today invaked cloture on the civil rights bill, thus limiting each Senator to one hour of speaking time on all issues until final action on the measure:

FOR CLOTURE—71

Democrats For—(44)

Anderson, N. M.	Mansfield, Mont.
Bartlett, Alaska	McCarthy, Minn.
Bayh, Ind.	McGee, Wyo
Brewster, Md.	McGovern, S. Dak.
Burdick, N. Dak.	McIntyre, N. H.
Cannon, Nev.	McNamara, Mich.
Church, Idaho	Metcalf, Mont.
Clark, Pa.	Monroney, Okla.
Dodd, Conn.	Morse, Oreg.
Douglas, Ill.	Moss, Utah
Edmondson, Okla.	Muskie, Me.
Engle, Calif.	Nelson, Wis.
Gruening, Alaska	Neuberger, Oreg.
Hart, Mich.	Pastore, R. I.
Hartke, Ind.	Pell, R. I.
Humphrey, Minn.	Proxmire, Wis.
Inouye, Hawaii	Randolph, W. Va.
Jackson, Wash.	Ribicoff, Conn.
Kennedy, Mass.	Symington, Mo.
Lausche, Ohio	Williams, N. J.
Long, Mo.	Yarborough, Tex.
Magnuson, Wash.	Young, Ohio

Republicans For—(27)

Aiken, Vt.	Javits, N. Y.
Allott, Colo.	Jordan Ida.
Beall, Md.	Keating, N. Y.
Boggs, Del.	Kuchel, Calif.
Carlson, Kans.	Miller, Iowa.
Case, N. J.	Morton, Ky.
Cooper, Ky.	Mundt, S. Dak.
Cotton, N. H.	Pearson, Kans.
Curtis, Nebr.	Prouty, Vt.
Dirksen, Ill.	Saltonstall, Mass.
Dominick, Colo.	Scott Pa.
Fong, Hawaii	Smith, Me.
Hickenlooper, Iowa	Williams, Del.
Hruska, Nebr.	

AGAINST CLOTURE—29

Democrats Against—(23)

Bible, Nev.	Jordan, N. C.
Byrd, Va.	Long, La.
Byrd, W. Va.	McClellan, Ark.
Eastland, Miss.	Robertson, Va.
Ellender, La.	Russell, Ga.
Ervin, N. C.	Smathers, Fla.
Fulbright, Ark.	Sparkman Ala.
Gore Tenn.	Stennis, Miss.
Hayden, Ariz.	Talmadge, Ga.
Hill, Ala.	Thurmond, S. C.
Holland, Fla.	Walters, Tenn.
Johnston, S. C.	

Republicans Against—(6)

Bennett, Utah	Simpson, Wyo.
Goldwater, Ariz.	Tower, Tex.
Mechem, N. Mex.	Young, N. Dak.

New York Times _____ June 10, 1964

Roll-Calls on Rights Bill

WASHINGTON, June 9 (AP)—Following are today's Senate votes on four key amendments to the civil rights bill:

Ervin Amendment

A proposal by Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr. to eliminate the title on equal-employment opportunity; the proposal was defeated, 64 to 33.

For the Amendment—33

Democrats—21

Byrd (Va.)	Long (La.)
Byrd (W. Va.)	McClellan (Ark.)
Eastland (Miss.)	Robertson (Va.)
Ellender (La.)	Russell (Ga.)
Ervin (N. C.)	Smathers (Fla.)
Fulbright (Ark.)	Sparkman (Ala.)
Gore (Tenn.)	Stennis (Miss.)
Hill (Ala.)	Talmadge (Ga.)
Holland (Fla.)	Thurmond (S. C.)
Johnston (S. C.)	Walters (Tenn.)
Jordan (N. C.)	

Republicans—12

Bennett (Utah)	Mechem (N. M.)
Cotton (N. H.)	Morton (Ky.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Mundt (S. D.)
Goldwater (Ariz.)	Simpson (Wyo.)
Hickenlooper (Iowa)	Tower (Tex.)
Hruska (Neb.)	Williams (Del.)

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT—64

Democrats—44

Anderson (N. M.)	Mansfield (Mont.)
Bartlett (Alaska)	McCarthy (Minn.)
Bayh (Ind.)	McGee (Wyo.)
Bible (Nev.)	McGovern (S. D.)
Brewster (Md.)	McIntyre (N. H.)
Burdick (N. D.)	McNamara (Mich.)
Cannon (Nev.)	Metcalf (Mont.)
Church (Idaho)	Monroney (Okla.)
Clark (Pa.)	Morse (Ore.)
Dodd (Conn.)	Moss (Utah)
Douglas (Ill.)	Muskie (Me.)
Edmondson (Okla.)	Nelson (Wis.)
Gruening (Alaska)	Neuberger (Ore.)
Clark (Pa.)	Pastore (R. I.)
Hartke (Ind.)	Pell (R. I.)
Hayden (Ariz.)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Humphrey (Minn.)	Randolph (W. Va.)
Inouye (Hawaii)	Ribicoff (Conn.)
Jackson (Wash.)	Symington (Mo.)
Kennedy (Mass.)	Williams (N. J.)
Long (Mo.)	Yarborough (Tex.)
Magnuson (Wash.)	Young (Ohio)

Republicans—20

Aiken (Vt.)	Javits (N. Y.)
Allott (Colo.)	Jordan (Idaho)
Beall (Md.)	Keating (N. Y.)
Boggs (Del.)	Kuchel (Calif.)
Carlson (Kan.)	Miller (Iowa)
Case (N. J.)	Pearson (Kan.)
Cooper (Ky.)	Prouty (Vt.)
Dirksen (Ill.)	Saltonstall (Mass.)
Dominick (Colo.)	Scott (Pa.)
Fong (Hawaii)	Smith (Me.)

Not voting but paired (pairs are used to denote the opposing position of Senators when one or both are absent): Young, Republican of North Dakota, for; Lausche, Democrat of Ohio, against.

Not voting or paired but announced as opposed: Engle, Democrat of California.

Hickenlooper Amendment

An amendment by Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper to eliminate from the school-desegregation title of the bill provisions for the training of school personnel in handling desegregation problems; the amendment was defeated, 56 to 40.

FOR THE AMENDMENT—40

Democrats—22

Byrd (Va.)	Jordan (N. C.)
Byrd (W. Va.)	Lausche (Ohio)
Eastland (Miss.)	Long (La.)
Ellender (La.)	McClellan (Ark.)
Ervin (N. C.)	Robertson (Va.)
Fulbright (Ark.)	Russell (Ga.)
Gore (Tenn.)	Sparkman (Ala.)
Hayden (Ariz.)	Stennis (Miss.)
Hill (Ala.)	Talmadge (Ga.)
Holland (Fla.)	Thurmond (S. C.)
Johnston (S. C.)	Walters Tenn.)

Republicans—18

Bennett (Utah)	Mechem (N. M.)
Carlson (Kan.)	Miller (Iowa)
Cotton (N. H.)	Morton (Ky.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Mundt (S. D.)
Dominick (Colo.)	Pearson (Kan.)
Goldwater (Ariz.)	Simpson (Wyo.)
Hickenlooper (Iowa)	Tower (Tex.)
Hruska (Neb.)	Williams (Del.)
Jordan (Idaho)	Young (N. D.

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT—56

Democrats—41

Anderson (N. M.)	McCarthy (Minn.)
Bartlett (Alaska)	McGee (Wyo.)
Bayh (Ind.)	McGovern (S. D.)
Bible (Nev.)	McIntyre (N. H.)
Brewster (Md.)	McNamara (Mich.)
Burdick (N. D.)	Metcalf (Mont.)
Cannon (Nev.)	Monroney (Okla.)
Church (Idaho)	Morse (Ore.)
Clark (Pa.)	Moss (Utah)
Dodd (Conn.)	Muskie (Me.)
Douglas (Ill.)	Nelson (Wis.)
Edmondson (Okla.)	Neuberger (Ore.)
Gruening (Alaska)	Pastore (R. I.)
Hart (Mich.)	Pell (R. I.)
Hartke (Ind.)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Humphrey (Minn.)	Randolph (W. Va.)
Inouye (Hawaii)	Ribicoff (Conn.)
Jackson (Wash.)	Symington (Mo.)
Kennedy (Mass.)	Williams (N. J.)
Long (Mo.)	Yarborough (Tex.)
Magnuson (Wash.)	

Republicans—15

Aiken (Vt.)	Javits (N. Y.)
Allott (Colo.)	Keating (N. Y.)
Beall (Md.)	Kuchel (Calif.)
Boggs (Del.)	Prouty (Vt.)
Case (N. J.)	Saltonstall (Mass.)
Cooper (Ky.)	Scott (Pa.)
Dirksen (Ill.)	Smith (Me.)
Fong (Hawaii)	

Not voting, but announced at paired: Smathers, Democrat of Florida, for; Mansfield, Democrat of Montana, against.

Morton Amendment

An amendment by Senator Thruston B. Morton guaranteeing jury trials in criminal-contempt cases arising from all sections of the bill except those on voting rights; the amendment was passed, 51 to 48.

FOR THE AMENDMENT—51

Democrats—31

Bible (Nev.)	Lausche (Ohio)
Byrd (Va.)	Long (Mo.)
Byrd (W. Va.)	Long (L.A.)
Cannon (Nev.)	Magnuson (Wash)
Eastland (Miss.)	McClellan (Ark.)
Edmondson (Okla.)	Robertson (Va.)
Ellender (L.A.)	Russell (Ga.)
Ervin (N.C.)	Smathers (Fla.)
Fulbright (Ark.)	Sparkman (Ala.)
Gore (Tenn.)	Stennis (Miss.)
Hayden (Ariz.)	Symington (Mo.)
Hill (Ala.)	Talmadge (Ga.)
Holland (Fla.)	Thurmond (S.C.)
Jackson (Wash.)	Walters (Tenn.)
Johnston (S.C.)	Yarborough (Tex.)
Jordan (N.C.)	

Republicans—20

Bennett (Utah)	Jordan (Idaho)
Boggs (Del.)	Mechem (N. M.)
Carlson (Kan.)	Miller (Iowa)
Cooper (Ky.)	Morton (Ky.)
Cotton (N. H.)	Mundt (S. D.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Pearson (Kan.)
Dominick (Colo.)	Simpson (Wyo.)
Goldwater (Ariz.)	Tower (Tex.)
Hickenlooper (Iowa)	Williams (Del.)
Hruska (Neb.)	Young (N. D.)

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT—48

Democrats—35

Anderson (N. M.)	McGovern (S. D.)
Bartlett (Alaska)	McIntyre (N. H.)
Bayh (Ind.)	McNamara (Mich.)
Brewster (Md.)	Metcalf (Mont.)
Burdick (N. D.)	Monroney (Okla.)
Church (Idaho)	Morse (Ore.)
Clark (Pa.)	Moss (Utah)
Dodd (Conn.)	Muskie (Maine)
Douglas (Ill.)	Nelson (Wis.)
Gruening (Alaska)	Neuberger (Ore.)
Hart (Mich.)	Pastore (R. I.)
Hartke (Ind.)	Pell (R. I.)
Humphrey (Minn.)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Inouye (Hawaii)	Randolph (W. Va.)
Kennedy (Mass.)	Ribicoff (Conn.)
Mansfield (Mont.)	Williams (N. J.)
McCarthy (Minn.)	Young (Ohio)
McGee (Wyo.)	

Republicans—13

Aiken (Vte.)	Keating (N. Y.)
Allott (Colo.)	Kuchel (Calif.)
Beall (Md.)	Prouty (Vt.)
Case (N. J.)	Saltonstall (Mass.)
Dirksen (Ill.)	Scott (Pa.)
Fong (Hawaii)	Smith (Me.)
Javits (N. Y.)	

Cotton Amendment

A proposal by Senator Norris Cotton to limit the coverage of the bill's title on equal-employment opportunity to businesses and unions with 100 or more workers or members; the proposal was defeated, 63 to 34.

FOR THE AMENDMENT—34

Democrats—23

Byrd (Va.)	McClellan (Ark.)
Byrd (W. Va.)	
Eastland (Miss.)	Monroney (Okla.)
Edmondson (Okla.)	Robertson (Va.)
Ellender (La.)	Russell (Ga.)
Ervin (N.C.)	Smathers (Fla.)
Fulbright (Ark.)	Sparkman (Ala.)
Hill (Ala.)	Stennis (Miss.)
Holland (Fla.)	Talmadge (Ga.)
Johnston (S.C.)	Thurmond (S.C.)
Jordan (N.C.)	Yarborough (Tex.)
Long (La.)	

Republicans—11

Bennett (Utah)	Mechem (N.M.)
Cotton (N.H.)	Morton (Ky.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Mundt (S.D.)
Goldwater (Ariz.)	Simpson (Wyo.)
Hickenlooper (Iowa)	Tower (Tex.)
Hruska (Neb.)	

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT—

Democrats—41

Anderson (N.M.)	Clark (Pa.)
Bartlett (Alaska)	Dodd Conn.)
Bayh (Ind.)	Douglas (Ill.)
Bible (Nev.)	Gore (Tenn.)
Brewster (Md.)	Gruening (Alaska)
Burdick (N.D.)	Hart (Mich.)
Cannon (Nev.)	Hartke (Ind.)
Church (Idaho)	McIntyre (N.H.)
Hayden (Ariz.)	Morse (Ore.)
Humphrey (Minn.)	Moss (Utah)
Inouye (Hawaii)	Muskie (Me.)
Jackson (Wash.)	Nelson (Wis.)
Kennedy (Mass.)	Neuberger (Ore.)
Long (Mo.)	Pastore (R. I.)
Magnuson (Wash.)	Pell (R. I.)
Mansfield (Mont.)	Proxmire (Wis.)
McCarthy (Minn.)	Randolph (W. Va.)
McGee (Wyo.)	Ribicoff (Conn.)
McGovern (S. D.)	Symington (Mo.)
McNamara (Mich.)	Williams (N. J.)
Metcalf (Mont.)	Young (Ohio)

Republicans—22

Aiken (Vt.)	Jordan (Idaho)
Allott (Col.)	Keating (N. Y.)
Beall (Md.)	Kuchel (Calif.)
Boggs (Del.)	Miller (Iowa)
Carlson (Kan.)	Pearson (Kan.)
Case (N. J.)	Prouty (Vt.)
Cooper (Ky.)	Saltonstall (Mass.)
Dirksen (Ill.)	Scott (Pa.)
Dominick (Col.)	Smith (Me.)
Fong (Hawaii)	Williams (Del.)
Javits (N. Y.)	Young (N. D.)

Not voting but paired: Walters, Democrat of Tennessee, for; Lausche, Democrat of Ohio, against.

Not voting or paired but announced as against: Engle, Democrat of California.

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

"Cooperation in the Common Cause of Civil Rights Legislation"
704-17th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006 phone 783-8032
New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400
ROY WILKINS Chairman **ARNOLD ARONSON** Secretary

TO: Cooperating Organizations

MEMO NO. 45
August 13, 1964

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

CIVIL RIGHTS DECISION AT ATLANTIC CITY

The most significant controversial issue before the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City beginning August 24 will be the seating of the Mississippi delegation. The Convention's decision will have an important bearing on civil rights developments--both North and South--for months and perhaps years to come.

Freedom Democratic Party

Two delegations from Mississippi have been designated; the "regular" Democrats at a convention in Jackson on July 28; and the Freedom Democratic Party at a Jackson convention on August 6. The Freedom Party has been painstakingly organized over a period of months through the efforts of organizations affiliated with COFO, the Council of Federated Organizations. These include the NAACP, CORE, SNCC, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Party membership is open to both races. At its first convention, with about 500 delegates and alternates present almost all were Negro but there were a good number of white participants. On the delegation elected there are 64 Negroes and 4 white. Also elected were the National Committeeman and Committee woman; Reverend Edwin King, a white Methodist minister who is chaplain at Tougaloo College; and Mrs. Victoria Gray, a Hattiesburg housewife who is a long-time fighter for Negro voting rights in Mississippi. The Chairman of the convention and of the delegation to Atlantic City is President of the Mississippi NAACP and Chairman of COFO, Dr. Aaron Henry.

The "regulars."

The "regular" Democratic Party has traditionally excluded Negroes from its delegation and has actively resisted--with force and intimidation over the years the participation at any level-including the polls--of Negro citizens. It is this systematic exclusion by the "regular" party that is the basis of the determination by Mississippians who believe in human rights to build a party open to members of both races. The Freedom Party further asserts that the "regular" Party has demonstrated its consistent disloyalty to the candidates and platform of the National Party and therefore is not entitled

(more)

to participate in the affairs of the National Convention nor lay claim to represent the National Democratic Party in the state of Mississippi. These are the basic issues which will be laid before the credentials committee at Atlantic City.

Adhered to Rules

The Freedom Democratic Party faithfully adhered to all the rules and regulations governing the operation of political parties in Mississippi. It established its party structure and conducted its elections at precinct, county and state level to conform to the same rules governing the "regular" Party. Nevertheless, less than a week after the convention, the Attorney General of the state of Mississippi secured an order from a Chancery Court Judge banning the Freedom Democratic Party from using that name and its officers from functioning. This order has been challenged by the Freedom Democratic Party. Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. who is acting as counsel for the Freedom Party has stated that it is "compounding unconstitutionality" to exclude Negroes from the Democratic Party and then deny to them the right to participate in the creation of a Democratic Party which they may freely join.

While the Leadership Conference has not taken a formal consensus of its constituent organizations on the question of the seating of the Mississippi delegation at Atlantic City, so many Conference organizations have indicated support of the Freedom group and opposition to the "regular" party that we are sending out this Memorandum for the information and guidance of those organizations who have a concern in this matter.

Time to Act

There is still time to wire or phone the delegates to the convention to support the Freedom Party, and especially to contact delegates who will serve on the Credentials Committee. You may want also to wire the White House; the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, John Bailey; and David Lawrence of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the Convention Credentials Committee. The convention opens on Monday, August 24. The Credentials Committee will open hearings at 2 P.M. on Saturday, August 22, in Atlantic City.

* * * *

NOTE TO WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVES: There will be a meeting of the Leadership Conference early in September to make plans for future program. You will be notified of time and place.

* * * *

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

"Cooperation in the Common Cause of Civil Rights Legislation"
704-17th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006 phone 783-8032
New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400
ROY WILKINS Chairman ARNOLD ARONSON Secretary

New Address: 132 - 3rd St., S.E., Washington, D.C.

Okay WD
A. Rauh
File

AUG 25 1964

August 24, 1964

CALL TO A SPECIAL SESSION - PLEASE READ AND MARK YOUR CALENDAR

Dear Friend:

Eight weeks have passed since the President signed the Civil Rights Act. Because we worked together for passage, I know we share a common concern in seeing effective implementation of the law.

The Leadership Conference believes one of the most important services it can perform at this time is to bring you full information on what the Federal Government is doing to obtain compliance with the Act and educate citizens in their rights and responsibilities.

For that reason, we are convening a special all-day session on Friday, September 11, here in Washington. Please keep the date open.

Representatives of major government agencies will present details of their current activities and future plans, and answer questions. We expect this to be an important and profitable day and look forward to having you with us.

We will send you complete information on place, speakers and agenda as soon as it is available.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold Aronson

Arnold Aronson
Secretary

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LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

"Cooperation in the Common Cause of Civil Rights for All"
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New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400
ROY WILKINS Chairman **ARNOLD ARONSON** Secretary

TO: COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

FROM: ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary

MEMO NO. 47
September 21, 1964

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE GETS CANDID VIEW OF CIVIL RIGHTS ENFORCEMENT

At a private meeting, two Fridays ago, government officials with major responsibilities under the Civil Rights Act gave a first-hand report of their current activities to Leadership Conference representatives.

Diverse as the problems within the agencies are, a few general conclusions can be drawn. The work of setting up programs authorized by the Act is underway, but a number of projects and staff hiring are being held up until Congress approves the funds for this year's budgets. The agencies look to private organizations such as those active within the Conference, to help them establish a nation-wide climate of compliance.

Funds Forthcoming At Last

The prospect of funds for the new civil rights programs brightened at the weekend. The House Appropriations Committee approved, without cuts, the Administration's modest request for $13,088,000. The Senate Appropriations Committee is expected to give its approval shortly and there should be no trouble in getting the requests through Congress. While the money for a fair start should be available in the near future, a watchful regard on our part is still desirable.

What will be done with the money is the next question. It was a matter that came up for considerable discussion at the Conference meeting on September 11.

More than 100 representatives of cooperating groups and government agencies met in the AFL-CIO Conference Room for the occasion. The reports, of which we give brief summaries herein, were presented by Leroy Collins, Director of the Community Relations Service; William L. Taylor, General Counsel of the Civil Rights Commission; Dr. Francis Keppel, Director of the Office of Education; Peter Libassi, Director of the Civil Rights Commission's Federal Program Division; Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division and his First Assistant, John Doar.

Community Relations Service - A Program To End Discord

Leroy Collins, former Governor of Florida, told the meeting that though the Community Relations Service is still in the process of being organized, it has already begun to respond to calls for its conciliation services and it has established a citizens advisory committee of about 400 people, drawn from all sections of the country.

CRS expects to have a staff of about 50 people.

It approaches its task of preventing discrimination through voluntary compliance in three ways: by encouraging the organization of community relations efforts at the local and state levels; by helping communities develop broad plans of action to remove underlying causes of discord - unemployment, poor housing, poor education, etc.; and by giving assistance to a variety of voluntary groups and to interested individuals who can help create a climate of compliance.

But the Service, too, can use help. Like most of the speakers on the program, Mr. Collins readily asked the Leadership Conference for it. He said, "Keep us advised of what you learn about conditions in every section of the land. Help us to find constructive ways to avoid disorders. Give us the help of your brains, your manpower in shaping and carrying forward our efforts to serve the public good."

Civil Rights Commission - The New Clearinghouse

William L. Taylor discussed some of the Civil Rights Commission's new functions, particularly its obligation to serve as a national clearing house for civil rights information and to review Federal laws and policies.

The Commission, he said, must establish a more systematic way of collecting data. There has been a remarkable degree of compliance with Title II, the public accommodations section, and the Commission expects to undertake a survey of such compliance. It also plans to examine a few communities in which there has been controversy and to study the "increasing phenomena" of submitting civil rights issues, such as fair housing, to popular referendum.

The Commission intends to bring information directly into communities through meetings and conferences. It held a very successful meeting recently in Atlanta. It plans a conference for Columbia, S. C. on September 30, and another in Little Rock sometime in October.

It is also working with government agencies that administer programs of Federal assistance and are directed by Title VI to issue regulations prohibiting discrimination. He and Mr. Libassi, who works directly with these agencies, predicted that the various sets of regulations now being formulated would be good ones.

The Commission also plans to issue a series of study papers on programs affected by Title VI such as the Hill-Burton program of assistance to hospitals and other health facilities; Federal employment and defense projects.

It was also brought out later during the day that the Commission plans to maintain information, for those who want it, on the extent of Federal programs in various localities. To this end it is developing directories that would include one on hospitals getting Hill-Burton assistance; one covering some of the 18 major programs receiving aid; one of employers getting Area Redevelopment loans and grants, and another of the 17 agencies with substantial aid programs in education.

Mr. Taylor said the Commission hopes to make public techniques it believes are successful in obtaining compliance. He said, "We need the help of the (Leadership) Conference in disseminating information."

Office of Education - Help For Schools On The Way

The Office of Education's in-training programs for school officials and its projected institutes are being held up until Congress approves funds. So is the survey of the lack of availability of equal educational opportunities that the Office must complete and submit to Congress within two years.

But while it waits for Congress to act, Dr. Keppel told the Conference his office is going forward with plans and he and members of his agency have undertaken a number of meetings with school officials and educational experts.

The Office has met with superintendents of impacted school areas - those communities whose schools are subject to the impact of Federal installations. It is working to strengthen Negro colleges. It is considering its responsibilities under the President's anti-poverty program.

Asked if the southern school superintendents he met with sympathized with their governors or with him, he replied, "Neither. They sympathize with themselves." Many of these men were caught, he said, between their new responsibilities under the law and pressure from hostile communities. Many of these men want to comply with the law. "They haven't got a chance unless they have the support of the society around them. They need help. Yours." What was needed to obtain compliance with the law, he said, was not just a reallocation of energy "but an immense increase of energy."

Title VI - $11 Billion In Federal Grants

According to Peter Libassi, we have won the battle to establish non-discrimination as official Federal policy in all grants of government aid. But the task of implementing that policy, he said, has just begun.

The breadth of programs subject to Title VI, as he described it, is most impressive. The Federal government gives more than $11 billion a year in aid to state and local programs. There are more than 100 major programs and nearly every agency of government has some responsibility under them. In the field of education, grants total about $2.5 billion and not only the Office of Education, but 17 other agencies have some kind of educational program.

Federal aid is pervasive. Federal payments are an important part of state revenue; they constitute 24 percent in Mississippi, 22 percent in Alabama, 20 percent in both Louisiana and South Carolina. State employment services, university research teams, hospitals and highways all benefit largely from Federal funds. The drill presses in vocational education programs are often government surplus. "Many local services are in some way or other, in whole or in part, receiving Federal aid but the benefits of the programs are not being made equally available," Mr. Libassi said.

Title VI, he said, could represent a new and significant instrument of change at the local level if private organizations learn to use it. They need to ask the right questions. Not, How can we improve employment opportunities? - but rather, What employment opportunities are subject to Federal policy in our community? Not, How can we improve health services? - but, Which hospitals were built with Hill-Burton funds and what does Federal policy require?

"Equality of opportunity has now been expanded by Federal policies. Government agencies and private organizations need to work together to assure that those opportunities are fully realized," Mr. Libassi said.

Department of Justice - A Promise of Broader Enforcement

The Justice Department has already assumed its new duties of enforcement under the Act. The staff has 21 civil trials set for this year. Once the Department's funds come through, it plans to hire 49 new attorneys for civil rights work. Mr. Marshall said the Department is considering the establishment of a regional office somewhere in the South with a staff of 25 or 30 lawyers. This would bring it closer to the area in which the main problems exist. There is no final decision on this, but the Department is inclined to do it.

He and Mr. Doar, who accompanied him, described in detail how complaints should be filed under various titles of the Act. It is the intention of the Leadership Conference to embody this information in a separate publication which we hope to have available for distribution in the near future.

What Now?

The frequent requests by the speakers for assistance from private organizations, strengthens the determination of the Leadership Conference to explore ways of cooperating with the agencies of enforcement. The Conference office is now located at 132 Third Street, S.E. The phone number is 547-8700. The work of implementing the many suggestions that came out of the session is the first matter to which we will turn our attention.

HOUSE COMMITTEE ALLOCATES FULL FUNDS FOR CIVIL RIGHTS WORK

To the happy surprise of everyone concerned, the House Appropriations Committee last week reported out the full $13,088,000 that the Administration has requested to implement Civil Rights Act obligations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965.

The requests were modest to begin with. Nevertheless, the House Appropriations Committee usually likes to trim. But it reported the full amount with nothing more than a cautionary remark that "A concerted effort must be made by all agencies concerned as well as the Bureau of the Budget to make sure that there is no overlapping or duplication in carrying out this program."

What's In The Civil Rights Budget?

Here is a breakdown of the funds:

1.	Community Relations Service - Department of Commerce	$1,100,000
2.	Office of Education, Department of Health, Education & Welfare	8,000,000
3.	Justice Department (salaries, expenses, general legal activities)	1,093,000
4.	Commission on Civil Rights	295,000
5.	Equal Employment Opportunity Commission	2,500,000
6.	Labor Department, Manpower Administration, special study on discrimination in employment because of age	100,000

The Office of Education's $8 million request includes $3 million for institutes to train school personnel in the special educational problems occasioned by desegregation

and another $3 million to be used for grants to school boards for in-service training.

Although it contains no prohibition against employment discrimination based on age, the Act directs the Labor Department to make such a study and report on its findings by June 30. So $100,000 in the budget is earmarked for that.

The enforcement powers of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission do not become effective until July 2, 1965. But the $2,500,000 it will get will permit the new regulatory agency to organize and to undertake a program of education designed to acquaint the country with the employment requirements of the law.

What Can Leadership Conference Groups Do?

Approval by the House Appropriations Committee usually means a budget will win approval from the Senate Appropriations Committee with little difficulty. Nevertheless, a message from the head of your organization to Senator Carl Hayden (D., Ariz.), chairman of the Senate Committee, or to Committee members with whom you have good relations, urging swift action on all civil rights budget requests, could prove helpful at this point.

PROGRAM FOR COMPLIANCE NO. 1 - THE AFL-CIO LAUNCHES NEW DRIVE

The AFL-CIO has set a splendid example by calling representatives from all its state and city central bodies to Washington on September 2, for a special conference on Labor's responsibilities under the Civil Rights Act. The conference formulated a 7-point program designed to get labor working actively for compliance:

1. All AFL-CIO departments and all regional directors are instructed to plan to educate union members and other citizens in the actual provisions of the Act.

2. AFL-CIO community task forces are to be broadened to help state and city central bodies take the leadership in creating community wide civil rights committees.

3. Promotion of equal employment opportunity is to be stepped up - on voluntary basis among employers and by including non-discrimination clauses in union contracts. Each international is being asked to assign a national officer to this work.

4. The AFL-CIO will press for the appropriation of adequate funds and vigorous enforcement of the Act. New legislation will be sought where inadequacies are uncovered.

5. Every AFL-CIO organization is directed to comply with the law at all levels. Central labor bodies are asked by the Conference to establish subcommittees that will process complaints of discrimination by non-union workers with the appropriate government agency.

6. The AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights was instructed to stand ready to lend any assistance requested.

7. The Department was also instructed to organize regional conferences modeled after the national one.

PROGRAM FOR COMPLIANCE, NO. 2 - NEW INTERRELIGIOUS CONFERENCE

Clerical and lay leaders of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths, who were active during the campaign for the Civil Rights Act, are planning a new conference to discuss what they shall do now that the law is in effect. They plan to meet for four days, November 16th through the 19th, at Arlie House, near Warrenton, Virginia, to confer with government officials on what they can do to foster compliance. One of the outcomes of the meeting, they hope, will be a series of regional conferences. They are considering the possibility of six such interreligious conferences.

We will present further details when they are available.

CONGRESS STILL STRUGGLES WITH REAPPORTIONMENT

For those organizations within the Leadership Conference that oppose the move in Congress to upset the Supreme Court decision requiring state legislatures to apportion themselves on the basis of population (see MEMO #46 for details), the immediate target of their protest is the House.

There, a constitutional amendment by Rep. Wright Patman (D., Tex.) is pending that would circumvent the Court's decision by decreeing that one house of a bicameral legislature could allocate seats on a basis other than population.

Groups that wish to object, should send letters to all members of the House, urging them to vote against the Patman amendment as a threat to democratic process and to civil rights.

In the Senate, a small group of liberals continues to talk in an attempt to block action by that body on reapportionment.

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ROY WILKINS Chairman **ARNOLD ARONSON** Secretary

DEC 2 1964

TO: Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

MEMO NO. 48
November 30, 1964

FIRST THINGS FIRST: SUPPORT RULES CHANGES!

With a new session of Congress approaching, the immediate task of the groups in the Leadership Conference is a familiar one: to mobilize support for changes in House and Senate Rules.

Since its inception in 1951, the Conference has been in the forefront of the fight for rules reforms that would make both bodies of Congress more responsive to their majorities. The 89th Congress is to be no exception. More than 75 representatives of organizations that cooperate in the Leadership Conference met in Washington last week and endorsed a broad program of legislative and community action in which the matter of rules change was given top priority.

Time's Short. We Must Get Ready Now

Only a scant five weeks remain until the 89th Congress convenes. Proposals to change the rules will be the first order of business for House and Senate. The representatives at last week's meeting agreed to support certain changes because they recognize that whatever success we have in the field of civil rights next year will be largely determined by how Congress conducts itself. The prospects for new legislation may be bright or dim depending on how the rules fight goes. Enforcement and financing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 may depend to some extent on the outcome of the struggle over rules.

At last week's meeting, consensus was reached on a number of changes that Conference representatives feel will make both House and Senate function more democratically.

These House Reforms Were Endorsed

1. The 21-Day Rule - A hostile Rules Committee has frequently bottled up bills its chairman doesn't like. This proposed change would help end that tyranny. If the Rules Committee failed to report out a bill in 21 days, the chairman of the committee responsible for the measure could move to bring it to the floor. If the chairman opposed the bill, the senior committee member favoring it could take the initiative to bring it out.

2. Seven-Day Conference Report Rule - This would also help break the Rules Committee bottleneck. Where a bill has passed both House and Senate and it is necessary to adjust differences between two versions before final passage, the House Rules Committee would get 7 days in which to send the bill to conference. If the Rules Committee failed to act, the House could order the bill sent to conference by a vote of the majority.

3. Give the Speaker Greater Power - This is meant to avoid seniority as the sole criterion for appointing committee chairmen. In order to make it easier for the majority party to bring its legislative program to the floor, it is proposed that the Speaker of the House be empowered to nominate the chairmen of all standing committees and, in addition, the majority members of two key committees - Ways and Means and the Rules Committee. These nominations would still be subject to approval by the caucus of the members of the majority party.

Rep. Richard Bolling (D., Mo.), who addressed last week's Leadership Conference meeting as one of the leaders of the fight for Congressional reform, observed that this change would make the Democratic caucus and leadership "visible and responsible."

4. Rules for the Rules Committee - a bar to efficient functioning of the Rules Committee, Mr. Bolling pointed out, is that unlike other committees it has no regular meeting day and follows procedures that vest too much power in the chairman. It is proposed to recast the committee's rules to fix a meeting day and to give the majority the right to determine agenda.

5. The Campaign to Strip Williams and Watson of Seniority - Closely allied to the Rules fight is the proposed course of action to be taken against two Democratic representatives, John Bell Williams of Mississippi and Albert W. Watson of South Carolina. In complete disregard of a warning from a group of liberal Democrats, they both campaigned for Goldwater. It is the intention of the liberal group, in consequence, to oppose the seating of these two men in the Democratic party caucus and to strip them of their seniority. While the Leadership Conference recognizes the right of any member of Congress to support any candidate he chooses, those who were present at last week's meeting agreed that such members should not be rewarded by the party they failed to support. So there was a consensus to endorse the move against Mr. Williams and Mr. Watson.

These Senate Reforms Were Backed

1. To break the Filibuster - The Leadership Conference has long recognized the filibuster as the weapon of the status quo. It has been often used to block important social legislation and its use last year kept the Senate from acting on the Civil Rights Bill for more than three months. Conference representatives, as they have since 1951, agreed last week to support an effort in this Congress to change the filibuster rule (Rule 22) so that instead of two-thirds of those present and voting, a constitutional majority of 51 members could vote to shut off debate.

2. Action against Eastland - Since the Senate Judiciary Committee has a deciding voice on judgeships and on much major legislation including civil rights and immigration laws, and since the only way to get Senate action on the Civil Rights Bill last term was to bypass Judiciary, Conference representatives last week readily agreed to support efforts to block Senator James O. Eastland from continuing as the committee chairman. The Mississippian merited such attention, a representative observed, since he was "the Senator who least supported policies of his party in the area of his committee."

What Cooperating Groups Can Do

Between now and January 4, when Congress reconvenes, we will be sending you further plans on the rules fight and perhaps additional details about the proposed changes. Meanwhile, you can help build public support for these reforms:

1. Alert your membership to the need for the changes and prepare to work for them.

2. Most members of Congress will be home between now and the opening day. That affords your members an unusual opportunity to form delegations that can visit Representatives and Senators and urge them to back reforms that will mean a more democratic Congress.

CONFERENCE BACKS NEW LEGISLATION AND COMMUNITY ACTION

During the nearly three hours of discussion last week, Leadership Conference representatives endorsed several specific legislative proposals and agreed to explore new possibilities of community action.

The Conference was fortunate to have present at this session two veterans of the Mississippi struggle, Aaron Henry, leader of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and Charles Evers, NAACP field secretary for the state and brother of Medgar Evers. Both men gave vivid accounts of what they must endure in their state and urged the Conference to adopt a broad program in support of their fight for full equality.

Registrars and Recompense

Because of the slow pace of change in Mississippi and other states of the deep South and because of the many incidents this past summer of connivance by state officials in acts of harassment and brutality, the representatives at last week's meeting decided to renew their request for at least two pieces of legislation:

1. One would authorize the President to appoint Federal registrars for states in which voting rights are still being denied because of race.

2. Another would make states liable for any mistreatment by their police or other officials of persons exercising their constitutional rights.

Both of these measures represent omissions from the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Conference has endorsed them as long ago as 1960 and called for them this year in its platform presentations before both national conventions. The Civil Rights Commission unanimously recommended such legislation in its last annual report. Both are essential next steps in protecting rights by law.

Home Rule and Poverty

Conference representatives also endorsed, as they have before, home rule for the District of Columbia. And recognizing the new dimension to the civil rights struggle, the war on poverty, they agreed to back massive programs to create jobs and provide new economic and educational opportunities for the nation's poor.

Enforcement and Community Action

The Leadership Conference has already established liaison with government agencies that have responsibilities under the Civil Rights Act. It was the consensus at last week's meeting that this work must continue and that the Conference must press for strong enforcement policies.

The meeting also endorsed the appointment of a special subcommittee that will consider how groups within the Conference, in cooperation with government agencies, can undertake a series of community meetings designed to inform people about the contents of the Act and to help create a climate of compliance.

Additional details on the legislative proposals and the enforcement and community action programs will appear in future MEMOS.

But First The Rules Fight

The campaign for rules reform takes precedence over everything else in the next few weeks. If this MEMO has one principal purpose it is to ask you to join in that effort today.

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ROY WILKINS Chairman ARNOLD ARONSON Secretary

DEC 10 1964

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MEMO: No. 49
December 9, 1964

TO: Cooperating Organizations
FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

A NEW PHASE IN CIVIL RIGHTS ACT ENFORCEMENT: TITLE VI RULES

For those of us working for enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, last week brought a new advance - and new obligations. The President approved the first set of regulations aimed at ending discrimination in all federally-assisted programs. Now the groups within the Leadership Conference must begin to work for the observance of these rules.

Seven agencies, administering some of the major programs of federal aid, issued the first regulations. The President approved them on Dec.3 and they take effect 30 days after that.

Schools, Health Services, Farm Programs Affected

Hundreds of federal programs and activities are going to be subject to the regulations that, under the authority of Title VI of the Act, are meant to make all federally-assisted programs available to everyone without regard to race, color or national origin. School lunches and food stamps, rural electrification and farm price supports, unemployment insurance, manpower development and training, school construction, health and welfare services - these are a few of the programs covered by these far-reaching rules.

In general, each set of regulations sets forth the discriminations that are prohibited, the programs covered and procedures for complaint and conciliation.

The seven agencies that issued the first regulations are: the Departments of the Interior, Agriculture, Labor and Health, Education and Welfare; the General Services Administration; the Housing and Home Finance Agency and the National Science Foundation.

Eighteen other agencies, including the Department of Defense, are still scheduled to issue their regulations. Those are not expected to be approved until next month.

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How Good Are the Regulations?

It is too soon to properly evaluate their effectiveness. Clarence Mitchell, chairman of the regular Washington meetings of the Leadership Conference, expressed cautious optimism about the rules. Because of their scope and technical nature, he said, it was impossible to know how they will work.

The regulations, he pointed out, were prepared by the staffs of the various government agencies and groups in the Conference had no opportunity to make specific recommendations. But he believes they implement the spirit of the Civil Rights Act.

The Conference will continue to study the rules and report on them from time to time.

Who Polices the Regulations? Everyone.

No matter how good the regulations are, their effectiveness depends upon their administration. While agencies will now seek assurances of compliance from state and local officials and institutions, before making new grants or continuing old ones, someone has to look behind those assurances. And most agencies are shorthanded.

An official of one of the agencies whose regulations were approved last week, probably spoke for most of them when he observed, "We look to groups like yours (those participating in the Leadership Conference) to help us obtain compliance."

This places on all of us the obligation of becoming familiar with the regulations. Unfortunately, they are too voluminous to permit us to supply our entire mailing list with copies.

How To Get Your Copy

The regulations appear in a 36-page supplement to the Federal Register which costs 15 cents a copy. It can be ordered from:

Superintendent of Documents
Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402

Ask for Vol.29, No.236 of the Federal Register, "Effectuation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964."

The regulations will be tested, ultimately, by the complaints they generate. Every group in the Leadership Conference can help obtain compliance with these rules by making its members familiar with them and urging them to be vigilant for violations.

HOUSE LIBERALS URGE NEW RULES REFORMS

There was a new development this week in the fight to make the House of Representatives more responsive to the will of its majority. Leaders of the Democratic Study Group, an association of more than 100 liberal Democratic Congressmen, agreed on eight changes in House rules and Party Procedures, and began circulating them among their members.

To some extent the proposed rules reforms coincide with those endorsed by groups in the Leadership Conference at our November 24 meeting (see MEMO: No.48). The proposals are still subject to further consideration at the Democratic Party caucus scheduled for the afternoon of January 2. The full caucus will decide which of the proposed changes should be fought for when the 89th Congress convenes on January 4.

However, the list of rules changes and party reforms being proposed are worth noting because they delineate the issues that will confront the House as soon as it gets to work. The DSG leaders propose that:

1. The House be empowered, by majority vote, to take up a bill if the Rules Committee fails to clear it in 21 days. To set this procedure in motion, the Speaker may recognize the chairman of the committee handling the bill (or the ranking majority member who favors it, if the chairman does not) to call up the measure for House consideration.

2. The House be empowered by majority vote to send to conference with the Senate any bill that has passed both Houses. Implementation of this procedure would also be at the Speaker's discretion.

3. Committee assignments made by the Committee on Committees at the start of Congress should be subject to approval by the Democratic caucus.

4. Two Democratic members who worked for the Goldwater-Miller ticket, Representatives John Bell Williams (Miss.) and Albert Watson (S.C.) should be stripped of their seniority.

(It was the consensus of the groups at the Leadership Conference meeting to endorse very similar proposals. No position was taken by Conference groups on the remaining proposals.)

5. The number of signatures needed on a discharge petition to take a bill away from a hostile petition should be reduced from the present 218 to 175. This proposal, too, would let the Speaker decide whether or not to recognize the member seeking to put the procedure into effect.

6. Party ratios on all committees should be revised to reflect the 68 per cent Democratic control of the House.

7. A Democratic Policy or Steering Committee should be established "to discuss and implement leadership policy on legislative proposals."

8. A Joint House-Senate Committee should be set up to consider proposals to modernize Congressional procedures and to update the 1946 Legislative Reorganization Act.

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ROY WILKINS Chairman **ARNOLD ARONSON** Secretary

This is last I we have

TO: Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

MEMO NO. 50
December 18, 1964

WE HAVE TWO WEEKS TO WORK FOR RULES REFORM

Almost as scant as shopping days till Christmas is the time we have left in which to work for liberalizing changes in House and Senate rules.

In the many years the Leadership Conference has fought for rules reform there has never been an opportunity as good as the one afforded by this Congress. Both House and Senate are in firm Democratic control and the House, which offers the best chances for change, has received a strong infusion of young liberal members.

Because it provides a rallying point for action, the Washington representatives of the Leadership Conference, at a special emergency night meeting this week, agreed to support most of the 8-point program being advanced by the Democratic Study Group. This is a confederation of more than 100 liberal Democrats whose ranks are expected to be enlarged by the newcomers.

We Must Get Busy Back Home

Since most Congressmen are home for Christmas and New Year's, the focus of our activity must be the home districts.

On Saturday, January 2, at 2:30 p.m. there will be a party caucus of all Democratic House members. Before that, on Saturday morning at 10:00 a.m. the Democratic Study Group will meet to discuss strategy.

In all home visits to Democratic Congressmen, particularly new ones, the thing to urge upon them is that they attend <u>both</u> gatherings: the DSG meeting for a preliminary briefing and the full party caucus to support the Study Group's recommendations for reforms.

What the DSG Proposes

These are the reforms the DSG will propose in the Party Caucus:

1. That two Democrats who worked for the Goldwater-Miller ticket, Rep. John Bell Williams (Miss.) and Albert W. Watson (S. C.), should be

stripped of their seniority as a reproof for their defection.

2. That all Democratic Committee assignments made by the Committee on Committees at the start of Congress be subject to approval by the Party caucus as a way of breaking the deadening custom of assigning positions simply on the basis of length of service in the House.

3. That party ratios on all committees (including Ways and Means and Appropriations) should be revised to reflect the new 68 per cent Democratic control of the House.

Your members need to contact their Democratic Congressm and urge them to support these proposals.

Additional reforms will be considered in the caucus, too, but they will require floor action by the full House:

4. That the House be empowered, by majority vote, to take up a bill if the Rules Committee fails to clear it in 21 days. To set this procedure in motion, the Speaker may recognize the chairman of the committee handling the bill (or the ranking majority member who favors it, if the chairman does not) to call up the measure for House consideration.

5. That the House be empowered by majority vote to send to conference with the Senate any bill that has passed both Houses. Implementation of this procedure would also be at the Speaker's discretion. Its primary use would be to prevent the Rules Committee, as it sometimes does now, from bottling up measures.

6. That the number of Members' signatures needed on a discharge petition to take a bill away from a committee that is sitting on it, should be reduced from the present majority of 218 to 175.

7. That a Joint Committee on Congressional Reorganization be established to consider proposals to modernize House and Senate procedures and to update the 1946 Legislative Act.

At the Leadership Conference meeting last week, the consensus previously reported in our last MEMO (No. 49) was broadened to include all of these seven recommendations. Although there was no dissent from this decision at the meeting, it must be noted that not all of our cooperating organizations were represented and that some of the groups signified they have taken no position on these issues.

What You Can Do To Help

Between now and January 2, there is much that can be done:

1. Organize delegations to visit Congressmen. Since proposals aimed at circumventing a recalcitrant Rules Committee and easing the task of obtaining a discharge petition will be fought out on the floor, it is important to visit Republicans as well as Democrats.

2. Congressmen should be approached, wherever possible, by persons who may have been substantial contributors or active workers in their campaigns.

3. Cross-section delegations are particularly good. Urge your members to try to draw together representatives from local units or organizations that cooperate in the Leadership Conference.

4. Try to get local newspapers to carry editorials on the need for Rules reforms.

5. Discussions of Rules reform on radio and TV will help bring attention to the fight, particularly if your Congressman can be involved in the program.

What To Say

In general, delegations should tell their Congressmen that the DSG proposals provide a convenient rallying point for rules reform and should be supported. They should urge Democrats to attend the Study Group meeting Saturday morning and the full party caucus in the afternoon.

Please Report Back

It is absolutely essential that we get reports back on what Congressmen say. Please send us any information you receive about the comment, plans and attitudes of individual members of the House.

Legislation will move through Congress more quickly and smoothly if we win this fight.

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NOTE: In order to provide you with background material on the fight for Rules reform, we enclose a reprint from the United Automobile Workers' Washington Report. It discusses the Rules situation in both the House and Senate.

JOHN BLATNIK of Minnesota, chairman of the Democratic Study Group, emphasizes the need for strong liberal leadership in the House of Representatives.

House Reforms Are Underway

Liberals in the House of Representatives want to streamline the rules.

An 8-point program to update Congress was approved last week by the steering committee of the Democratic Study Group—spokesmen for the caucus of the liberal Democrats in the House.

Heading the list is a demand that two Goldwater Democrats be purged from holding seniority during the 89th Congress.

Other top reforms call for a 21 day rule, bypassing the House Rules Committee when conservatives balk at OKing Johnson programs, and a speedup in getting conference reports out of the House. The powers of House Speaker John McCormack are enlarged in both cases.

Another reform calls for upping the number of Democrats on the powerful Ways and Means, and Appropriations committees to reflect the 2 to 1 arithmetic in the 1964 Democratic sweep.

Another unloosener—175 signatures on a discharge petition (it's now 218)—would also guarantee a speedup in legislative action.

"We've sat around here in Washington at the mercy of conservatives who don't care two hoots about education, the war on poverty, medicare, or public works," said one member of Congress. **"Now I think we've got a way to break the conservative grip on Congress and get on with the President's program."**

Here is a rundown on the 8 proposals put forth by the DSG:

1. **Purge two Goldwater Democrats.** Both Watson of South Carolina and Williams of Mississippi thumbed their noses at the warning given just before the election by House liberals. A statement by Blatnik, Bolling, Hansen, Holifield, O'Hara, Price, Reuss, Thompson of N.J., Brademas and Udall laid down the gauntlet to other House members to support the Johnson-Humphrey ticket. Some conservative Democrats dragged their feet, but two went out of their way to flaunt the liberal challenge.

2. **Give Democratic caucus final say on committee assignments.** As things stand now, the Democratic members of Ways and Means makes the committee assignments and there is no appeal over their decision. Some worthy Democrats could be saddled with poor committee assignments unless this reform is made.

3. **Up Democratic membership on Ways and Means, and Appropriations.** The DSG calls for 17 (two more than now) Democrats on Ways and Means, and 34 (five more than now) on Appropriations to reflect the 2 to 1 majority Democrats now enjoy in Congress.

4. **Give a Democratic Policy or Steering Committee stronger voice.** There is no regular way members of Congress can now express their views on party strategy on legislation. Such a group would allow for liberal wishes on the President's program to be heard.

5. **Push for congressional reorganization.** The DSG thinks the time is ripe for another hard look at the cumbersome way Congress is organized, and an updating of the LaFollette-Monroney reorganization act is felt desirable at this time.

6. **Invoke 21 day rule.** Under this recommendation, the Speaker "may" call up a bill if the committee chairman or the ranking majority member who favors the bill finds he must bypass the Rules Committee, where too many good programs have floundered.

7. **Ease rules on conference reports.** The same procedure would be used to bypass the Rules Committee so that conference reports could not be pocketed by Rules Chairman Howard Smith of Virginia.

8. **Discharge petition by 175 signatures.** Reduce from 218 to 175 the number of signatures needed for a discharge petition, but only if the House Speaker gave his approval.

ACTION MEMO:

Nearly all Congressmen will be home during the Christmas holidays. Call or visit them and stress the need for bringing the rules of Congress into the 20th Century.

The 8 point proposals of the Democratic Study Group in the House are a modest first step toward reform of the House of Representatives. In the Senate —the need for changing Rule 22 is long overdue.

Congress may stumble during the next two years. The mandate for action expressed in the 1964 election could be lost, unless the House and Senate has modern rules to move quickly along the main highways of progress.

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

"Cooperation in the Common Cause of Civil Rights for All"
132 3rd St., S.E., Washington, D. C. 20003 phone 547-3227
New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400
ROY WILKINS Chairman **ARNOLD ARONSON** Secretary

January 8, 1965

JAN 11 1965

To Heads of National Organizations and Washington Representatives

Dear Friend:

Please mark two important dates on your calendar at once: Thursday, January 28 and Friday, January 29.

On the 28th, the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights is holding an all-day meeting on one of the major sections of the Civil Rights Act, Title VI, which prohibits discrimination in all Federally-assisted programs. Top government officials will present what their agencies are doing to carry out their responsibilities under this sweeping provision. There will be ample opportunity for questions and discussion. We are cooperating with the Commission in this program and we have given them your name. You should receive the Commission's formal invitation within the next day or so.

In addition, we plan to hold a followup meeting on the morning of the 29th, probably from 9:30 a.m. until lunch. This is a meeting for Leadership Conference representatives and it will concern itself primarily with how our cooperating organizations can work for effective enforcement of the Civil Rights Act on the state and local level.

We consider the sessions on both days to be of paramount importance. If you yourself are unable to come, we urge you to send an alternate. Considering the kinds of activities we will consider, we believe it would be valuable if those members of your national staff who are in charge of your program activities or who maintain liaison with your local chapters and branches also attended these meetings.

If you like, send us their names and we will see that they are formally invited.

We will send you additional details on our meeting as soon as they are available. Hope to see you at the end of the month.

Sincerely,

Arnold Aronson

Arnold Aronson
Secretary

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ROY WILKINS Chairman **ARNOLD ARONSON** Secretary

TO: Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

MEMO: No. 53
January 18, 1965

THE PROSPECT BRIGHTENS FOR A CURB ON FILIBUSTERS

To the surprise of the fainthearted, it now looks as if there is a good chance that the Senate will change its rules and make it easier to end a filibuster. During the complex and shifting floor maneuvers of a week or so ago, there was strong indication that the biennial effort of Senate liberals to amend Rule 22 might not get off the ground. Yet, when the parliamentary dust had settled on the afternoon of Friday, January 8, the anti-filibuster forces found themselves in a position so advantageous it is possible to hope for victory. Our support at this time may make that hope a certainty.

The succession of events is extraordinary enough to merit a more detailed inspection than the hasty bulletin we thrust into the last MEMO just before mailing.

Leadership Conference Urges the Fight

At a special meeting in November, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights resolved to push for a change in the filibuster rule even though the cautious warned there was little likelihood of success.

On the afternoon of Sunday, January 3rd, a strategy meeting was held, attended by 20 Senators or their representatives and two Leadership Conference spokesmen, Clarence Mitchell and Joseph Rauh.

At this session, Senator Clinton P. Anderson (D., N.Mex.), who has led five such fights in the past 12 years, agreed once more to lead the campaign to amend Rule 22, the standing rule of the Senate that requires a vote of two-thirds of the Senators present and voting to impose cloture and end a filibuster.

On January 6, he introduced a resolution (S.Res. 6) that would reduce the number of Senators needed to close debate to three-fifths of those present and voting.

At the same time, Senator Paul Douglas (D., Ill.) another veteran leader in the Rule 22 fights, proposed a resolution (S.Res. 8) backed by Republican

Whip Thomas Kuchel (R., Cal.) and 15 other Senators, that would permit a constitutional majority of the Senate (51 Senators) to vote cloture after 15 days of debate.

Opponents Try To Block Change

As everyone anticipated, the forces of opposition, notably Republican Leader Everett M. Dirksen (Ill.) and Senator Richard Russell (D., Ga.) promptly tried to block consideration of the Anderson and Douglas proposals. Senator Dirksen moved to send them to the Senate Rules Committee for almost certain burial.

However, Senator Anderson then proposed an amendment to the Dirksen motion that would instruct the Rules Committee to report back his and Senator Douglas' resolution by "a day certain" and that "all rights in existence at the opening of Congress shall be deemed preserved."

It was the last phrase in the Anderson amendment to the Dirksen motion that touched off fireworks. Senator Russell objected. He said it went beyond permissible instruction to a committee and for a moment it looked as if a long and fiery battle was going to be joined.

Is The Senate A Continuing Body?

What lay behind Senator Russell's objection to Senator Anderson's request that any rights present at the opening of Congress be kept intact?

"At the heart of the fight over the rules changes," E. W. Kenworthy observed in the New York Times for January 6, "is an intricate and - for the layman - tedious question: Is the Senate a continuing body whose rules carry over from one Congress to the next?

"The Southerners say yes. They argue that any motion to amend the rules is therefore subject to debate that can be shut off only by the two-thirds vote required in Rules 22."

The liberals say yes, too. But they make an exception in regard to Rule 22. The Constitution, as Mr. Kenworthy points out, gives both House and Senate the right to determine their own rules by a vote of the majority. But how can they do so, liberals ask, if it takes more than a majority to end debate over a proposed rules change?

Will The Vice-President Decide?

The difficult question of whether or not debate of a proposed change in rules can be shut off by a majority or two-thirds has been posed many times to the Vice President, as presiding officer of the Senate. Each time he has handed the question right back to the Senate.

However, Vice President Richard M. Nixon, in 1957, offered an "advisory" opinion to the effect that where a rule from a previous Congress "has the expressed or practical effect of denying the majority of the Senate in a new Congress the right to adopt the rules under which it desires to proceed (that rule) is ... unconstitutional.

A majority of the Senate of a new Congress, he made clear, could close debate and vote on the rules by which the Senate of that Congress was to be governed.

This opinion was reaffirmed in 1959 and 1961.

What To Do Till Humphrey Comes

The last person Senate liberals wanted to consider such a question is Senator Carl Hayden (D., Ariz.), the 88-year-old President Pro Tempore, who presides over the Senate until Hubert Humphrey is sworn in on January 20 and officially assumes office.

So Anderson, Douglas and their supporters welcomed a referral of their proposals to the Rules Committee as a way of marking time until Humphrey takes the chair. But it was crucial to their strategy that in any referral to committee they preserve, upon the return of the issue to the Senate, the right to raise the constitutional question in the exact form in which it can be raised in the first days of a new Congress.

On January 7, Senator Hayden gave so garbled an opinion on whether or not rights could be preserved in a referral, that the Senate was forced into a recess. The issue was promptly raised again when the Senate reconvened on the 8th. And to everyone's surprise it met with an unexpected and happy resolution.

Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.) moved that the Anderson and Douglas proposals be referred to the Senate Rules Committee with instructions that it report them back by March 9. When Mr. Anderson asked if that meant all existing rights would be preserved, Mr. Mansfield replied, "Yes, of course."

What Was Behind The Move?

Since a single objection could have blocked referral, it is unclear why neither Senator Russell nor Senator Dirksen offered their usual opposition. Possibly they, too, are prepared to accept some form of compromise.

In any event, the proposals for amending Rule 22 now lie in committee for more than a month. When they come back to the Senate, Humphrey will be presiding. One possibility is that he will take his direction from Mr. Nixon and rule that a majority can end a debate over the adoption of rules. This would enable the adoption of a liberalizing amendment to Rule 22. Or it may be that Mr. Humphrey won't have to rule - if the Southerners filibuster for only a limited time and then let the matter come to a vote.

What We Can Do Meantime

There has been no decision, yet, on whether the Rules Committee will hold hearings and afford proponents of the Anderson and Douglas proposals an opportunity to present testimony.

Meanwhile, the most important thing cooperating organizations and supporters of the Conference can do is to bombard all members of the Rules Committee with letters urging them to adopt the Douglas amendment to permit a constitutional majority to cut off debate.

A show of strong support for this proposal will improve chances for its adoption and insure at least the Anderson three-fifths proposition.

Civil rights legislation in the field of voting is sure to come before this session. We can help make its way through Congress easier by pushing for rules reform now.

Here are the members of the Senate Rules Committee:

Democrats	Republicans
B. Everett Jordan, North Carolina	Carl T. Curtis, Nebraska
Carl Hayden, Arizona	John Sherman Cooper, Kentucky
Howard W. Cannon, Nevada	Hugh Scott, Pennsylvania
Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island	
Joseph S. Clark, Pennsylvania	
Robert C. Byrd, West Virginia	

Wire and write all of them, here in Washington, urging them to endorse the Douglas-Kuchel majority resolution for bringing a filibuster to a close!

NEW TITLE VI REGULATIONS ISSUED

Fourteen government agencies have now issued their regulations, under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, to assure nondiscrimination in Federally-assisted Programs. Essentially, they are much like the first sets of regulations issued by seven other agencies on December 4. (See MEMO: No. 49). Leadership Conference lawyers are studying them.

The regulations appear in two separate issues of the Federal Register:
1. Those for the Departments of State, and Commerce; the Agency for International Development; National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA); Office of Economic Opportunity; Office of Emergency Planning; Small Business Administration and the Tennessee Valley Authority appear in the Register for Saturday, Jan. 9, Vol. 30, No. 6, Part II. It costs 15 cents a copy.

Regulations for the Atomic Energy Commission, Civil Aeronautics Board, Coast Guard, Defense Department, Federal Aviation Agency and the Veterans Administration appear in the Register for Dec. 31, 1964, Vol. 29, Number 254. That costs 25 cents a copy. Copies may be ordered, prepaid, from:

Superintendent of Documents
Government Printing Office
Washington, D. C. 20402

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ROY WILKINS Chairman **ARNOLD ARONSON** Secretary

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FEB 3 1965

February 1, 1965

Dear Friend:

The U. S. Civil Rights Commission is planning to hold a series of regional meetings in various parts of the country during the coming months. These conferences, like the one the Commission held here in Washington on January 28th, will be concerned primarily with what local communities can do to see that the benefits of nearly 200 Federally-aided programs are made available on a non-discriminatory basis, as required by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

We are cooperating with the Commission in the arrangements for these meetings. The first one is scheduled to be held in Atlanta, Georgia on Friday, March 5. In preparation for that meeting the Commission would like the names of professional and semi-professional persons in your organization who work in the seven-state region it hopes to reach through the Atlanta meeting. If you have no professionals in this area, the Commission would probably consider inviting a key lay person. Since the Commission is limited by space to a meeting of about 700 persons, it would be a good idea to limit your list to those representatives of your group whom you feel it is most important to invite and even, if possible, to establish your own priority on the invitations. The seven states involved in this Conference are: North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Tennessee.

Please mail your list direct to us at our Washington address as soon as possible. We would like to have all lists within a week. We will see that they are transmitted to the Commission. There is an opportunity here to bring information to where it will do most good: to people on the local level who are in the best position to see that the Act is being enforced.

Please let us have your names as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold Aronson

Arnold Aronson
Secretary

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ROY WILKINS Chairman **ARNOLD ARONSON** Secretary

TO: Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

MEMO: No. 54
February 2, 1965

HOW SHALL WE USE TITLE VI TO FIGHT DISCRIMINATION?

The school official who denies free lunches to colored children; the hospital that puts its Negro patients in inferior, segregated wards have been put on notice by the Vice President of the United States. "I'm going to be looking over the transom," Hubert H. Humphrey said.

The occasion for this warning was the U. S. Civil Rights Commission's all-day public conference on Title VI, the section of the Civil Rights Act that prohibits discrimination in all Federally-aided programs. Mr. Humphrey was the highest ranking government official at last Thursday's meeting, who publicly announced his determination to see that this far-reaching section of the Act is adequately enforced. He has been charged by the President to do this, as part of his task of coordinating all Federal activities relating to civil rights. But it is a job to which he brings deep personal conviction.

Other Top Officials Say They're Ready, Too

One of the best things to come out of the meeting was the succession of statements by top government executives that they, too, were ready to use the new powers of Title VI. These announcements mitigated the disappointment felt by some of those attending the meeting at what they believe is the air of caution with which the task of enforcement is being approached.

From the Vice President on down, the government officials made it clear they plan to use "voluntary conciliation" first in settling complaints. The power that Title VI gives the government to cut off funds for a particular program if a state or locality persists in discriminating against persons because of race, color or national origin (there is no mention of creed) is, Mr. Humphrey said, "a last resort and one that I sincerely hope will never have to be used."

"The objective of Title VI," he declared, "is to eliminate discrimination, not to shut down government programs or withhold funds."

The magnitude of the task outlined at the Commission's session makes it plain that government agencies will have difficulty trying to discharge their responsibilities under Title VI alone. There are 10 other titles that must be enforced.

The implication is clear: private voluntary groups must supplement the government's efforts in monitoring compliance with the Act.

The Leadership Conference Pledges Support

This obligation was recognized at the follow-up meeting the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights held at the Statler Hotel the very next morning. Nearly 200 representatives of the Conference's 89 national organizations endorsed a course of action aimed at keeping compliance with Title VI as well as other sections of the Act under nation-wide surveillance. They agreed on the necessity to train their members in the art of filing complaints wherever they find evidence of discrimination.

Why A Conference On Title VI?

The Commission was fully justified in devoting a whole day to one section of the Act. Consider the pervasive nature of Title VI: the government pays full or partial cost of a vast network of more than 190 programs in aid of education, health, community improvement, employment, welfare and agriculture. Every state is affected. The new Federal budget calls for payments that will total $13.6 billion. These Federal payments account, on the average, for 15 per cent of the total revenues collected by states and localities. In some states the government's payments constitute 32 per cent of all income.

In attempting to end discrimination in these programs, we have President Johnson's words as sanction: "It is simply justice that all should share in programs financed by all."

The Conference Draws A Record Crowd

The Civil Rights Commission had expected about 700 persons at its Thursday session. More than 1,000 attended. After morning meetings in the vast Interdepartmental Auditorium at which they were addressed by the Vice President and the Chairman of the Civil Rights Commission, John A. Hannah, the assembly broke up into panels.

The panel sessions, which were addressed by high ranking officials such as Office of Education Commissioner Francis Keppel and Robert C. Weaver, Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, gave some indication of the vast reach of Title VI. They dealt with Health and Welfare; Agricultural and Rural Area Development; Manpower Services; Housing and Community Development; Elementary and Secondary Education; and Higher Education.

It is difficult to summarize the information that was presented at these sessions and the questions they elicited. The Civil Rights Commission taped all the meetings and expects to prepare a summary of the proceedings. The Leadership Conference office will inform cooperating organizations when this material is available. It also hopes to send you within the next few weeks the Commission's Analysis of Title VI.

Enforcement Needs Complaints

Meanwhile, as one Commission official remarked during the proceedings, "We will be relying on complaints." He also pointed out a most significant fact:

complaints may be filed by organizations. The whole burden does not rest on agrieved individuals who are sometimes too poor or too timid to act in their own behalf.

At the Leadership Conference meeting in the Statler, there was considerable discussion of how cooperating groups can best generate complaints.

One method was through the distribution of questionnaires that the local memberships of our cooperating groups can use to estimate to what extent, if any, government aided programs - school lunches, training institutes, farm loans, employment services, etc. - are administered on a discriminatory basis. Three model questionnaires on Agriculture, Manpower Services and Hospitals were presented to the group. J. Francis Pohlhaus, NAACP's Washington counsel and Mrs. Cernoria Johnson of the National Urban League, who helped prepare two of these documents led the discussion of their use.

It was proposed that additional questionnaires covering other areas be prepared. But the Leadership Conference, while it can supply these checklists, must look to its cooperating organizations to distribute them and refer complaints to the proper government agencies.

Title VI Conferences May Be Nation-wide

The Civil Rights Commission's Title VI conference was, in a sense, a practice session for similar meetings the Commission plans to hold in various sections of the country. These regional meetings will be used to bring information on Title VI to people at the local level. The first of these meetings is scheduled to be held in Atlanta, Georgia on Friday, March 5th. The Commission hopes to draw state and local officials and professional employees of organizations in seven states: North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi and Florida. The Leadership Conference is cooperating with the Commission on whom to invite. Additional regional meetings are expected to be scheduled shortly.

Leadership Conference Considers Its Own Meetings

It was the overwhelming consensus of the representatives attending the session at the Statler that the Leadership Conference should hold follow-up meetings right after the Commission's regional meetings. Organizations within the Conference are expected to assume responsibilities for planning these sessions. We will make additional details available as they become known.

PROGRESS REPORT ON: THE FIGHT TO CURB FILIBUSTERS

The Conference meeting also received a progress report of the current campaign in the Senate to curb filibusters.

Once again organizational representatives were urged, as our last MEMO (No. 53) also urged, to bombard members of the Senate Rules Committee with messages.

That Committee is presently considering proposals to amend Rule 22 in order to make it easier to stop a filibuster. It must report back to the Senate

by March 9th. Now is the time to ask all Committee members to support the Douglas-Kuchel proposal that a vote of 51 Senators - a constitutional majority - should be enough to close off debate and let the Senate bring a bill to a vote. Send your wires and letters to: Senators B. Everett Jordan (D., N. C.), Carl Hayden (D., Ariz.), Howard W. Cannon (D., Nev.), Claiborne Pell (D., R.I.), Joseph S. Clark (D., Pa.), Robert C. Byrd (D., West Va.), Carl T. Curtis (R., Neb.), John Sherman Cooper (R., Ky.), Hugh Scott (R., Pa.).

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NOTE TO WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVES: The next meeting of the Leadership Conference will be held on Thursday, February 11, at 10 a.m. in the second floor meeting room of the Philip Murray Building, 1626 16th Street, N.W. Our agenda: Rule 22 amendments; new civil rights legislation; support of the Civil Rights Commission's regional meetings.

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ROY WILKINS Chairman **ARNOLD ARONSON** Secretary

February 15, 1965

Dear Friend:

The pressure of work, notably the involvement of many members of its staff in the current hearings in Mississippi, has forced the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights to postpone the first in its series of proposed regional conferences.

As we explained in our last letter on this subject, the Commission plans to hold these one-day meetings throughout the country in order to inform as many citizens as possible of the provisions of the Act, particularly Title VI, the section that prohibits discrimination in all Federally assisted programs.

Instead of holding its first meeting in Atlanta, the Commission now proposes to inaugurate these conferences in Dallas, Texas. It will be held some time during the week of March 22nd. We shall have to inform you of the exact date later. In preparation for this meeting, the Commission would like organizations cooperating in the Leadership Conference to provide it with the names of their professional or semi-professional workers in the region. In the absence of such workers, the Leadership Conference suggests you send the name or names of key lay leaders in your organization. Send them to us, first, since we would like such lists for our own files; and we will forward them. Since the Commission faces limitations of space, we ask that you establish priorities and try to keep your list as brief as possible.

The states from which the Commission seeks to draw participants to the Dallas meeting are: Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana, Missouri and Kansas.

The Atlanta meeting will still be held. The new date is Wednesday, April 14. To the states we previously announced, the Commission is adding Virginia. If you have already sent us names of those in your organization who should be invited we ask you, now, to send us the name or names of those in Virginia who should be asked to come.

If you have not yet sent in any names, you may want us to recall that in addition to Georgia and Virginia, the other states asked to participate in the Atlanta meeting are: North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Tennessee.

We need hardly add that such regional meetings as these will help Conference organizations create an informed and vigilant membership that will work for the enforcement of the Civil Rights Act.

Sincerely,

Arnold Aronson

Arnold Aronson
Secretary

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ROY WILKINS Chairman **ARNOLD ARONSON** Secretary

FEB 18 1965

SPECIAL
EMERGENCY
MEMO
February 17, 1965

TO: Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

ANTI-FILIBUSTER HEARINGS START: WE PLAN TO TESTIFY

We are ready to take our next step in the campaign to curb filibusters. On Tuesday, February 23 and on Monday, March 1, the Senate Rules Committee will hold hearings on proposals to modify Rule 22 and make it easier to shut off debate.

It is essential that the views of the Leadership Conference be presented at these hearings. Because we do not wish to afford the Committee any reason to prolong hearings and because we believe a unified approach will have the maximum effect, we suggest that a single statement be presented on March 1, by Roy Wilkins as chairman of the Leadership Conference and Joseph Rauh as counsel.

The Conference Backs "Constitutional Majority" Proposal

In the short time remaining, it will not be possible to complete a draft of the statement and circulate the full text. However, the statement we contemplate would reaffirm the Leadership Conference's long-standing support for the bi-partisan proposal advanced by Senator Paul Douglas (D., Ill.) and the Republican Whip Thomas Kuchel (R., Cal.). Their resolution (S.Res. 8), in which they are joined by 15 other Senators, would permit a constitutional majority of the Senate (51 members) to invoke cloture. Since cloture could not be imposed under this plan until 15 days had elapsed, ample time would be provided for full and free debate.

Please let us know no later than Thursday, February 25 if we may include the name of your organization among those supporting the Conference's statement.

* * *

NOTE: The Leadership Conference is in the process of moving its office. Please send your replies to our temporary headquarters: 100 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. (20001), and mark them, Att.: Mrs. Yvonne Price.

LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE
ON
CIVIL RIGHTS

MAR 5 1965

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ROY WILKINS Chairman ARNOLD ARONSON Secretary

March 4, 1965

MEMORANDUM

TO: Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

WOULD YOUR ATTORNEYS LIKE A CONFERENCE ON TITLE VI?

Following the January conference here in Washington on Title VI, the section of the Civil Rights Act that prohibits discrimination in Federally-assisted programs, several attorneys in our cooperating groups expressed an interest in a more technical discussion of the section with government officials.

We will be happy to arrange such a meeting if we can determine, first, how many attorneys in the Leadership Conference organizations would be interested in participating. This would be a closed session. The government attorneys would, we think, be willing to talk off the record. But because of its technical nature it would have to be limited to attorneys only.

Please let us know if your attorneys would like such a conference and we will make the necessary arrangements.

Replies should reach us by Thursday, March 11. We will then send your attorneys the information on the time and place.

NOTE: Because the Leadership Conference office is in the process of moving, please send your replies to 100 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C.

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ROY WILKINS Chairman ARNOLD ARONSON Secretary

March 4, 1965

MEMORANDUM

TO: Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

RE: U. S. Civil Rights Commission Regional Meetings

THE FINAL DATES AND STATES ARE SET: WE STILL NEED YOUR LISTS

The U. S. Civil Rights Commission has finally fixed the dates for the first of its regional conferences on the Civil Rights Act, with particular emphasis on Title VI and the regulations prohibiting discrimination in all Federally-assisted projects.

First Meeting: Dallas, Texas, Thursday, March 25 (Adolphus Hotel)

The states from which this conference will draw its participants are now - Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas and New Mexico. New Mexico is an addition. If there are paid professionals or leaders in your organization there who should be invited, please send their names to us.

Second Regional Meeting: Atlanta, Ga., Wednesday, April 14

The states involved are now Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Tennessee. Lists for these states have been requested in our earlier letter.

The Commission tells us they regret these many changes, but note that these are the first conferences of their kind and it has had little precedent in the planning of them.

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ROY WILKINS Chairman ARNOLD ARONSON Secretary

TO: Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

MEMO: No. 55
March 8, 1965

THE ANTIFILIBUSTER FIGHT SHIFTS TO THE SENATE FLOOR

The drive to curb filibusters goes on despite a temporary setback in the Senate Rules Committee last week. It was a matter for keen disappointment when the Committee, by a vote of 5-to-4, decided not to recommend any change in the present filibuster rule (Rule 22). Its negative report will be made to the Senate on March 9, as required by January's unanimous consent agreement (see MEMO No. 53). Some time after that the issue comes before the Senate. All our efforts in behalf of rules reform must now be directed at the full Senate body.

Leadership Conference Calls For Change

At a hearing just two days before the Committee voted, Roy Wilkins, as Chairman of the Leadership Conference, and Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., as Counsel, made strong pleas for reform, urging the Rules Committee to support the Douglas-Kuchel bi-partisan resolution (S.Res.8) which would permit a constitutional majority of the Senate (51 Senators) to vote cloture after full and fair debate for at least five weeks. Only through such amendment, they argued, can majority rule prevail in the Senate.

A One-Vote Miss

The close vote in the Committee was painful. A switch of a single vote would have sent to the Senate a report recommending a modified version of the Anderson-Morton resolution (S.Res.6) which would reduce from two-thirds to three-fifths the number of Senators needed to close debate. The four Senators who voted in favor of some kind of rules reform were Senators Joseph Clark (D., Pa.), John Sherman Cooper (R., Ky.), Hugh Scott (R., Pa.), and Claiborne Pell (D., R.I.).

The five who voted against any reform were Senators B. Everett Jordan (D., N.C.), chairman of the Rules Committee; Carl Hayden (D., Ariz.), Howard W. Cannon (D., Nev.), Robert C. Byrd (D., W.Va.), and Carl T. Curtis (R., Neb.).

Why Did The Antifilibuster Forces Lose?

One reason for the poor showing was insufficient pressure from the public for a change in Rule 22. In spite of numerous appeals from the Leadership Conference, it appears that only a few of our cooperating organizations sent wires to the Rules Committee in support of the Douglas-Kuchel resolution. We shall have to do a

File - voting legisl.

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 phone **234-4722** • New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400

April 1, 1965

Dear Friend:

Here is the actual text of amendments the Leadership Conference is proposing for the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

You have already received a description of these amendments in our last MEMO, No. 57. These changes in language are already being circulated among Members of Congress. We hope they will prove helpful to you when you or your representatives discuss with Congressmen and Senators ways in which to broaden and strengthen the measure.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold Aronson

Arnold Aronson
Secretary

Enclosure

C O P Y

MEMORANDUM TO: Members of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and all participating groups in the American Civil Rights Movement

FROM: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.,
President of Southern Christian Leadership Conference

SUBJECT: VOTING LEGISLATION

This memorandum is being sent to clarify and supplement the position of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in relationship to the memorandum dated February 27, 1965, subject: "Voting Legislation." However, I must make clear that the memorandum of February 27th does not accurately reveal either the manner in which I feel so important a debate should take place nor does the memorandum fully represent the spirit and position of the SCLC.

In the first place, I believe that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was a tremendously positive achievement. The public accommodations and fund withholding titles have already had significant impact; the employment section will have, I trust, great effect commencing in July. We all knew that the voting section of the 1964 Act would prove ineffectual and that additional legislation would be necessary. Not only do we believe that the 1964 Act was a great step forward, but we also know that it could only have been accomplished by the unity of the more than 80 groups within the Leadership Conference working together in mutual trust and confidence.

It is most important for the Civil Rights movement to support the strongest possible voting legislation. I know that this is the overwhelming view of the members of the Leadership Conference. We must all strive to bring about a unified position of the Leadership Conference and then working through the Conference carry that position to fruition. In any event, wherever disagreements exist they should be worked out fully, debated and resolved, within the framework of the Leadership Conference.

In the last analysis, the Administration will draft and send to Congress its own legislation. Our job is to achieve the kind of unity which will assure the passage of a voting bill which once and for all will guarantee the right of universal suffrage.

All of us working together can bring about another legislative victory.

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LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 phone 234-4722 • New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400

April 2, 1965

Dear Friend:

You will recall that Reverend Martin Luther King's name was attached to a memorandum issued on February 27 in the name of four organizations, setting forth the kind of voting legislation they would support.

Since then, Dr. King has written the enclosed statement in order to clarify his position. Bayard Rustin read this statement to Leadership Conference representatives at the meeting on March 17. Now, at Dr. King's request, we are sending it to cooperating organizations within the conference.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold Aronson

Arnold Aronson
Secretary

Enclosure
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AMENDMENTS PROPOSED BY

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

To H.R. 6400

I

POLL TAX

(i) Leadership Conference testimony March 24, 1965 urged:

"1) The total elimination of the poll tax as a restriction on voting in state and local elections as well as in federal elections."

(ii) Suggested language for proposed amendment:

"On line 6, page 6, delete all of Sec. 5(e) and on line 13, page 11, insert a new section as follows: 'Sec. 12. No state or political subdivision shall deny or deprive any person of the right to register or to vote because of his failure to pay a poll tax or any other tax or payment as a pre-condition of registration or voting.' Renumber Sections 12 and 13."

(iii) This amendment would have the effect of abolishing the poll tax in Mississippi, Alabama, Virginia and Texas (Arkansas has already passed a constitutional amendment authorizing the abolition of the poll tax and an implementing statute is expected promptly).

II

APPLYING DIRECTLY TO FEDERAL EXAMINER

(i) Leadership Conference testimony on March 24, 1965 urged:

> "2) The elimination of the requirement in the bill that a prospective registrant must first go before the state official to attempt to register before going to the Federal registrar or examiner. The prospective registrant ought not to be put to the delays, the hardships, and the indignity of attempting to satisfy hostile state officials before he can come to the Federal Registrar."

(ii) Suggested language for proposed amendment:

> "On line 19, page 4, change the comma after the word 'vote' to a period and delete the remainder of Sec. 5.(a)."

(iii) This amendment would have the effect of permitting an applicant for registration to go directly to the Federal examiner without first having to try out the state authorities.

III

EXPANDED COVERAGE

(i) Leadership Conference testimony on March 24, 1965 urged:

> "3) Extended coverage of the registrar or examiner provisions of the bill, so that persons who have been wrongfully denied the right to vote, regardless of their geographical location, will have the benefits of these provisions of the legislation."

(ii) Suggested language for proposed amendments:

"On line 19, page 3, after the word 'residents' insert '(i)' and on line 20, page 3, after the words 'section 3(a)' insert the following: 'or (ii) of a political subdivision with respect to which the Director of the Census has certified to the Attorney General that the number of persons of any race or color who were registered to vote on November 1, 1964 was less than 25 percent of the number of all persons of such race or color of voting age residing in such subdivision,'"

"On line 15, page 4, insert a new subsection as follows: '(c) Whenever the Attorney General receives complaints in writing from twenty or more residents of a political subdivision not covered by the provisions of section 4 (a), alleging that they have been denied the right to vote under color of law by reason or race or color and he believes such complaints to be meritorious, the Attorney General shall appoint a hearing officer to hold a hearing and determine whether there exists in such political subdivision a pattern or practice of denial of the right to vote on account of race or color. Whenever the Attorney General certifies that a hearing officer has determined that such a pattern or practice does exist in such political subdivision, the Civil Service Commission shall appoint examiners for such subdivision in accordance with section 4(a). The determination of the hearing officer shall be reviewable in a three-judge district court convened in the District of Columbia in an action for declaratory judgment against the United States by the affected political subdivision or by one or more of the twenty residents making the original complaint. The findings of the hearing officer if supported by substantial evidence shall be conclusive. There shall be no stay of any action of the examiners appointed by the Civil Service Commission unless and until the said three-judge district

court shall determine that the findings of the hearing officer are not supported by substantial evidence."

(iii) These amendments would have the effect of broadening the coverage of HR 6400. While leaving intact the excellent automatic provisions of the Administration bill covering Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, Virginia, South Carolina and 34 counties of North Carolina, they would provide for examiners in other political subdivisions if

(1) less than 25 percent of a racial group were registered on November 1, 1964 and twenty residents complained to the Attorney General that they had been denied the right to vote, or

(2) twenty residents in any subdivision complained to the Attorney General that they had been denied the right to vote and a hearing officer found, after hearing, that there is a pattern or practice of discrimination in such subdivision.

IV

PREVENTING INTIMIDATION

(i) Leadership Conference testimony March 24, 1965 urged:

"4) Further and maximum protection of registrants and voters both those who will be registered under the bill and those already registered, and prospective registrants, from all economic and physical intimidation and coercion. In extending such protection, the Federal Government should use the full range of its powers, criminal, civil and economic, to protect the citizen from the beginning of registration process until his vote has been cast and counted."

(ii) Suggested language for proposed amendments:

"On line 16, page 7 delete the entire Section 7, and substitute the following:

'Sec. 7 No person, whether acting under color of law or otherwise, shall fail or refuse to permit a person to vote whose name appears on a list transmitted in accordance with section 5 (b), or is otherwise qualified to vote, or fail or refuse to count such person's vote, or intimidate, threaten or coerce any person for registering or attempting to register, or assisting one registering or attempting to register, or for voting or attempting to vote under the authority of this Act or otherwise."

"On line 14, page 10, insert a new subsection as follows:

'(g) Whoever shall deprive or attempt to deprive any person of any right secured by section 2 or 3 or who shall violate section 7 shall be subject to a civil penalty in the amount of $500 for each act of deprivation, or violation, or attempt. Such penalty shall be collected on behalf of the affected individual by a civil action, brought by the United States in the district court for the district in which such act, violation, or attempt occurs or in the district in which the person responsible for such act, violation, or attempt is found. In any action brought hereunder involving any person acting under color or law who is in the employment

of any state or political subdivision, said state or political subdivision shall be jointly liable and shall be made a party.'"

"On line 14, page 8, add the following at the end thereof: 'If the life of any person is placed in jeopardy, he shall be fined not more than $20,000 or imprisoned not more than twenty years, or both.'"

"On line 2, page 9, add the following at the end thereof: 'If the life of any person is placed in jeopardy, he shall be fined not more than $20,000 or imprisoned not more than twenty years, or both.'"

"On line 14, page 10, insert a new subsection as follows:*

'(g) Whenever an examiner has been appointed under this Act for any political subdivision, the Attorney General may assign representatives of the Department of Justice, including agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and United States Marshals, to observe any registration of voters, the conduct of any election, and the tabulation of votes at any election in such political subdivision. Such representatives shall be entitled to enter and to remain in any registration or voting place, or place where votes are tabulated. No person shall interfere with or refuse to admit to any such registration, or voting or tabulation place any representative of the Department of Justice. Any person who shall violate this provision shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both. In addition, the Attorney General may institute for the United States, or in the name of the United States, an action for preventive relief, including an application for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order or other order, enjoining violations of this subsection.'"

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* If the earlier suggestion of a civil penalty is adopted as subsection (g), this would, of course, become subsection (h).

(iii) These amendments would have the effect of broadening the prohibition on intimidation to cover all registrants and voters, provide for a $500 civil penalty for victims of acts of intimidation, increase penalties for violations of the Act where life is placed in jeopardy, and provide for F.B.I. agents and U.S. Marshals to observe registration, voting and counting.

* * * * * * *

The above constitute the substantive amendments agreed upon by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights to strengthen the bill. A number of language and technical suggestions are being made to the Justice Department and we would appreciate an opportunity to discuss these suggestions with Committee counsel.

file

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 phone 234-4722 • New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400

Shouldn't this be answered?

April 6, 1965

APR 7 1965

No!

GN

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Jim:

This letter is a frank appeal for financial assistance.

Coordinated planning and action through the Leadership Conference was indispensable in bringing about passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. That same kind of unified cooperative effort is needed now to assure speedy passage of an effective voting bill.

And that takes money.

The Leadership Conference has no paid professional staff and we rely on volunteers for much of our clerical work. Nevertheless, the irreducible expense of maintaining our office -- telephone, printing and publications, mailings, secretarial help, meetings and conferences has been averaging $2,000 a month. The kind of campaign we are mounting for the voting bill will require twice that amount. The Leadership Conference has no outside source of funds. It depends exclusively on voluntary contributions from the cooperating organizations to maintain operations.

We are deeply appreciative of the support we have received from you in the past. However, we have received no contribution from CORE since 1964.

We earnestly appeal to you, therefore, to send us as large a check as you can as promptly as you can. We have a splendid opportunity to insure, once and for all, the right of every American citizen to vote. We must not miss that opportunity by making less than an all-out effort.

With sincere thanks for your cooperation.

Cordially yours,

Arnie

Arnold Aronson
Secretary

9 W - who suggest? Yes

file

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
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2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 phone 234-4722 • New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400

April 8, 1965

Dear Friend:

Many organizations in the Leadership Conference are worried about the growing strength of the national movement to nullify last year's Supreme Court decision requiring states to apportion both houses of their legislature on a strict "one-man, one-vote" basis.

These groups point out that anti-civil rights forces are involved in the fight against reapportionment. There is evidence to suggest that some of the same men who led the opposition to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 are directing the attempt to overturn the Supreme Court's ruling through a constitutional amendment.

If they win, it would be a grave set back for civil rights. At the very moment Negroes are winning the right to vote, they face a threat that could reduce the value of that right. Most Negroes are city-dwellers. Most state legislatures are so mal-apportioned, they are controlled by forces indifferent or hostile to the needs of cities and their minorities.

To meet the threat of constitutional amendments, the concerned organizations are in the process of setting up The National Committee For Fair Representation. This is strictly an ad hoc organization, whose purpose is to mobilize citizen opposition to the campaign to void the "one-man, one-vote" rule. The Committee does not plan to perpetuate itself, once the threat to legislative reapportionment is past.

The groups have begun to meet and the enclosed pamphlet "The Vote Shrinkers" is the first piece of material they have issued.

Because of the implications for civil rights in the reapportionment struggle and because the Conference cannot undertake new obligations, we are glad to make our facilities available in order to inform you of the National Committee.

Some of the organizations involved in initiating the National Committee are the NAACP, the National Urban League, the AFL-CIO; the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO; the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Council of Churches, the Commission on Urban Life, the National Council of Jewish Women, Amalgamated Meat Cutters, United Auto Workers, and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

more ---

The officers of the National Committee are: Lawrence Speiser, Washington Counsel for the ACLU, President; and Dr. Royce Hanson, Professor at American University and a national authority on legislative reapportionment, Secretary-Treasurer.

The National Committee will function in precisely the same way as the Leadership Conference. Cooperating organizations would still preserve their full autonomy, any action taken would be on the basis of a consensus of the represented groups, and no organization's name would be used in any way without its expressed consent.

The need for organized action is urgent. If your organization will participate in the National Committee please fill out the enclosed card and return it as quickly as possible.

We hope the National Committee will develop the same broad representation that has made the Leadership Conference so effective. Considering the close connection between the fight for full equality in voting power and civil rights, we warmly invite you to join in this new endeavor.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold Aronson

Arnold Aronson
Secretary

Enclosure

P.S. Additional copies of "The Vote Shrinkers" may be ordered from the National Committee For Fair Representation for $6 per hundred copies.

file

April 13, 1965

Mr. Clearance Mitchel, Director
NAACP Washington Bureau
1ee Massachusetts Ave. N. W.

Dear Clearence:

This is to formally advise you that Mr. Robert Blanchard of 5005 Lee Jay Court, Apt. 301, Washington D.C., 20027, will be the official CORE Representative to the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. Blanchard will not be authorized to commit National CORE to major policy decisions without prior consultation with the New York office. I presume this puts him in the same position with most of the organizational representatives in the Leadership Conference.

Yours Truly,

James Farmer
National Director

April 23, 1965

To Whom It May Concern:

This letter is to introduce Mr. Robert Blanchard who is representing National CORE, in Washington.

Yours truly,

James Farmer
National Director

APR 2 6 1965

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 phone 234-4722 • New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400

MEMO: NO. 59
April 23, 1965

TO: Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

VOTING BILL FACES NEW HOUSE AND SENATE TESTS

The main purpose of this MEMO is to supply you with ammunition. The situation in which the Voting Rights Act finds itself is little changed since our last report. The Senate, by the time you read this, will have begun debate on the version of the bill (S. 1564) reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee. The full House Judiciary Committee is scheduled to begin consideration of its subcommittee version (H.R. 6400) on April 28.

Our task is to continue to urge Senators and Congressmen to support the strongest possible measure - the House and Senate versions with the further amendments and the few deletions we proposed in our last MEMO (No. 58).

If you have been able to see your Senator or Congressman during the Easter holidays or if you have reports from your members, please let us know what you have learned.

Aids To Victory - An Analysis and Two Speeches

To help you and your members in their approaches to members of Congress we enclose:

1. A Comparative Analysis of how the current House and Senate versions compare with the Administration Bill and with proposed Leadership Conference amendments.

2. A Speech on Poll Taxes by Senator Edward Kennedy (D., Mass.) which sets forth the basis for eliminating all poll tax requirements by law. (Both the House and Senate versions do eliminate the tax.) We must see that this provision stays in the bill. The Senator's speech presents a comprehensive argument for our position.

3. President Johnson's Voting Rights Message to a joint session of Congress. The most elopuent statement yet on the need for a Voting Rights Act.

Additional copies of the analysis and the Kennedy speech are available on request to this office. The Johnson speech may be ordered at $10 a hundred.

Arm yourself now. The full campaign for the voting rights bill is about to begin.

THE AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT MOVES AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

At the direction of Secretary Orville Freeman, the Department of Agriculture has named three Negro farmers to serve on the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation (ASC) Committees in Mississippi, Arkansas and Maryland. The Department has also ordered the appointment of Negroes to the first vacancies that occur in the staffs of the ASC Committees - the units that help administer Federal farm aid programs.

Small steps, perhaps, but courageous ones. The rural South is furious. Mr. Freeman is being attacked by powerful farming interests in the South and by their allies in Congress.

We in the Leadership Conference must come to his support. As part of the Conference effort to see that Title VI of the Civil Rights Act is properly enforced, we have met with Mr. Freeman and members of his staff, urging them to end the discrimination documented by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission in its recent report, "Equal Opportunity In Farm Programs."

Now that the Department has begun to act, we should voice our approval. A letter of commendation from your organization to the Secretary would help right now. So would letters to Senators and Congressmen urging them to back the Department in its attempts to eradicate discrimination.

-30-

PROVISIONS	ORIGINAL BILL	HOUS
Areas affected	Automatic in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia, and political subdivisions of any other state to which the formula would apply. (Alaska "in", but procedure for getting "out")	Areas aff decisions those of
Termination of prohibition	Same tests as would exclude coverage (through court action).	Same as o but "esca easier, a
Enforcement of prohibition	Civil action by Attorney General. Use of examiners would help insure prohibition.	Same as o
Formula for appointment of Federal examiners	Automatic in areas covered by literacy test formula above, upon non-reviewable certification by Attorney General that he has received complaints of discriminatory voting denial from 20 residents of a political subdivision and that he believes complaints are meritorious or that in his judgment the appointments are necessary (without complaints) to enforce 15th Amendment.	In additi authorize voting ca Attorney locutory In exerci appoint w the Attor consider of non-wh trants is violation Amendment

HOUSE BILL	SENATE BILL	AMENDMENTS SUGGESTED BY LCCR
Areas affected by court decisions would be added to those of original bill.	Alaska would be excluded. Status of Virginia appears in doubt at this time. Subdivisions outside of states automatically covered would be excluded if non-white population is not above 20%. Areas where less than 25% of non-white are registered could be added at request of Attorney General.	
Same as original bill, but "escape" is made easier, as noted above.	Same as original bill, but "escape" is made easier than House bill, as noted above.	
Same as original bill.	Same.	
In addition, court may authorize appointment in voting cases brought by Attorney General by interlocutory or final order. In exercising judgment to appoint without complaints, the Attorney General shall consider whether the ratio of non-white to white registrants is attributable to violations of the 15th Amendment.	Same as House Bill, except: 1) in areas of additional coverage (where less than 25% of racial group is registered) the initiative to apply the formula is with the Attorney General (who must request finding by Director of the Census). 2) Court is given more discretion in authorizing appointments.	

PROVISIONS	ORIGINAL BILL	HOUSE BILL
Who and how appointed	Examiners appointed by U. S. Civil Service Commission.	Use of Federal em other agencies sp authorized.
Standards applied by examiners	Constitutional state standards, except no literacy test or other test or device may be used - Civil Service Commission to establish rules and prescribe forms to be used, after consultation with Attorney General.	Same as original except literacy t other tests or de be used by court- examiners unless suspends their us
New standards	No standards or procedures different from those in effect in November, 1964, shall be enforced in states or subdivisions covered by formula unless found non-discriminatory by three-judge court in D. C.	New standards or may be applied if General does not within 60 days of sion to him. If court approval is Where courts find crimination no st or procedures dif from those in eff case began may be unless Attorney G fails to object, hearing case find non-discriminator Failure of Attorn to object or cour will not bar subs action to enjoin standard or proce

OUSE BILL	SENATE BILL	AMENDMENTS SUGGESTED BY LCCR
Federal employees from gencies specifically zed.	Same as House Bill plus a provision that examiners, where practicable, be from state where they are functioning.	
original bill, literacy tests and ests or devices may by court-authorized rs unless the court s their use.	Same as House bill.	
ndards or procedures pplied if Attorney does not object 60 days of submis- him. If he does, pproval is needed. urts find dis- tion no standards edures different se in effect when gan may be applied, ttorney General object, or court case finds them riminatory. of Attorney General t or court finding bar subsequent o enjoin use of or procedure.	Same as House bill.	

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
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TO: Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

A Supplement to MEMO No. 59
April 26, 1965

KENNEDY SPEECH: WHY THE POLL TAX MUST BE BANNED

Here are Senator Edward Kennedy's speech on poll taxes and the President's speech on voting rights. Both are enclosures for MEMO No. 59.

In the few days since the first part of this MEMO was sent out, it has become increasingly clear that one of the dangers confronting the voting rights act is a strong campaign to knock out of the Senate and House versions of the bill the provision liberals were able to add in committee that would ban a poll tax in state and local elections. This symbol of harassment and repression must be destroyed. In all your approaches to Senators and Congressmen, urge them to fight to keep in the bill the provision that would eliminate the tax. The Kennedy speech can help you and your members by providing a comprehensive argument for eliminating all poll tax requirements.

Try to have excerpts from the speech reprinted in your local papers. Local editors can make good use of it in preparing editorials on the bill. If you can use additional copies let us know and we will send them to you.

As for the President's moving address, additional copies may be ordered from this office at $10 a hundred.

Time's short. We must get to work right now.

Enclosures (2)

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

APR 30 1965

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 phone 234-4722 • New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400

MEMO: NO. 60
April 29, 1965

TO: Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

LET'S KEEP THE POLL TAX BAN IN THE BILL!

Remember 1963 and 1964? What the fight for a voting rights bill needs right now is one of the intensive telegram-letter writing campaigns of those years that helped improve and strengthen the Civil Rights Act. The sad truth is that during these crucial days in the life of the voting bill, letters are simply not coming in.

Needed: Phone Calls and Telegrams

At this moment, when the bill is being debated on the Senate floor and considered in the House Judiciary Committee, it is of utmost importance that your national officers and your membership phone, wire or write the President, the Senators and the members of the House Judiciary Committee* urging them to support the strongest possible bill, including the provision that would prohibit a poll tax as a requirement for voting in state and local elections.

There are other important amendments in the bill and we will continue to advise you about them as floor and committee consideration continues. But the poll tax provision is the pivotal issue. There is an aggressive campaign on in the House and Senate to eliminate the poll tax ban that bipartisan liberals have been able to add to the measure. The best counter to that campaign is a strong expression of our desire to see the poll tax provision kept in the bill.

A communication from the head of your organization, floods of letters from your membership would strengthen the resolve of supporters of the poll tax ban and perhaps win over uncertain members of Congress.

To help you formulate your own message we enclose the texts of telegrams that have already been sent to Congress by Roy Wilkins, Chair-

* See Memo. No. 58 for a list of the committee members.

man of the Leadership Conference, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO and Walter Reuther, President of the United Automobile Workers of America.

Try To Get Editorial Support

Newspaper editorials backing a strong voting rights bill would be very helpful just now. We enclose one from the New York Times that is an excellent statement of the issues involved in getting effective voting legislation. Try to get local editors to publish similar editorials. If they do, send us copies. Inserted in the Congressional Record by members of Congress, they can help build the support we need at this time.

Please get to work at once. We have only a week or two in which to accomplish anything. Please write and wire your messages right now.

-30-

Here are the texts of the telegrams:

Roy Wilkins - Text of wire to the President

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR SUPPORT FOR THE VITAL ANTI-POLL TAX PROVISION IN THE PENDING VOTING RIGHTS BILL. EFFECTIVENESS OF THE MEASURE WILL BE IMPAIRED IF THE PROVISION IS DELETED. CITIZENS DENIED THE VOTE BY THE POLL TAX HAVE NO WAY OF PROTECTING THEMSELVES AGAINST HOSTILITY OF MAYORS, SHERIFFS OR OTHER LOCAL OFFICIALS. THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN LOCAL AND STATE ELECTIONS IS CERTAINLY AS ESSENTIAL AS THE RIGHT TO ELECT FEDERAL OFFICIALS AND SOMETIMES MORE IMMEDIATELY IMPORTANT TO THE INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN. WE BELIEVE STRONGLY THAT PROCEDURE IS THOROUGHLY CONSTITUTIONAL AND WILL BE SO DECLARED BY THE COURTS SINCE THE POLL TAX HAS BEEN ADMITTEDLY A DEVICE CONCEIVED TO PREVENT NEGRO CITIZENS FROM VOTING. THUS IN OUR ESTIMATION IT COMES WITHIN THE PROHIBITION PROVISION OF THE 15TH AMENDMENT AND CANNOT STAND SOLELY AS A QUALIFICATION FOR VOTING SET BY THE STATES.

RESPECTFULLY,
/S/
ROY WILKINS

more ...

Martin Luther King, Jr. - Text of wire sent to Senators

I URGE YOU TO SUPPORT THE SENATE COMMITTEE PROPOSED ELIMINATION OF POLL TAX. A 1965 VOTING BILL WHICH CONTAINS INIQUITOUS POLL TAX WOULD BE A NATIONAL TRAGEDY.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

George Meany - Text of wire sent to Senators

THE AFL-CIO URGES THAT YOU SUPPORT ENACTMENT OF A STRONG VOTING BILL, INCLUDING ELIMINATION OF ALL POLL TAXES. AS I STATED IN MY CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY, "IT IS THE POSITION OF THE AFL-CIO THAT NO AMERICAN SHOULD HAVE TO BUY HIS RIGHT TO VOTE IN ANY ELECTION."

GEORGE MEANY

Walter Reuther - Text of wire sent to all Senators except Alabama and Mississippi

STRONGLY URGE YOUR SUPPORT OF HART, KENNEDY, JAVITS AMENDMENT TO VOTING RIGHTS BILL TO ABOLISH POLL TAXES. A VOTE TO SUSTAIN THE AMENDMENT IS A VOTE TO OPPRESS NEGROES OF MISSISSIPPI AND ALABAMA. THE MANY LAWYERS OF THE 90 ORGANIZATIONS IN THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS ARE OF THE FIRM OPINION THAT CONGRESS HAS FULL POWER UNDER THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH AMENDMENTS TO OUTLAW POLL TAX. NO ONE SHOULD PAY FOR RIGHT OF FRANCHISE. VOTE ON THIS ISSUE WILL PROBABLY BE MOST SIGNIFICANT CIVIL RIGHTS VOTE OF 1965. WE HOPE WE CAN COUNT ON YOU.

WALTER REUTHER

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 phone **234-4722** • New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400

May 10, 1965

Dear Friend:

We wish to invite you to a special regional meeting of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights on Wednesday, May 19, in Washington, D.C. The meeting will be held in the Sheraton-Park Hotel, at 9:30am, in a room to be announced.

Our meeting will follow by one day the regional conference of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, to which we understand you have been invited. There are compelling reasons for our meeting. The Commission's Conference will include many state and local persons who have no primary interest in civil rights. Our meeting is aimed at those in the region who are active in the Civil Rights Movement. The Commission's meeting will be limited primarily to furnishing information about the Civil Rights Act, particularly Title VI, which prohibits discrimination in Federally-assisted programs. We will discuss how to put that information to most effective use in your community, how we can work for the best possible enforcement and implementation of the Act.

We believe a meeting with representatives from the region - District of Columbia, Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, Virginia and West Virginia - will benefit all of us. It will give you an opportunity to discuss with concerned individuals like yourself the problems you face in working for equal rights. It will give us in Washington on opportunity to learn how we can be of most help to you and your organization. We look forward to meeting you on this occasion.

Please let us know, by the enclosed card, if you will be able to be with us.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold Aronson

Arnold Aronson
Secretary

Enclosure

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

JUN 1 1965

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
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TO: Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

MEMO: No. 64
May 31, 1965

HOUSE GETS READY TO ACT; THE SENATE PASSES VOTING BILL

Now the fight for voting rights shifts to the House. On Tuesday, May 25, the Senate abruptly cut down debate on the bill by invoking cloture and passed the measure the very next day.

For anyone who recalls the high drama that accompanied last year's cloture vote, when the Senate for the first time in its history broke a filibuster on a civil rights bill, the events of this past Tuesday were mild indeed. Without any impassioned speeches or much show of resistance on the part of a group of rather subdued Southerners, the Senate imposed cloture by a vote of 70 to 30. That was three votes more than the two-thirds necessary to limit debate. Last year, cloture on the Civil Rights Act was invoked by a vote of 71 to 29. Whatever opposition there was to the bill quickly collapsed and the following afternoon, by a final vote of 77 to 19, the Senate adopted the measure. (Both the cloture vote and the final vote are given in attachments to this MEMO.)

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At least one amendment the Senate accepted during its final days of consideration may be troublesome. This was a proposal by its Democratic Whip Russell Long of Louisiana, that would permit counties to obtain exemption from the law if they can show that 50 per cent of their Negro voters are registered and that there is no discrimination. It was the only amendment by a Southerner that the Senate did accept.

Another notable change in the final days was an amendment, by Senators Jacob Javits (R) and Robert Kennedy (D) that would extend the right to vote to any eligible resident who is illiterate in English if he can produce evidence of a sixth grade education or whatever standard a state prescribes in a school in any state, the District of Columbia or Puerto Rico where another language was used. The principal effect of the change will be to enfranchise more than 300,000 Spanish-speaking Puerto Ricans in New York, where an eighth grade education is required.

The Senate also adopted an amendment by Senator Joseph D. Tydings (D., Md.) that would exclude servicemen and their dependents from any calculation by the Census Bureau of the number of non-white voters in a state or county. This would remove a potential source of delay in implementing the bill since the Census Bureau would have trouble compiling statistics on servicemen if it had to include them in its count.

House Bill Is Still Stronger

As our last MEMO (No.63) pointed out, the bill that the House Judiciary Committee has approved, while similar to the Senate bill in many major respects, is still the stronger measure of the two. The principal difference, of course, and the one that may ultimately force a House-Senate conference on the bill is the House version's outright ban on the poll tax as a requirement for voting. The Senate rejected such a provision and adopted, instead, a declaration that the poll tax has been used to deny and abridge the right to vote in certain states. Its provision also authorizes the Attorney General to bring suit "forthwith" to test the constitutionality of the poll tax in the four states that still levy it.

The Rules Committee Gets It Next

The House Judiciary Committee may have completed and filed its report on the bill by the time this MEMO reaches you. If so, the bill then goes to the House Rules Committee to determine the rules for the House debate. It is generally expected that Rep. Howard Smith (D., Va.), Chairman of the Rules Committee, will hold hearings on the bill and try to keep it tied up as long as he can. That would be 21 calendar days, the limit the House imposed on him when it organized during the first days of this session. The bill may not reach the House floor until late in June.

Our Immediate Target: The Rules Committee

At this moment we need to do whatever we can to speed up consideration of the bill by the Rules Committee. Please have your officers and members wire and write members of the Rules Committee urging them to act on the bill as fast as possible. After 100 years of countenancing violations of the 15th Amendment, it is time for the House to stop delaying and to extend voting rights to millions of Americans.

Members of the House Rules Committee besides Mr. Smith are: Democrats: William M. Colmer (Miss.), Ray J. Madden (Ind.), James J. Delaney (N. Y.), James W. Trimble (Ark.), Richard Bolling (Mo.), Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. (Mass.), B. F. Sisk (Cal.), John Young (Texas), and Claude Pepper (Fla.); Republicans: Clarence J. Brown (O.), H. Allen Smith (Cal.), John B. Anderson (Ill.), Dave Martin (Neb.), and James H. Quillen (Tenn.).

You can reach them by addressing your messages in care of The Capitol, Washington 25, D. C. Just be sure to send them some kind of message.

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE TO FIGHT FIRING OF NEGRO TEACHERS

One of the most pernicious developments in the long fight for school integration is the growing number of instances, particularly in Southern states, where Negro teachers have been demoted or fired in newly desegregated school systems. At the U. S. Civil Rights Commission's mid-Atlantic regional meeting in Washington on May 18, civil rights leaders and workers were dismayed and angered to hear officials of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare say they may not be able to do anything to see that qualified Negro teachers continue to teach newly desegregated schools.

A consequence of this reaction was a resolution passed by those attending the Leadership Conference's own regional meeting the next morning. Delegates from state branches of our cooperating organizations, acting in their own name and not in the name of the conference, issued a resolution calling upon the President to use his authority "to insist that experienced, qualified and certified Negro teachers be given full and equal consideration in the staffing of our American schools."

It is the intention of the Washington representatives to the Leadership Conference to explore other avenues besides resolutions and written protests. We will meet with high government officials and discuss the matter in an attempt to help create a policy that will keep Negro teachers in their jobs. We will report on what develops.

AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATION RESTORED

So quietly that no newspaper we have seen took any notice of it, the $295,000 that the Department of Agriculture had asked to finance its enforcement of the Civil Rights Act has been restored to its appropriation for the next fiscal year. That sum was cut from the Department's funds by Rep. Jamie Whitten (of Mississippi) while its request was before his Appropriations Subcommittee.

What is significant here is not the sum, which is relatively small. Rather, it is the fact that it was put back in without objection. It is obvious that faced with a floor fight on the issue, Mr. Whitten and other Southern foes of the new law chose to back down. That makes it a victory of no mean proportion.

-30-

THE WASHINGTON POST
Wednesday, May 26, 1965

Vote on Rights Debate Curb

Associated Press

Following is the 70-to-30 roll call by which the Senate voted yesterday to curb debate on President Johnson's voting rights bill (a two-thirds majority was required.)

Democrats for: 47

Anderson (N.M.)	McGee (Wyo.)
Bartlett (Alaska)	McGovern (S.D.)
Bass (Tenn.)	McIntyre (N.H.)
Bayh (Ind.)	McNamara (Mich.)
Brewster (Md.)	Metcalf (Mont.)
Burdick (N.D.)	Mondale (Minn.)
Church (Idaho)	Monroney (Okla.)
Clark (Pa.)	Montoya (N.M.)
Dodd (Conn.)	Morse (Ore.)
Douglas (Ill.)	Moss (Utah)
Gore (Tenn.)	Muskie (Maine)
Gruening (Alaska)	Nelson (Wis.)
Harris (Okla.)	Neuberger (Ore.)
Hart (Mich.)	Pastore (R.I.)
Hartke (Ind.)	Pell (R.I.)
Inouye (Hawaii)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Jackson (Wash.)	Randolph (W.Va.)
Kennedy (Mass.)	Ribicoff (Conn.)
Kennedy (N.Y.)	Symington (Mo.)
Lausche (Ohio)	Tydings (Md.)
Long (Mo.)	Williams (N.J.)
Magnuson (Wash.)	Yarborough (Tex.)
Mansfield (Mont.)	Young (Ohio)
McCarthy (Minn.)	

Republicans for: 23

Aiken (Vt.)	Javits (N.Y.)
Allott (Colo.)	Jordan (Idaho)
Borgs (Del.)	Kuchel (Calif.)
Carlson (Kan.)	Morton (Ky.)
Case (N.J.)	Mundt (S.D.)
Cooper (Ky.)	Pearson (Kan.)
Cotton (N.H.)	Prouty (Vt.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Saltonstall (Mass.)
Dirksen (Ill.)	Scott (Pa.)
Dominick (Colo.)	Smith (Maine)
Fong (Hawaii)	Williams (Del.)
Hruska (Neb.)	

Democrats against: 21

Bible (Nev.)	Jordan (N.C.)
Byrd (Va.)	Long (La.)
Byrd (W.Va.)	McClellan (Ark.)
Cannon (Nev.)	Robertson (Va.)
Eastland (Miss.)	Russell (S.C.)
Ellender (La.)	Russell (Ga.)
Ervin (N.C.)	Smathers (Fla.)
Fulbright (Ark.)	Sparkman (Ala.)
Hayden (Ariz.)	Stennis (Miss.)
Hill (Ala.)	Talmadge (Ga.)
Holland (Fla.)	

Republicans against: 9

Bennett (Utah)	Murphy (Calif.)
Fannin (Ariz.)	Simpson (Wyo.)
Hickenlooper (Iowa)	Thurmond (S.C.)
Miller (Iowa)	Tower (Tex.)
	Young (N.D.)

The Washington Post
Thursday, May 27, 1965

ATTACHMENT 2

5-27-65

Senate Rights Bill Vote

Associated Press

Here is the 77-to-19 vote by which the Senate passed the voting rights bill yesterday:

Democrats for: 47

Anderson (N.M.)	McGee (Wyo.)
Bartlett (Alaska)	McGovern (S.D.)
Bass (Tenn.)	McIntyre (N.H.)
Bayh (Ind.)	McNamara (Mich.)
Brewster (Md.)	Metcalf (Mont.)
Burdick (N.D.)	Mondale (Minn.)
Clark (Pa.)	Monroney (Okla.)
Dodd (Conn.)	Montoya (N.M.)
Douglas (Ill.)	Morse (Ore.)
Gore (Tenn.)	Moss (Utah)
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Harris (Okla.)	Nelson (Wis.)
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Hayden (Ariz.)	Pell (R.I.)
Inouye (Hawaii)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Jackson (Wash.)	Randolph (W.Va.)
Kennedy (Mass.)	Ribicoff (Conn.)
Kennedy (N.Y.)	Symington (Mo.)
Lausche (Ohio)	Tydings (Md.)
Long (Mo.)	Williams (N.J.)
Magnuson (Wash.)	Yarborough (Tex.)
Mansfield (Mont.)	Young (Ohio)
McCarthy (Minn.)	

Republicans for: 30

Aiken (Vt.)	Bennett (Utah)
Allott (Colo.)	Boggs (Del.)
Carlson (Kan.)	Kuchel (Calif.)
Case (N.J.)	Miller (Iowa)
Cooper (Ky.)	Morton (Ky.)
Cotton (N.H.)	Mundt (S.D.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Murphy (Calif.)
Dirksen (Ill.)	Pearson (Kan.)
Dominick (Colo.)	Prouty (Vt.)
Fannin (Ariz.)	Saltonstall (Mass.)
Fong (Hawaii)	Scott (Pa.)
Hickenlooper (Iowa)	Simpson (Wyo.)
Hruska (Neb.)	Smith (Maine)
Javits (N.Y.)	Williams (Del.)
Jordan (Idaho)	Young (N.D.)

Democrats Against: 17

Byrd (Va.)	McClellan (Ark.)
Eastland (Miss.)	Robertson (Va.)
Ellender (La.)	Russell (S.C.)
Ervin (N.C.)	Russell (Ga.)
Fulbright (Ark.)	Smathers (Fla.)
Hill (Ala.)	Sparkman (Ala.)
Holland (Fla.)	Stennis (Miss.)
Jordan (N.C.)	Talmadge (Ga.)
Long (La.)	

Republicans Against: 2

Thurmond (S.C.) Tower (Tex.)

Not voting but announced as paired on passage (pairs are used to denote opposing positions of Senators when one or both are absent): Cannon (D-Nev.) for and Byrd (D-W.Va.) against.

Not voting or paired but announced as for passage: Bible (D-Nev.), Church (D-Idaho).

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TO: Cooperating Organizations

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TO: Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

MEMO: NO. 65
June 14, 1965

LET'S BE READY WHEN THE HOUSE TAKES UP THE VOTING BILL

It looks as if the House will start debating the Voting Rights Bill sometime during the week of June 21 or on Monday, June 28. The date is not entirely certain but it is sure enough for us to begin focusing our attention on a particular time. A great deal of what happens during the days the House considers the bill (H.R. 6400) depends on what we in the Leadership Conference can do between now and then. The more public sentiment we can mobilize in support of the bill reported out by the House Judiciary Committee, the better chance we have of seeing it come through the House without serious change.

Why We Want the House Bill

As our last few MEMOs have pointed out, the voting rights bill (S. 1564) that the Senate passed on May 26 is a good measure, but it still falls short of the House bill in strength and effectiveness.

An enclosure with this MEMO outlines the principal differences between the versions. But simply listing the differences does not make fully clear the superior quality of some of the House provisions.

On the Poll Tax - It is not enough, for instance, to point out that the chief difference in the treatment of the poll tax in state and local elections is that the House bill prohibits it and the Senate bill provides for a quick court test of its constitutionality.

The importance of the House bill's prohibition lies in the fact that it will contribute enormously to the success of any test. No one doubts that there will be such a test, no matter which poll tax provision Congress finally approves. But when it comes, the government's case will be stronger if in the law at issue Congress faces the problem squarely and bans the poll tax because it denies an equality promised by the Constitution. There is abundant precedent to show, contrary to the arguments of its detractors, that the Supreme Court does pay close attention to what Congress says and it is reasonable to expect it will be readier to endorse an outright ban than a mere

declaration of the way the poll tax has been used in the past to abridge the right to vote.

There is another consideration, too. If the Supreme Court were to rule on the House provision and uphold the ban, that would settle the question. The poll tax would be outlawed permanently in the four states that still levy it. But if the Court ruled in favor of the Attorney General in whatever suit he brought under the Senate authority, there might not be any final disposition of the matter. The Court ruling might dispose of the tax in a particular state or county. But there might have to be additional court tests to finally outlaw it everywhere.

On "escaping" coverage - Under the House bill, a state or county must show it has not discriminated against its residents for five years before it can escape the provisions of the law. Furthermore, any finding by a court that voting discrimination has occurred anywhere in a state during the five year period is an absolute ban to that state's escaping coverage. Under the Senate bill, the state can come right into court and seek exemption from the law without having to demonstrate any good behavior in time past. The effect of this may be to encourage states that have been the worst offenders in denying voting rights to sue and try to tie up the voting law in litigation. Mississippi could not hope to prove, under the House bill, that it is entitled to exemption. Under the Senate bill, with the previous misdeeds of its registrars beyond challenge, it could attempt to show it has improved its ways and should be absolved from any Federal intervention. And it may be expected to try to drag the case out as long as possible.

Coverage of the bill - The House bill applies, without qualifications, to all states and counties in which there are voting tests and where less than 50 percent of the voting age population was registered and voting in 1964 elections. The Senate goes beyond this "automatic formula" and says the law will apply only in areas where the non-white population exceeds 20 percent. That will remove a good part of Virginia from coverage of the bill and give that state preferential treatment not accorded any other state subject to the bill.

The House Bill's Better In Other Ways

These examples are meant to illustrate the qualitative differences between the House and Senate versions. As the enclosed comparison shows, the House bill is better in a number of other respects, too. Its protections against intimidation extend to the civil rights workers who are involved in summer campaigns to "urge and aid" people to vote. It also covers elections to party office, a provision that should prevent the situation that gave rise to the attempt to keep the Mississippi delegates from being seated at the last Democratic Party convention.

For these reasons, among others, the Conference concludes the cause of equal voting rights is better served by the House bill.

A Conference Strategy For the House Fight

Once again, as we did during the campaign for the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Leadership Conference will establish Hill headquarters during the time the voting rights bill is being debated in the House. Once again, we will be on hand urging members of Congress whom we know support the bill, to vote down weakening amendments and to be present on the floor whenever a vote is scheduled.

Veterans of '64 will recall the Florida Congressman who complained of the "vultures" who sat in the public galleries and watched the votes. Well, the "vultures" plan to sit in the gallery again this year and watch how the vote goes on the various amendments that will be offered to the bill.

As we have remarked before, votes on amendments are often much more important than the vote on the final passage of the bill. Congressmen will sometimes vote for crippling changes in a bill they secretly dislike and then, in order to please their constituents vote for the whole measure in the end so that they will be recorded as being in favor of it. Through our gallery spotters, we hope to document such maneuvers.

Congress From Above The Hairline

As anyone who has ever sat in the House gallery knows, it will not be easy to see who votes for what. One sits above the heads of Congressmen and looks down upon them. Confusions among the 435 men and women moving around down there are not unlikely. Then, since the House will consider the bill as a Committee of the whole, none of the votes on amendments will be recorded. When members are simply asked to shout their yeas and nays for an amendment it is almost impossible for anyone short of an expert and keen-sighted lipreader to tell how a particular Congressman voted. However, the votes on major amendments are generally easier to watch. These are almost sure to be: by "division," where members stand up for several minutes at their seats while the presiding officer counts them for or against a provision; or by a "teller vote," where they march up the center aisle of the House in almost single file and are counted by tellers as they go by.

At such times it is possible to tell quite accurately who's voting how. Our gallery spotters hope to do just that.

What You Can Do To Help

Once again the messages from organizations and their members can help creat a climate of public opinion that will encourage Congressmen to vote for a strong bill. Your messages should urge:

1. support of the bill as reported by the House Judiciary Committee;

2. opposition to all weakening amendments;

3. presence on the House floor at all times during the debate.

The third request is as important as the other two. Votes on amendments can come up with a staggering suddenness. Unless a Congressman is on the floor or near it he can easily miss a vote. It scarcely matters that his heart is in the right place if he himself is not. Bad amendments have slipped into bills by very small margins, amendments that could be beaten if all the members who were against them were only present. So be specially sure to urge your Congressman to be there.

We must urge them, too, to act on the bill as quickly as they can. Back in March the President called upon Congress to enact the voting rights bill without delay. The urgency has not grown less and Congress must respond swiftly to a situation that can only grow increasingly grave.

Please get to work at once. We need your help. If the voting rights bill does not reach the floor during the coming week of the 21st it will be brought up for consideration shortly after that. NOW is the time to launch your campaigns in support of it.

***

NOTE TO WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVES: Because of an emergency involving a piece of fair employment legislation, the Leadership Conference is forced to change the time of its Monday meeting. We will meet this Monday, June 14, at 10:30 A. M. instead of at 3 P. M. The place is the same - 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.

June, 1965

PRINCIPAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HOUSE AND SENATE VOTING RIGHTS BILLS

Provision	H.R. 6400	S. 1564
Poll tax	Outright prohibition on poll tax as precondition to voting in all elections.	Finding by Congress that poll tax has been unconstitutionally used to abridge right to vote in certain states. Direction to Attorney General to file suit to enjoin enforcement as an abridgement of voting rights.
Coverage	No comparable provision	1) "Automatic" formula applies only in areas where the non-white population exceeds 20%.
	No comparable provision	2) In areas not covered by the "automatic formula", examiners may be appointed if fewer than 25% of the non-white potential vote is registered.
"Escape" from coverage	1) State or political subdivision must show it is free from discrimination for a period of five years before release from coverage	1) No time limit for release.
	2) Court finding of voter discrimination in state or any political subdivision is absolute bar to escape during five year period.	2) Court finding is only prima facie evidence of discrimination for purposes of preventing escape.
	3) No comparable provision	3) Political subdivision may file suit to escape coverage if it can show that 50% of potential non-white voters are registered.
Appearance before state registrars	No requirement that applicant must go to state official prior to registering with Federal examiner.	Attorney General may impose requirement that applicants for registration apply to state officials within 90 days prior to applying to examiner.

Provision	H.R. 6400	S. 1564
Protections	Civil and criminal protections are available to protect those aiding or urging others to vote as well as to all voters and registrants.	These provisions are limited to protection of voters and registrants. Provisions applicable to official action limited to persons registered under this act.
Application to non-English speaking applicants	No comparable provision	Persons who attended "American flag" schools may vote notwithstanding inability to pass literacy test in English if they completed sixth grade in such school, or higher grade, if required by state law.
Qualifications of examiners	No requirement of state residence	Shall be residents of state in which appointed "if practicable."
Court enforcement	Where elibible voters are denied right to vote, or votes are not counted, court shall restrain issuance of any certificate of election pending hearing on merits.	No comparable provision
Elections covered	Elections to public and party office	Party office not included
Changes in existing law	All provisions of voting title of 1964 Civil Rights Act extended to cover state and local as well as Federal elections.	No change

-prepared by J. Francis Pohlhaus-
Washington Counsel - NAACP

Major Provisions of Senate Bill

As passed by the Senate, S 1564 contained the following major provisions:

Literacy tests would be suspended and federal voting examiners would be authorized to order the registration of Negroes in any state or county with a 20 percent nonwhite population which used a literacy test or similar device in qualifying voters for the 1964 General Election and had a voter registration or turnout of less than 50 percent of the voting-age population. On a statewide basis, this formula covered Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. Numerous counties would be covered in North Carolina and Virginia; two would be covered in Alaska and one in Arizona.

Examiners would be authorized for any voting district where less than 25 percent of the persons of Negro race or any other race or color was registered.

The Attorney General was authorized to go into any federal court to seek findings of voter discrimination and obtain an order for the suspension of literacy tests and the appointment of federal examiners.

The Attorney General was ordered to institute cases against state poll taxes as discriminating against the right to vote. (The only states still levying such taxes on state and local elections were Alabama, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia. Vermont imposed a tax on voting in town meetings.)

States and voting districts covered by the bill were provided a method to purge themselves by proving in court they had not discriminated.

The bill carried heavy criminal penalties for false registration, vote buying, intimidation of voters and interference with any of the rights granted under the bill.

-from Congressional Quarterly, May 28, 1965-

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

JUN 24 1965

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 phone **234-4722** • New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400

June 23, 1965

Dear Friend:

At the June 21st meeting of our Washington Representatives, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) proposed that a statement be issued opposing the appointment of former governor James P. Coleman of Mississippi to the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

SNCC has since drafted the attached statement. It has been edited by our counsel, Joe Rauh, who supports it.

Following our customary procedure, we are circulating this statement among all of our Cooperating Organizations, inviting them to consider it and, if they agree with it, to endorse it. Only the names of the organizations that signify their endorsement of the statement will be used when it is issued.

Since the Senate Judiciary Committee has scheduled hearings on Governor Coleman's confirmation for early next week, we must hear from you as soon as possible if you want your organization listed. You may call this office, 234-4722, and tell Yvonne Price or wire us. But we need to hear from you by Friday at the latest.

Sincerely yours,

Marvin Caplan

Marvin Caplan
Director

Enclosure
tl

~~Core wholehearted endorse~~
~~The statement~~
Telephoned 6/24

STATEMENT OPPOSING CONFIRMATION OF FORMER GOVERNOR J. P. COLEMAN TO THE UNITED STATES FIFTH CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEAL

We, the undersigned organizations, wish to express our strong opposition to the appointment of former governor J. P. Coleman of Mississippi to the United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeal. It is incomprehensible that this man who was one of the architects of most of Mississippi's white supremacist political and legal structure should be rewarded for his actions by this appointment. We urge the Senate Judiciary Committee, and the Senate as a whole, overwhelmingly to reject this appointment.

If Governor Coleman is confirmed as a judge of the Fifth Circuit he will be in a position to pass upon appeals from cases under the 1964 and 1965 Civil Rights Acts. This appointment may well be even worse than that of Judge Cox. We point out that Governor Coleman, under the new Voting Rights bill, will be directly hearing appeals from federal examiners seeking to remedy the evil effects of voting discrimination laws and practices that Governor Coleman himself largely designed, drafted and implemented. We urge President Johnson to withdraw this nomination.

Title V

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

JUN 24 1965

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
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To: Cooperating Organizations

From: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

MEMO: No. 66
June 24, 1965

THE CONFERENCE PROTESTS HOUSE DELAY ON VOTING RIGHTS BILL

It now looks as if the Voting Rights Bill will not reach the House floor until sometime in July. The immediate response of the Washington representatives of the Leadership Conference was to issue a strong protest at "this unconscionable delay." The statement, which was made public by Conference chairman Roy Wilkins, has been sent to Members of Congress, the President and the U. S. Attorney General. (The statement is enclosed with this MEMO.)

We will continue to urge members to speed up action on the bill but it does not seem likely that the House will consider the measure until after the Fourth of July recess. The likely dates are July 6 or 7, or July 12.

Why Is It Taking So Long?

A parliamentary snarl is holding up the bill. It is presently before the House Rules Committee, whose chairman, Rep. Howard W. Smith (D., Va.) has shown his customary skill at impeding the enactment of civil rights legislation. Rep. Emanuel Celler (D., N. Y.), chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, which reported the bill out on June 1, thought he had an understanding with Mr. Smith that the bill would be cleared for floor consideration by June 28, at the latest. Mr. Smith denies that there was any agreement. Now he plans to go ahead and hold a week of hearings on the bill.

Under the revised rules that the House adopted at the start of this session, rules for which the Leadership Conference campaigned, Mr. Smith's committee cannot hold onto a bill for more than 21 days. However, the procedures that must then be followed before the bill can be moved from the committee to the floor cannot be accomplished before sometime next month.

Your Letters Can Help

A flood of mail at this point would be helpful. We need letters from your organization and your membership urging Congressmen: (1) to work for passage of the voting rights act as soon as possible, and (2) to defeat all amendments that would weaken the House Judiciary Committee bill. Mr. Wilkins' statement presents arguments that we believe can be used with good effect in your own messages.

THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE WILL FIGHT FOR "ONE MAN ONE VOTE"

Our Washington representatives have agreed that the Leadership Conference should assume a new responsibility. It will coordinate the efforts of its cooperating organizations to defeat the current attempt in Congress to overturn the U. S. Supreme Court ruling of Last June, that representation in state legislatures must be based on population.

The high court's "One Man One Vote decision" is under heavy attack by Senate Republican leader Everett M. Dirksen (Ill.), who wants to amend the Constitution so that states could apportion one house of their legislature on factors other than population, if the plan of apportionment is approved by the people of the state in a referendum. The history of this attempt and the reasons why it is dangerous are fully explored in the recent "maiden speech" of Senator Joseph Tydings (D., Md.) which we enclose with this MEMO.

The Leadership Conference undertakes its task of coordination at a crucial time. The Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments has concluded its hearings on the proposed constitutional changes and is expected to report something like the Dirksen amendment to the full Committee within the next day or so.

Rep. Emanuel Celler (D., N. Y.), chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, has announced hearings on House versions of the Dirksen proposal for June 23, 24, 25 and June 30, July 1 and July 2. This scarcely seems sufficient time in which to consider amendments of such importance. We are urging the Committee to extend the hearings. You can help here, too, by writing to Mr. Celler urging that the hearings be extended to give everyone an opportunity to testify on this important issue.

Why The Conference Has Undertaken the Fight

It has become increasingly clear that the Dirksen proposals pose a serious threat to civil rights. We face the curious prospect, as we campaign for the Voting Rights Bill, of seeing Congress about to grant full voting rights with one hand and then prepare to snatch it away with the other.

The National Committee for Fair Representation, in which many of our cooperating groups participate, asked us to undertake legislative activity in the fight for reapportionment and we readily agreed. The National Committee will continue to serve as a clearing house for information and material.

Fair Representation and Civil Rights

The close link between civil rights and fair representation was graphically described by witnesses before the Senate Subcommittee. Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Bureau, NAACP and legislative director of the Leadership Conference, warned that the constitutional amendment would "frustrate the principle" of equal representation by giving supremacist elements in the South an opportunity to perpetuate control of their state legislatures. Burke Marshall, former head of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, declared that the amendments were "specifically dangerous to the minority groups, particularly Negroes, who most drastically feel the impact of urban problems..." Robert F. Kennedy, former U. S. Attorney General,

said "the amendments would preserve a structure of malapportioned state government and would thereby have the most far-reaching effects on the future of our cities and urban development process and on the civil rights movement as well..."

National Council of Churches Backs "One Man One Vote"

On June 3, the General Board of the National Council of Churches of Christ has also recognized the close relationship between fair representation and civil rights by adopting a strong statement of policy in opposition to any constitutional change. The Board declared, "Many of the causes of civil rights and liberties we have long supported are at stake in the question of equal representation."

THE CONFERENCE WINS A VICTORY FOR THE RIGHTS OF LABOR

While we impatiently mark time until the voting rights bill reaches the House floor, it is good to be able to record a legislative victory in which the Leadership Conference also played a role.

In response to a telegram from Rep. James Roosevelt (D., Cal.), Clarence Mitchell testified before a House Labor Subcommittee that will be considering proposals for strengthening Title VII, the Equal Employment Opportunity Section of the Civil Rights Act. The full House Labor Committee has already approved by a vote of 21-to-10, a labor reform on which the Conference has never taken a position, the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, the provision that empowers states to deny unions the right to insist that all workers in plants they represent must become union members. The specific issue before the Subcommittee was whether to delay reporting out the repeal of 14(b) until action was taken on strengthening Title VII.

Mr. Mitchell, on behalf of 27 organizations that were able to endorse his statement, urged the Committee not to tie the two matters together. He pointed out that the Conference has long advocated strengthening Title VII and that last month he had presented a statement for Roy Wilkins, A. Philip Randolph, Martin Luther King and James Farmer, calling for the repeal of 14(b).

It is good to be able to report that the Committee, after further consideration, agreed with the Conference position. Its chairman, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D., N.Y.), who previously had said he would not support repeal until Section VII was strengthened has now changed his mind and will report out the repeal bill. The Conference will, of course, press for improvements in Title VII as opportunities present themselves.

It is our hope that other organizations in the Leadership Conference will undertake this fight.

Since a constitutional amendment is being proposed, two-thirds of the Senate and the House must approve it before it can pass. The Senate is where the first battle will be fought. You can help win it by writing to Senators from states where you have strength, urging them to oppose <u>all</u> constitutional amendments until the Supreme Court's ruling has been given a chance to work.

A SMALL ADVANCE IN PROTECTING NEGRO TEACHERS FROM UNJUST FIRING

The many protests to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare objecting to the current practice in some Southern states of demoting or firing Negro teachers once school systems are desegregated, has produced a modest result. HEW has just issued a statement warning state school officials that it is investigating complaints of discriminatory dismissals of Negro teachers and that where there is a pattern of such action it is prohibited by the Civil Rights Act. The statement, unfortunately, looks weaker than it should be. We are particularly disturbed, on hasty examination, at HEW's specific refusal to consider individual complaints. Leadership Conference attorneys are studying the matter further. We hope to issue a statement of our own, shortly. And we will pursue our efforts to see that this mean practice is stopped.

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NOTE TO WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVES: Our next regular meeting will be on Monday, June 28, 3 P.M. at 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.

STATEMENT BY THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS, PROTESTING HOUSE DELAYS IN ENACTING THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT

On March 15, President Johnson bade Congress in the simplest, strongest, language, to write into legislation the death warrant for voter discrimination.

Today is June 22; three months and one week have passed since the President laid his historic plea before Congress "to join me in working long hours, nights and weekends, if necessary, to pass this Bill."

On May 17, the Senate acted. The House dawdles as though voting rights were again a matter of "business as usual." The unavoidable implication is that the Administration and Congress have forgotten the urgency created by Selma. Republicans and Democrats alike must share the blame for this unconscionable delay.

There is no excuse for the passing of 100 days without final action on a voting rights bill. The summer is upon us; with it comes the increasing frustration of many parts of our society at the failure of Congress to act. Vital summer programs, long planned to implement the bill, are threatened.

The President and Congress can act swiftly. They demonstrated this by their speedy approval of the excise tax cut and the Viet Nam appropriation. The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, mindful of what official inaction portends, urges immediate action on the House bill and final passage of the 1965 voting rights bill. As President Johnson said, "This time, on this issue, there must be no delay, or no hesitation, or no compromise with our purpose." The nation demands that the President's pledge be honored.

June 22, 1965

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

L04-3450

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 phone 234-4722 • New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400

TO: Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

MEMO No. 68
July 12, 1965

THE VOTING RIGHTS BILL PASSES: A HOUSE VICTORY IN WHICH WE CAN SHARE

That the House was able to pass a strong voting rights bill this past Friday is, of course, the result of many factors. We hope it will not sound immodest if we cite the effective cooperation of the groups in the Leadership Conference and our close working relationship with House members who directed the fight for the measure, as significant elements in the impressive victory. Not a single good feature of the bill was lost. Not a single weakening amendment, even the minor loophole proposed in the "Boggs amendment," was added to the measure. What the House finally approved by a vote of 333 to 85 was the House Judiciary Committee bill, H.R. 6400, whose adoption the Leadership Conference has been urging for many weeks. Hats off to Chairman Celler, Jim Corman, John Lindsay, Mac Mathias, Pete Rodino, Byron Rogers, and a host of others, including Speaker McCormack, Majority Leader Albert, and the Democratic Study Group's whip system operated by Moe Udall, Don Fraser and Bill Phillips.

The Bill's Not Yet A Law

House passage, unfortunately, is not the final step. The differences between the House bill and the version the Senate approved on May 26 may necessitate a conference between the two bodies. We shall inform you of the next developments as soon as we know them. We ask only that the splendid support we in Washington received last week continue until the President finally signs the Voting Rights Bill into law.

How The Leadership Conference Helped

The task force the Leadership Conference marshalled in support of H.R. 6400 was composed of the regular Washington representatives of our cooperating organizations supplemented by many out-of-towners who worked with us during the four days the bill was before the House. Our suite in the Hotel Congressional was headquarters for a vigorous operation that sent delegations of constituents to call on Congressmen and volunteer messengers to alert them each time a vote came up in the House.

It was from our suite that we sent "spotters" to sit in the House galleries and watch the way the voting went. As we have observed before, this is not an easy thing to do. The House was meeting, for most of the time, as a "committee of the whole" and there were no roll-call votes during that phase of the session. The best occasion for observing who was voting how was during the teller votes - when Congressmen march up the center aisle between two tellers appointed by the chairman and are counted as they go by. Difficult as it is to recognize a member from a

seat high above his head, spotters were often able to tell which way their Congressmen were voting and they were quick to register their disappointment when they found them voting wrong. We also believe that for members who happened to glance up from the floor, the sight of men and women and a few youngsters, all wearing the blue and white label of the Leadership Conference on their lapels, was a constant reminder of the national sentiment for ending voting discrimination once and for all.

For Conference participants, each day began with a meeting in the hotel at which intelligence gathered in various interviews was exchanged. Each evening after the House recessed, a few Conference representatives met with the members who led the floor fight for the bill and discussed strategy. The final outcome testifies to the usefulness of our work.

Substitute Bill First Test

The critical moment for the voting rights bill came on the very first vote. This was on the question of the total substitute to H.R. 6400 offered by Representatives William M. McCulloch (R., O.) and Gerald R. Ford, Jr. (R.,Mich.). It was a measure we have opposed as being weaker than H.R. 6400 and its defeat on a teller vote, 215 to 166, was a heartening indication of how the voting was to go from then on.

"Boggs Amendment" Defeated

One of the most dramatic incidents during the voting was the eventual defeat of the "Boggs Amendment." Rep. Hale Boggs, the Democratic Party whip from Louisiana, was given a well-merited ovation during debate when he broke with Southern tradition by openly acknowledging there was discrimination against Negro voters and by announcing his intention to vote for the bill "drastic though it may be." He was, incidentally, one of 23 Southerners who voted for it. In spite of his zeal, Mr. Boggs then went on to try to make the bill somewhat less drastic by offering as an amendment a provision already in the Senate bill to let voting districts obtain exemption from the Act through the courts if they can show that 50 per cent of their Negro voters are registered and there is no likelihood of discrimination within their boundaries. The Leadership Conference opposed the amendment because, among other things, we felt the Attorney General's authority to terminate the use of Federal examiners was more than adequate. At first the Boggs amendment was adopted by a teller vote of 123 to 77. But during the interval between its adoption and the taking of a roll-call vote that evening, Leadership Conference participants pointed out to many House members the troublesome nature of this amendment and it was good to see it finally defeated by a vote of 262 to 155.

Two Good Amendments That Were Not Adopted

Two amendments that Conference attorneys feel would have improved the bill were rejected by the House. One was the provision, already in the Senate bill, that would enable Puerto Ricans who are literate in Spanish to qualify to vote even though they cannot read or write English. The House adopted this on a teller vote and then rejected it on roll-call.

It also rejected, by a slim margin, an amendment offered by Rep. John Lindsay (R., N.Y.), that would have afforded greater protection to those exercising their constitutional rights of free speech and assembly in connection with voting. The

provision was an adaptation of the "Title III" or "Part III" provisions of earlier civil rights bills and the Voting Rights measure would have benefitted from its inclusion.

A Negligible Amendment That Was Added

The one amendment added to the House bill was proposed by Rep. William C. Cramer (R., Fla.) It is similar to a provision already in the Senate bill and prescribes criminal penalties for giving fraudulent information on voting registration. In the opinion of Conference attorneys it has little effect on the bill.

What Happens Now?

As we face the likelihood of a Conference on the House and Senate bills, we in the Leadership Conference reaffirm our preference for the House version. It contains a flat ban on the use of the poll tax as a requirement for voting in state and local elections; it gives Negro applicants direct access to Federal examiners without presenting the sometimes harrowing possibility that they may have to apply first to local registrars; it provides for poll watchers and extends protection to civil rights workers who aid and urge people to vote.

The Senate bill has two good features that the House did not adopt, notably the provision to enfranchise Puerto Ricans and a provision that would extend application of the law to states and counties where the total number of registered voters in any racial group is less than 25 per cent of those eligible to vote.

As soon as the picture becomes clearer we will advise you of the next steps we must take. Meanwhile, anyone who spoke to a Congressman, sent a wire, wrote a letter, sat in the gallery and watched, or engaged in any of the hundreds of chores that make up the work of the Leadership Conference, can claim a share in the success that attended House action on the voting rights bill.

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NOTE TO WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVES: We shall notify you of our next meeting. No date as yet.

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 phone 234-4722 • New York address 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1493

July 22, 1965

Postponed

TO: Heads of Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Roy Wilkins, Chairman

RE: Meeting Notice

Since the convening of Congress in January, the Washington Representatives of our cooperating organizations have met weekly and during some periods, on a daily basis. This close cooperation has resulted in such accomplishments as the liberalization of House rules, more effective implementation of the Civil Rights Act and the approaching passage of an effective voting rights bill.

At this time it seems desirable that the heads of our cooperating organizations, who have not met during these months, should get together and discuss future directions, future priorities and future programs.

Accordingly, I am calling a meeting of organizational heads for Monday, August 2, at 2 p.m. at the Roosevelt Hotel, Madison Avenue and 45th Street, New York City. The room number will be posted on the bulletin board in the lobby.

I hope you will make every effort to be present. In order to permit us to make the necessary arrangements, I would appreciate it if you would fill out the enclosed card and get it to us by return mail.

Enclosure
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LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
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TO: Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

MEMO: No. 69
July 23, 1965

RE: 1. The Conference on Voting Rights
2. Our Support for New Job Equality Bill
3. The Fight for "One-Man, One-Vote" Begins

THE CONFERENCE ON VOTING RIGHTS GETS UNDERWAY

In a series of three closed meetings last week, a group of Senators and Congressmen began their conferences on the House and Senate versions of the Voting Rights bill and their attempts to settle the differences between them.

As this MEMO is written, the men have still to reach agreement on two major points of difference: the House bill's flat ban on the poll tax and the Senate bill's provision to extend the right to vote to Puerto Ricans. Senator Everett Dirksen (R., Ill.), one of the Senate conferees, considers both unconstitutional and his adamant stand is one of the obstacles to a quick end to the conference.

The "Boggs Amendment" Should Stay Out

At least one other obstacle presents itself. There is a move afoot to put into the final bill the "Boggs Amendment" a proposal by Democratic whip Hale Boggs (D., La.), and one the Senate approved, which would permit counties to obtain an exemption from the bill through the courts once they can show that 50 per cent of their Negro voters are registered and no further discrimination is in prospect. The amendment, although not the most important in the opinion of Leadership Conference attorneys, provides an unnecessary "out" for counties. Those who want it in the bill argue that it almost passed in the House. But it didn't. While it is true that when an unrecorded teller vote was taken on the Boggs amendment during the day's floor debate, it was adopted 123 to 77, when the House took a roll-call on it that evening, it was decisively beaten by a vote of 262 to 155. The bill is better without it.

What The Leadership Conference Supports

As we indicated in our last MEMO (No. 68), the Voting Rights Act that the Leadership Conference favors is the bill the House passed with the addition of two

provisions in the Senate bill. One would extend coverage of the act beyond the "hard core" Southern states to include all counties and parishes where less than 25 per cent of the potential non-white voters are registered. The other would give the right to vote to Puerto Ricans and other Americans who may not be literate in English but are literate in Spanish or some other language. Our position is explained in greater detail in the paper we include with this MEMO.

The Men Who Will Shape The Bill

Besides Senator Dirksen, these are the 11 other members of Congress, drawn from the House and Senate Judiciary Committees, who have been designated as conferees to put the Voting Rights bill into final form:

Senate - James O. Eastland (D., Miss.), Judiciary Committee Chairman, Edward V. Long (D., Mo.), Thomas J. Dodd (D., Conn.), Philip A. Hart (D.,Mich.), Roman L. Hruska (R., Neb.); House - Emanuel Celler (D., N. Y.), Judiciary Committee Chairman, Byron G. Rogers (D., Colo.), Peter W. Rodino, Jr. (D.,N.J.), Harold D. Donohue (D., Mass.), William C. Cramer (R., Fla.), William M. McCulloch (R., O.)

What Your Organization Can Do

The conferees are the ones on whom attention focuses now. If you have strong chapters or locals in any of the states or districts represented on the Conference Committee, or members who have special relationships with any of these Senators and Congressmen, they can help by urging: adoption of the House version of the bill strengthened by the two provisions from the Senate measure.

The conferees meet again Tuesday, July 27. It is urgent they know your views on the strongest possible bill by then.

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE WORKS TO STRENGTHEN "TITLE VII"

In an impressive show of unity, Andrew Biemiller, Director of the Department of Legislation, AFL-CIO and Clarence Mitchell, Director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP, appeared before a House Labor Subcommittee last week to present a joint statement in support of a new bill (H.R. 9222) that would strengthen Title VII, the Equal Employment Opportunity Section of the Civil Rights Act. Their statement was also made in behalf of the Leadership Conference.

Both men agreed that the bill would correct two major weaknesses of Title VII. First of all, it would extend coverage immediately to all employers with eight or more employees (Title VII as presently written extends its coverage gradually until, by 1968, it would reach employers with 25 or more employees). Second, it would strengthen enforcement by empowering the new Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to issue complaints, conduct formal hearings and issue corrective and remedial orders. (The present law does not give the Commission power to issue final orders. Power to compel compliance rests with the Federal courts.)

The joint statement also endorsed the provision in H.R. 9222 that would eliminate the present requirement that a person who has suffered discrimination

in seeking a job must first go to a state or local FEPC agency before turning to the Federal Commission. By requiring this procedure in all cases where a state or local agency exists, the law raises the possibility that some states may set up phony FEP commissions in order to frustrate the intent of Title VII. H.R. 9222 would eliminate the requirement and leave it to the Federal Commission to cede jurisdiction only to state and local agencies it finds have strong laws to work with and are doing a good job.

The Bill Could Be Improved In Other Ways

Other improvements in Title VII were also proposed: employment practices of states and localities should be brought within the coverage of the Act as well as the employment policies of private membership clubs and private schools; employment agencies of states and localities should also be covered; the protections of the Act should be extended to all persons even those who are members of the Communist Party; the present exemption with regard to jobs covered by personnel security programs should be eliminated because it is confusingly worded and unnecessary; the Commission should be given subpoena power without the restrictions H.R. 9222 would place upon it.

Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Biemiller were accompanied by Thomas Harris, Associate General Counsel for the AFL-CIO and Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Counsel for the Leadership Conference.

Protection Against The Klan

Mr. Rauh urged that besides the other amendments proposed in our statement, the House committee should consider adding a provision prohibiting "third party intimidation." An instance of this, he said, would be where an employer has evinced a readiness to comply with the law and is threatened by the local Klan or another extremist group if he does. NAACP's Legal Defense Fund has already received a report of such Klan intimidation.

Mr. Harris was asked if he thought it was premature to consider strengthening Title VII, since it has only been in effect since July 2 and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is still organizing. He thought not. There is already extensive state experience with the law, he said, and he thought Congress was justified in going ahead and trying to improve Title VII now.

Rep. James Roosevelt (D., Cal.), who chaired the meeting, observed that the many Leadership Conference proposals might take some time to consider and wondered if some of them couldn't wait. Mr. Mitchell disagreed. He said as long as the attempts to improve Title VII were being made, all the proposed amendments should be considered. "Let's do the job right," he said.

FLASH: THE FIGHT FOR "ONE-MAN, ONE-VOTE" BEGINS!

Just as this MEMO is written, the news comes that Senator Dirksen has brought to the Senate floor his proposal for a constitutional amendment that would nullify the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decision. The Senator seeks to overturn the Court's ruling that representation in all state legislatures must be based on population. He wants to give the states the right to apportion one house of a

bicameral legislature on factors other than population - on the basis of geography or political subdivisions.

Mr. Dirksen was thwarted in his attempt to get his amendment reported out by the Senate Judiciary Committee. Eight liberal members of that 16-man committee stood firm against the amendment. Faced with defeat by a tie-vote, Mr. Dirksen has by-passed the Committee. He simply preempted another resolution, one that would establish a "National American Legion Baseball Week." Mr. Dirksen had that called up, since it was already on the calendar, and then offered his constitutional proposal as a complete substitute. (Senator Paul Douglas promptly dubbed the Dirksen proposal "the foui bali amendment.")

Senate liberals who oppose the amendment as a threat to democratic voting and a threat to civil rights have rallied in opposition. Senator Dirksen needs two-thirds of the Senate, 67 members if all 100 vote, in order to get his amendment passed. The task is to line up at least 34 or 35 against him.

Your organization can help protect full voting rights by having your members get in touch with their Senators and urge them to vote down <u>any</u> constitutional amendment that would upset the decision of the court.

* * *

NOTE TO WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVES: We hope to meet some day next week. We will notify you as soon as there is a date and time.

July 19, 1965

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE POSITION

ON

SENATE - HOUSE BILL

In its consideration of the Voting Rights Bill of 1965 the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights has consistently supported the widest practicable coverage and the strongest practicable provisions for protection of voters, registrants, applicants for registration, and those assisting persons to register or to vote.

Consistent with this position, it now recommends that the House and Senate Conferees, in reconciling the differences between the House and Senate versions of S. 1564, adopt the House-passed bill with the addition of two provisions of the Senate bill: 1.) extension of coverage of the bill to political sub-divisions where less than 25% of the non-white potential voters are registered; 2.) the presumption of literacy for persons who have completed six grades of school in an "American flag" school where instruction was in a language other than English.

These two Senate approved provisions would greatly increase the number of persons eligible for registration under the bill. The first would cover geographic areas outside of the "hard core" states subject to the Administration's automatic trigger. The second, not geographically limited, could add thousands of American citizens educated in American schools but not proficient in the use of the English language (mostly Puerto Ricans) to the voting rolls.

Other than in these two items of coverage, the House bill is preferable in all major respects. In the following areas of interest to the Leadership Conference, its superiority has been noted:

1.) It flatly prohibits the collection of a poll tax as a precondition to voting in any election, while the Senate bill directs the Attorney General to file suit to have such taxes declared unconstitutional. Under the House bill the remedy is quicker, clearer, and more certain to be effective in all jurisdictions. We reiterate our conviction that the House version is constitutional in all respects.

2.) The House bill does not require, as the Senate bill does, that for a state or political sub-division to be covered, its non-white population must exceed 20%.

3.) The House bill's protections are available to those who "aid or urge" others to register or vote. This would assist all persons engaged in the summer voting projects in the South.

4.) Under the Senate bill, the Attorney General can require prospective registrants to go before local registration officials before going to the Federal examiner. There is no comparable provision in the House bill.

5.) The "escape" provisions in the Senate bill are in general easier for those areas that are covered. The House bill requires five years of good behavior before a State can get out from under the bill.

6.) The House bill covers party offices; the Senate bill does not.

7.) The House bill does not require that examiners, to the extent practicable, be residents of the State.

As previously noted, these are but some of the major provisions of the House bill that are more favorable to civil rights. Because of the general superiority of the House bill, the Leadership Conference urges its adoption intact, with the two exceptions noted above.

****

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MEMO: No. 74
Sept. 15, 1965

TO: Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

44 ORGANIZATIONS JOIN IN OPPOSING DISMISSAL OF THE MISSISSIPPI CHALLENGE

At a special meeting Tuesday night, 44 of the organizations that cooperate in the Leadership Conference joined in opposing a motion, expected to be offered on the House floor this week, that calls for dismissal of the Mississippi challenge.

Unanimity in opposition was quickly reached. All of the representatives present agreed that the challenge, which has been before Congress for nine months, has been the subject of inordinate delays and attempts, by parliamentary maneuver, to avoid dealing with the serious issues it raises.

House Committee May Act This Week

The challenge is being brought by citizens of Mississippi who call for the unseating of the state's House delegation on the grounds that its five members were illegally elected. There is, of course, abundant evidence, gathered by government agencies, to establish that more than 90 per cent of all Mississippi Negroes have been denied the right to vote largely through the use of discriminatory tests, threats of economic reprisal, terror and violence.

The challenge was referred to the House Administration Committee in January. The committee's dawdling prompted some House members to consider taking the matter out of its hands and bringing it directly to the floor for a vote. Prodded by the threat of such action, the committee has come to life. Its elections subcommittee held two closed meetings this week and after taking testimony from both sides, moved for dismissal. The full Committee is expected to adopt this recommendation and bring it to the floor, possibly this Friday.

This prospect brought the representatives of the 44 organizations together. In the statement they issued immediately, and which we include with this MEMO, they declared that Congress has given "inadequate consideration to the challenge or to alternative methods or approaches under which the House could exercise its constitutional auth-

ority to rule on the election and qualifications of its members."

What You Can Do

With only a day or so remaining before Congress acts, we send this statement on to you. If your organization endorses it, we urge you to join in and wire or phone as many members of Congress as you can, urging them to vote against dismissal and to take a searching look at the system of disfranchisement in Mississippi and the legality of its elections.

STATEMENT ON THE MISSISSIPPI CHALLENGE

Adopted by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

The undersigned organizations associated in the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights urge the defeat of the attempt by the House Administration Committee to dismiss the Challenge of Mississippi citizens to the seating of the Mississippi House delegation.

We deplore the haste with which dismissal is being proposed. The motion ignores the many questions that have been raised about the legality of the elections that brought the five Mississippi members to Congress.

The pattern of denial of the right to vote in Mississippi has been evidenced by the report and hearings of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, by testimony taken in connection with the Challenge filed to contest the elections of the Mississippi Congressmen, by hearings on the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and by other information available to Congress.

We feel the house Administration Committee has given inadequate consideration to the Challenge or to alternative methods or approaches under which the House could exercise its constitutional authority to rule on the election and qualifications of its members.

Only two subcommittee hearings have been held, both geared to the dismissal and to no other aspect of the issue. No public hearings have been held. Copies of the evidence on which the Challenge is based have not been made available to House members. Dismissal of the Challenge at this time would close the door to full hearings and full House discussion.

Therefore, we urge all members of the House to vote against the motion to dismiss.

(See Attached List)

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS ENDORSING CHALLENGE STATEMENT--9/14/65

American Ethical Union
A. Philip Randolph Foundation
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
American Civil Liberties Union
American Jewish Committee
American Jewish Congress
American Veterans Committee
Americans for Democratic Action
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
Catholic Interracial Council
Christian Family Movement
College YCS National Staff
Congress of Racial Equality
Council for Christian Social Action--United Church of Christ
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority
Episcopal Society for Cultural & Racial Unity
Improved Benevolent & Protective Order of Elks of the World
Industrial Union Department - AFL/CIO
International Union of Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers
Iota Phi Lambda, Inc.
National Alliance of Postal Employees
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc.
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
National Council of Catholic Women
National Council of Churches--Commission on Religion & Race
National Council of Negro Women
National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor
National Urban League
Negro American Labor Council
Northern Student Movement
Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
State, County, and Municipal Employees
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
Textile Workers Union of America
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Unitarian Universalist Association--Commission on Religion & Race
Unitarian Universalist Fellowship for Social Justice
United Automobile Workers of America
United States National Student Association
United Steelworkers of America
Women's International League for Peace & Freedom
Zeta Phi Beta Sorority

Other Organizations outside LCCR Endorsing Statement:

Division of Human Relations and Economic Affairs -
General Board of Christian Social Concerns of the Methodist Church
Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee
Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party

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November 1, 1965

TO: Washington Representatives and Heads of Cooperating Organizations

A CORRECTION

The MEMO we sent you on personal security legislation contains an error.

On page 4, Part II, Corruption of State Law Enforcement Machinery and Advantages of Federal Prosecution

the first paragraph should read:

We cannot agree with Attorney General Katzenbach that unpunished murders are "the price you pay for the jury system." We believe that this is the price we are paying, not for the jury system as such, but for the aberrations of the system and our own refusal to make it function in a constitutional manner.

Southern Negro who asserts his constitutional right to move forward in society.

Few of these acts of violence have resulted in prosecutions; in those that have, a minimal number of convictions have been obtained. The reasons for this brutal state of affairs are many; some of them are: the refusal of state and local officials and local juries to enforce state laws against violence; the election of state and local officials hostile to the rights of minorities--a direct result of the disenfranchisement of Negroes; the extent of the violence and its organized nature; the inadequate use of Federal statutes and Federal authority that do exist; and the lack of national consensus that the rights of minorities are as sacred as those of the majority. Put another way, the essential cause of continued unpunished violence has been the refusal of those seeking corrective action to recognize that the conditions that exist result from a complete breakdown of law and order based on an acceptance of an unconstitutional system of "justice" administered in the spirit of white supremacy. The Negro and those who seek justice for him are confronted in general in the South with hostile white police, hostile white prosecutors, hostile white judges and hostile white juries. The institutions of law (with few exceptions) follow a policy of lily-white employment, accept the philosophy of white supremacy, and operate under a double standard of justice based on the race of parties involved. Bluntly put, these institutions of law are the fellow-travellers of anti-Negro violence and can hardly be expected to mete out justice to the violent.

All this runs directly counter to the guarantee of the 14th Amendment and other provisions of the Constitution. But it will continue nonetheless unless new tools are forged for law enforcement in the areas of violent resistance to racial equality. Although law enforcement is an extremely sensitive area of federal-state relationships and one where legislation is difficult to perfect and enact--far more difficult for example than the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 where the Leadership Conference had its greatest legislative successes--the need for federal action is too great and immediate and the risks in the failure of law enforcement too dangerous to leave the present situation unaltered. <u>This memorandum is intended to suggest some possible courses of action as a means of inviting proposals from all civil rights advocates which the Leadership Conference can then blend into legislation for enactment in the year 1966</u>.

II

<u>Corruption of State Law Enforcement Machinery and Advantages of Federal Prosecutions</u>

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November 5, 1965

A SPECIAL NOTICE

TO: Washington Representatives and Heads of Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

RE: The Next Two Meetings

I - The next meeting will be held

Wednesday, Nov.10

2 P.M.

Conference Room - 2027 Massachusetts Avenue N.W.

We will discuss: Minimum Wage, D.C. Home Rule, Civil Rights Enforcement (among other things).

(Note: Enclosed is the draft of a letter to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission on the effect of Title VII on state laws for women workers. Its adoption by the Leadership Conference will be considered.)

* * * * *

II - Next meeting on Administration of Justice

Wednesday, Dec.1, 2 P.M.

At our meeting on November 3 it was agreed to urge all cooperating organizations to submit proposals on this subject in order to afford us the broadest possible basis for exploring it. To give our groups time to formulate their views, we are putting the next meeting on this matter off until next month. Meanwhile, please submit all proposals and suggestions to this office by November 20.

DRAFT OF A LETTER TO FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, JR., CHAIRMAN OF THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION, ON RELATIONSHIP OF TITLE VII TO STATE LAWS ON WOMEN WORKERS

(This letter will be considered for adoption by the Leadership Conference at the meeting on November 10.)

Dear Mr. Roosevelt:

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights has considered the relationship of Title VII to state laws which provide labor standards for women. These laws cover a wide range of subjects including, but not limited to, minimum wages, maximum hours, maximum weight lifting, night work, rest periods, et cetera.

It is the position of the Leadership Conference that Title VII does not generally supersede and invalidate these state provisions. We recognize, however, that one or more of these provisions--for example the Utah fifteen-pound weight lifting restriction--may be so arbitrary as to raise questions under the Fourteenth Amendment and authority may well inhere in Title VII for the Commission to disregard a state provision that so arbitrarily discriminates against women.

We would urge that the Commission adopt the interpretation of Title VII that state labor standards for women are not generally superseded and invalidated by that title, but that the Commission, in a case involving a state law such as that in Utah referred to above, which may be arbitrary and discriminatory in its effect and implementation, study the possibility of holding the law involved as in conflict with Title VII.

Sincerely yours,

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: MESSRS. FARMER, WILEY, GARTNER, RICH

FROM: Carl Rachlin November 5, 1965

SUBJECT: Washington Leadership Conference

The leadership conference meeting was one of the best attended, as many people remarked, in a long time. Joe Rauh opened the meeting for the establishment and merely summarized the points of the memo that he and Francis Pohlhaus had prepared.

Chuck Morgan was called upon as one who had been devoting special attention to jury matters and his emphasis was a little different from Rauh's in that Rauh had emphasized personal security, with jury trial matters somewhat secondary. Chuck Morgan on the other hand indicated very clearly that he was in favor of a personal security law, major attention had to be given to the jury trial problem not only for civil rights workers white and black, but for the ordinary Negro farmer and worker who have to live in those communities regardless to whether there are civil rights workers present or not. While he was not too specific, he proposed a national jury standard for both state and federal courts, emphasizing that jury panels should be selected on a random basis, representing a cross section of the community.

I then presented our position, at first point out that the motion presented was a little over-simplified in that federal juries as they are presently constituted sometimes could be worse than state juries and we ought not to place too much reliance, without furhter analysis, on the federal court. The second thing I pointed out referred more to the personal security problem and I gave in detail some of the experiences in Bogalusa showing that the FBI had been present, by moving pictures and other photographs, showing the acts of violence and acts of police, and never doing anything about it despite the fact that crimes were committed in their presence.

I then offered those parts of our program which were different in substance from what had been offered by Rauh and Morgan. The first point I proposed was our plan on jury panels and I urged support for a federal jury

registrar for state courts using the analogy of the registrar for voting and indicating that one constitutional right was as great as the other and if a registrar was proper for voting it was no less proper for jury trials. This registrar would then register everybody in the county and place them on the state jury panels. This procedure would be automatically triggered similar to the procedure in the Voting Rights Bill, even though that is not vigorously enforced. I also proposed that federal legislation do away with the discrimination against women since many states automatically exclude women, thus Negro women, for example are excluded two ways and in a case like the Lois Chaffee case where she is both a civil rights worker and a woman she is twice affected by the exclusionary jury system. I also proposed the use of the analogy of criminal laws in the District of Columbia and for many states, commonly knows as offenses. These are not crimes, and therefore a judge could try them without a jury even though fairly stiff penalties may be given out. Some of the acts of violence and deprivation of constitutional rights could be tried under a law called an offense without a jury, this to apply to cases of lesser violence but penalties could be given which might be a deterrent to acts of police or local hoodlums. This of course would not be used in cases of more serious violence.

We also proposed, again using an analogy of the Voting Rights Law where one of our people is a defendant of a state criminal court upon a showing that he can not get a fair trial the case should be removed to the federal court in the District of Columbia. Accordingly, any motion by the prosecution to remove to the state court would be heard by one of the judges in District of Columbia and not by Harold Cox or E. Gordon West and if any trial is to be had for alleged violation of a state law it would be tried in the United States court of the District of Columbia, before a jury and judge of that locality.

These were the main points of our program that were new, although I reiterated our other positions(unfortunately, we drew up the press release so hastily in order to get it ready in time, the new points, having a dramatic quality, were down at the bottom and while the meeting heard them well, I am afraid any reporters who may have received the press release thought it was the same old CORE position

not realizing the the new points that we were urging.

Interestingly enough, Joe Rauh made an immediate point to say that the jury registrar was an extremely fine idea and gave us a handle with which to work on this problem.

Shortly thereafter, however, different points of view were presented. The National Council of Churches ruged a meeting with the President to get him to use the powers he already has. Marion Berry picked up this point and turned it around to try to say that this should be instead of a legislative program, not in addition, but he later softened his position.

Tom Harris of the AFL-CIO however, reacted very negatively to the legislative approach and the undercurrent was that this might detract from their fight on 14b. However, he gracefully phrased it in terms of minimum wage and so forth, but everyone understood him to mean 14b.

Discussion went on for several hours and it was decided a letter is in process of being drafted to the President which will be shown to the national organizations and there will be a new meeting a week from Wednesday, the 10th, to decide upon the letter and the tactics thereafter, it being generally agreed that it would be a pushing of the President to enforce present laws, there would be a new legislative approach and there would still be support for pending legislation.

Submitted by Carl Rachlin
November 5, 1965

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November 10, 1965

MEMO: Position of the Leadership Conference On Civil Rights Regarding Enforcement of Existing Civil Rights Laws.

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights deplores the inadequate enforcement of existing civil rights laws. In far too many instances, the great promise of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 is not being realized. The authority of earlier civil rights laws meant to protect Negro citizens is hardly being used at all. And laws that are not properly enforced are little better than none. For how can we urge respect for law when laws are administered in a manner that can only create disrespect for law?

The grave failures in enforcement are exemplified for us in such areas as these:

I. Administration of Justice - The glaring inequality of justice that confronts us today--on the one hand the severe penalties imposed on civil rights workers and Negroes accused of crimes and on the other, the shocking acquittals of their murderers--demonstrates not only the weakness of existing federal laws but also a failure on the part of the Justice Department to make full use of the powers it does have under these statutes. We feel the Department has proceeded with excessive caution in its use of the post Civil War civil rights statutes, 18 U.S. C.241, 242, 243, and other laws.

A good illustration of this is afforded by the Department's own statistics. Its report for 1964 shows 2,656 complaints, 27 grand jury presentations, 20 indictments and one conviction. Prosecution may be difficult, but we suggest it is an abdication of responsibility not to undertake prosecution wherever guilt appears beyond a reasonable doubt, even at the risk of failure to convict.

- more -

In regard to Section 243 (which makes it a criminal offense for jury officials to exclude from or fail to call persons to jury duty because of race or color), the repeated exclusion of Negroes from the selection of juries in many parts of the South is so well known that it is incredible to find there has been only one reported use of this statute and that, some seventy-five years ago.

The Department's limited use of U.S. Marshalss and FBI agents to protect the constitutional rights of citizens further emphasizes the narrow view it takes of its powers; federal presence should be multiplied and Marshals and FBI agents should be authorized to make on-the-scene arrests for violation of federal law.

We believe there is authority in existing laws that has never been fully used. If the Justice Department feels these laws are insufficient, it has the clear responsibility to advocate additional legislation.

II. Voting - The Justice Department has proceeded much too cautiously in its use of federal voting examiners. Although only six percent of the eligible Negro population of Mississippi was registered to vote when the 1965 Act went into effect, only 13 examiners have been sent to that state. In spite of the many recorded instances of delay and harassment throughout the South, only 20 other examiners have been dispatched to the region. We deplore the Department's excessive reliance upon voluntary compliance in this as well as in other areas of enforcement. Such compliance must be suspect when it is offered by officials who, throughout the course of their careers, have worked to deny constitutional rights to Negro citizens.

It is apparent to us that so long as these officials control voting procedures, thousands of potential voters will refrain from registering through fear, distrust or lack of confidence that federal law has in fact changed conditions.

We demand a federal registrar in every county in which discrimination still exists. And this is many times the 32 counties which now have registrars.

III. Enforcement of Title VI - One of the most powerful weapons for the advancement of civil rights is the section (Title VI) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, that prohibits discrimination in all federally-assisted programs; but this section is being used much too sparingly. Unnecessary delays are countenanced by the Title VI regulations a number of agencies issued last year. The Leadership Conference expressed its fears about these regulations when they were first made public. There has been ample justification for those fears since then.

- more -

The Office of Education provides a good example of an agency that has done too little with the Title VI provision. It has approved school desegregation plans that amount to no more than token compliance. One of the major deficiencies in its original guidelines, as pointed out by Roy Wilkins, chairman of the Leadership Conference, was its sanction of a "freedom of choice" plan in school districts. Evidence accumulates that Negro parents who attempt to exercise their "free choice" of schools for their children risk reprisals both for themselves and their children. As a result, more than one year after the Civil Rights Act took effect and 11 and a half years after the Supreme Court school decisions, less than 8 percent of the Negro students in the South, according to an Office of Education study, are presently going to integrated schools. Studies by private organizations indicate that even that figure may be too high. Title VI needs a revitalization before its too late.

IV. Equal Employment and Enforcement of Title VII - Enforcement of the equal employment opportunity provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has been far from effective. That law authorizes the Justice Department to file suits to secure equal employment opportunity. Yet 17 months after enactment of the law and nearly five months after its effective date not a single suit has been filed. The great promise of ending employment discrimination under the 1964 Act will become a mockery if the Justice Department hesitates to enforce this law in the courts. We believe that the statute itself needs to be strengthened by authorizing the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to issue its own cease and desist orders against employers who continue to practice job discrimination. But meanwhile, suits brought by the Justice Department are an effective means of enforcing the Act. Further delay means further defeat for job equality rights.

* * * * * * * * *

In all of the instances we have cited here, we find two basic weaknesses in the enforcement of federal civil rights laws: an excessive reliance on voluntary compliance in the face of massive evidence that most recalcitrants will move only when vigorous enforcement compels them to; and the tendency of administrative agencies to again place upon Negroes the burden of trying to win their rights through complaints and individual initiative instead of obtaining enforcement through broad-scale programs of affirmative government action.

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ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 phone 234-4722 • New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400

November 10, 1965

MEMO: Position of the Leadership Conference On Civil Rights Regarding Enforcement of Existing Civil Rights Laws.

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights deplores the inadequate enforcement of existing civil rights laws. In far too many instances, the great promise of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 is not being realized. The authority of earlier civil rights laws meant to protect Negro citizens is hardly being used at all. And laws that are not properly enforced are little better than none. For how can we urge respect for law when laws are administered in a manner that can only create disrespect for law?

The grave failures in enforcement are exemplified for us in such areas as these:

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A good illustration of this is afforded by the Department's own statistics. Its report for 1964 shows 2,656 complaints, 27 grand jury presentations, 20 indictments and one conviction. Prosecution may be difficult, but we suggest it is an abdication of responsibility not to undertake prosecution wherever guilt appears beyond a reasonable doubt, even at the risk of failure to convict.

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The Department's limited use of U.S. Marshalss and FBI agents to protect the constitutional rights of citizens further emphasizes the narrow view it takes of its powers; federal presence should be multiplied and Marshals and FBI agents should be authorized to make on-the-scene arrests for violation of federal law.

We believe there is authority in existing laws that has never been fully used. If the Justice Department feels these laws are insufficient, it has the clear responsibility to advocate additional legislation.

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We demand a federal registrar in every county in which discrimination still exists. And this is many times the 32 counties which now have registrars.

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IV. Equal Employment and Enforcement of Title VII - Enforcement of the equal employment opportunity provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has been far from effective. That law authorizes the Justice Department to file suits to secure equal employment opportunity. Yet 17 months after enactment of the law and nearly five months after its effective date not a single suit has been filed. The great promise of ending employment discrimination under the 1964 Act will become a mockery if the Justice Department hesitates to enforce this law in the courts. We believe that the statute itself needs to be strengthened by authorizing the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to issue its own cease and desist orders against employers who continue to practice job discrimination. But meanwhile, suits brought by the Justice Department are an effective means of enforcing the Act. Further delay means further defeat for job equality rights.

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MEMO: No.78
Nov.24, 1965

TO: Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

RE: Civil Rights Law Enforcement
A Home Rule Opportunity
Minimum Wage
Farm Workers and Civil Rights
EEOC's 100 Days
CCAP's Bulletin

THE PRESIDENT SETS THREE CIVIL RIGHTS GOALS

One of the major developments of last week's White House meeting occurred before anything began.

At the reception for delegates, preliminary to the actual Planning Session for next year's White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights," the President made three important announcements:

1. He has asked the Justice Department to draft legislation that will assure fairer jury trials in the South.

2. He has called on all federal agencies to ferret out discrimination in their programs and not wait for complaints.

3. He has instructed the U.S. Civil Rights Commission to study school segregation in the North and South so that a school system can be established that is truly color blind.

The Leadership Conference should, of course, be encouraged by these advances. But do they go far enough?

MORE THAN BETTER JURY TRIALS ARE NEEDED IN THE SOUTH

The President's jury trial proposal was one of the focal points of the discussions in the Planning Session's panel on the Administration

of Justice. The Leadership Conference was well-represented among the attorneys who comprised that panel and, with only one abstention, its members agreed that more than a jury trail law was needed.

Panels at that session were not supposed to issue resolutions. But this one did. Because of its importance in the ongoing discussion within the civil rights movement of the whole subject of personal security laws, we include it with this MEMO. It declares, "We commend the President for his proposal on the reform of the jury system and support it as part of such a statute (to protect the physical security of all Americans). But we assert our belief that legislation on jury reform alone is not enough."

A number of ideas on the kind of legislation and enforcement needed to save the lives of Negroes and civil rights workers in the South came out of the panel and they will be considered at the next Leadership Conference meeting.

THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE MOVES TO IMPROVE ENFORCEMENT

The President's call for stronger implementation of the prohibitions against discrimination in federal programs is heartening. Particularly since it comes after Washington representatives to the Leadership Conference agreed at their last meeting to send delegations to the Justice Department and to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to raise objections to the dangerous inadequacy of the kind of enforcement we are getting now.

The delegations are in the process of being formed and we shall report on the results of their visits.

NOW IS THE TIME TO HELP WASHINGTON GET HOME RULE

Representatives to the last meeting of the Leadership Conference agreed to use the remaining weeks of congressional adjournment to build support for a good Home Rule bill for the District of Columbia.

This effort centers on 40 Democrats and 11 Republicans. It is from among these House members that it may be possible to obtain the necessary votes for a bill similar to the one that passed the Senate this last session. As we have previously reported, the House by-passed the Senate bill and endorsed, instead, an almost meaningless measure proposed by Rep. B.F. Sisk (D., Cal.). There is a very good chance of overcoming this setback. We believe it is possible to get the Senate bill or something like it back before the House again. And if that happens, we need every vote for it we can get.

What You Can Do

The Sisk bill passed by a vote of 227 to 174. The swing votes must come from the 53 members whose votes for the Sisk bill spelled the difference. Enclosed with this MEMO is a story from the Washington Post that lists the Democrats in this group. We have supplied additional Republican

names. As the story notes, three members, Morris K. Udall (D., Ariz.), Lester Wolff (D., N.Y.), and Robert E. Sweeney (D., O.) have already said they will change their votes and support the Senate version. Since then Rep. Lee H. Hamilton (D., Ind.) has informed Home Rule forces they can count on him. There's no need to visit these men.

But we urge you to study the other names on the list. If you have chapters or members in any of the districts, now is the time to ask them to get to work. Many of the House members will be home. Delegations are needed to call on them and ask them to support a meaningful home rule bill, the Senate version, one that will give Washington an elected government--a mayor and a city council--and bring to the city's nearly 900,000 residents the full voting rights that they, alone in the United States, have been denied for more than 90 years.

HELP FOR MINIMUM WAGE CAMPAIGNS

The close relationship between further advances in civil rights and an increase in the federal minimum wage is the subject of a pamphlet now in preparation by the Leadership Conference. As soon as it is done we will send you copies.

The Administration has already signified its readiness to make an increase in the federal minimum wage and an extension of its coverage a "must" legislation when Congress reconvenes. We hope to have this material ready to help you in your local efforts to marshall the kind of support that helped Congress enact the Civil Rights laws of 1964 and 1965.

FARM WORKERS AS A CIVIL RIGHTS PROBLEM

At their last meeting, Washington representatives to the Leadership Conference endorsed a statement that recognizes the special plight of the nation's most wretched workers, the nearly 4 million who work on its fields and farms.

Proposed by the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor, the statement points out that these workers, at least 40 percent of whom belong to racial or national minorities, are often singled out for discriminatory treatment in state and federal laws. The representatives agreed with NCALL that such discriminations "constitute a denial of civil rights and therefor should be eliminated."

EEOC's FIRST ONE HUNDRED DAYS

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has observed the first 100 days of its existence with a comprehensive report on its operations during that period.

The summary of its activities shows it has received 1,383 complaints of discrimination in employment practices. EEOC believes it has jurisdiction over 966 of them. Almost 70 percent (670) of these come from 11 Southern states, the largest number (153) from Alabama.

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In 73 percent (706) of the 966 complaints, race is cited as the basis for discrimination; 680 of these complaints came from Negroes. Sex is cited as the basis for discrimination in 16 percent (152) of the 966 cases, and national origin in only one percent (12).

About 87 percent of the complaints (844) are directed against employers, 20 percent (197) against unions and three percent (31) against state employment agencies.

A full copy of the report may be obtained by writing to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1800 G Street N.W., Washington, D.C.

CITIZENS CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY ISSUES NEWS BULLETIN

The Citizens Crusade Against Poverty has begun to issue a monthly news bulletin. It will contain reports on federal activity in the War on Poverty and articles geared to the needs of grass roots organizations.

CCAP will send the bulletin free to anyone who requests it. If you would like to receive it, please send your name to the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, 2027 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

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CORE Routing Memo

To: Nancy From: JM Date: 11/28

Action Required:

- ☐ File ☐ Expedite ☐ Circulate
- ☐ Comment ☐ For your information and possible use
- ☐ Initial, date and return by _____.
- ☐ Please act on this matter and report to me action taken by _____.
- ☒ Report any action taken to _____.

Remarks: Please call NAACP + Confirm ~~Leadership Conference~~

10:30 am. Leadership Conference
2027 Mass. Ave, N.W.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

NT262 (21)BB584
B UDB169 NL PD UD NEW YORK NY 23

George F

1965 NOV 24 AM 12 42

MR JAMES FARMER
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY 38 PARK ROW NYK

IN ACCORDANCE WITH INSTRUCTIONS OF THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS I AM ARRANGING CONFERENCE BETWEEN ORGANIZATION HEADS AND ATTORNEY GENERAL KATZENBACH, HIS SECRETARY, JOHN GARNDER, AND OFFICE OF EDUCATION DIRECTOR , FRANCIS KEPPEL, FOR NEXT TUESDAY AFTERNOON, NOVEMBER 30, IN MR KATZENBACH'S OFFICE. DISCUSSION WILL COVER TITLE SIX AND SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PLUS ENFORCEMENT OF VOTING LAW. PRELIMINARY MEETING OF ORGANIZATION REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE HELD TUESDAY MORNING NOVEMBER 30 AT 1030 OCLOCK AT LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE OFFICE 2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE NORTHWEST. OUR CONFERENCE FELT STRONGLY THIS WAS TIME FOR THE HEADS OF ORGANIZATIONS TO MAKE POSITION CLEAR AND NOT LEAVE ENTIRELY ON LEGISLATURE REPRESENTATIVE LEVEL. TRUST

SF1201(R2-65)

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1965 NOV 24 AM 12 42

THEREFORE YOUR SCHEDULE WILL PERMIT YOUR ATTENDANCE. PLEASE
. CORDIALLY
ROY WILKINS 20 WEST 40 STREET

30 30 1030 2027 20 40 .

SF1201(R2-65)

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MEMO: No.79
Dec.10, 1965

TO: Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

A Visit With Katzenbach And Gardner

THE CONFERENCE URGES TOUGHER POLICY ON VOTING, PROTECTION, AND "TITLE VI"

As part of our intensified campaign for stronger enforcement of civil rights laws, a delegation from the Leadership Conference met with U.S. Attorney General Nicholas DeB. Katzenbach and John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. The session was a mixed success.

In the course of two hours, the 18 members of the delegation centered their discussion on three things: the need to step up enforcement of the Voting Rights Act; the need for greater federal protection of civil rights workers and Negroes in the South; and the need to make greater use of "Title VI," the section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that authorizes the government to withhold funds from any federally-assisted program that discriminates.

Mobile Examiners And More Of Them

On the matter of voting rights there was real progress. The Attorney General indicated he was ready to send more federal registrars into counties where there is evidence of discrimination against Negro voters and not wait for complaints to do so. He seemed agreeable to have registrars keep their offices open evenings and weekends in order to facilitate registration for workers who can't get off during the day. More important, he seemed disposed to make the registrars more mobile, to let them travel around a parish or county and go where the people are instead of stationing them in the Post Office or Court House--territory fraught with perilous associations for would-be voting applicants. Greater mobility for registrars was one of the main pleas heard at the U.S. Civil Rights Commission's Mississippi hearings (see below). Finally, he agreed that the arrival of federal registrars in a voting district ought to be more widely publicized and even offered to

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tape announcements that could be broadcast on local radio stations.

Little Give On Protection Or Withholding

There was less progress in regard to the other two issues. Mr. Katzenbach is still not ready to authorize on-the-spot arrests by FBI agents as a preventive measure against violence.

In regard to Title VI, the delegation drew a less than clear-cut response to its urgings that greater use be made of the cut-off powers in Title VI. Roy Wilkins, who led the delegation as chairman of the Leadership Conference, expressed concern at a report that the HEW was adopting a policy of not withholding funds from states or localities, even though there are complaints of discrimination, but intends instead to continue to give funds until a hearing determines that a grant should be revoked. Mr. Katzenbach denied the report. However, a subsequent discussion of how HEW handled grants to hospitals indicated that some hospitals were still getting funds during the time HEW was trying to persuade them to abandon a discriminatory policy.

However, in the matter of school desegregation, the Attorney General promised greater enforcement of Title IV of the 1964 Act. And he accepted a draft of a bill that would provide indemnification for victims of civil rights injustices.

A Partnership With Justice

If the meeting is viewed as the first in a series, there is reason to draw some encouragement from it. Mr. Katzenbach expressed interest in maintaining a partnership with the civil rights movement. Mr. Gardner, too, felt it would be valuable to meet again. The Leadership Conference hopes to maintain a continuing relationship with both men and with other agencies charged with enforcing the civil rights laws. As long as those doors are open there is a chance of improving the quality and quantity of federal enforcement.

The other members of the delegation, besides Mr. Wilkins, were, in alphabetical order:

Arnold Aronson, Secretary of the Conference; Marian Barry, SNCC; Andrew Biemiller, AFL-CIO; Marvin Caplan, Director, Washington Office; Jack Conway, IUD, AFL-CIO; Father John Cronin, National Catholic Welfare Conference; Rev. Walter Fauntroy, SCLC; Jack Greenberg, Legal Defense Fund; Tom Harris, General Counsel, AFL-CIO; Rabbi Richard Hirsch, Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Clarence Mitchell, NAACP and Legislative Chairman of the Conference; John Pratt, National Council of Churches; Bayard Rustin, A. Phillip Rando Institute; Whitney M. Young, Jr., National Urban League; Harry Wachtel, SCLC; and George Wiley, CORE.

MISSISSIPPI VOTERS AIR THEIR GRIEVANCES TO THE GOVERNMENT

On Saturday, December 4, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission held a conference on voting rights in the King Edward Hotel, Jackson, Mississippi. More than 400 persons from 52 of the state's 82 counties attended the meeting. What was heartening was to find so many of the state's rank and file among those in attendance. What was discouraging and sometimes harrowing was to hear the stories they had to tell.

While Negroes are being registered in the state in increasing numbers they are sometimes still forced to do so in the face of formidable obstacles. Intimidation may be more subtle these days--a raised eyebrow instead of a hammer blow. And physical violence may be less. But they are both still there. And so are evasion, threats of job loss and economic reprisal.

The bitterest criticism of those present was reserved for the lack of federal protection and the lack of mobility on the part of the federal examiners. The Commission, as the handiest agency of government around, sometimes drew that criticism.

Nevertheless, the meeting brought people some reassurance that the federal government is not deaf to their complaints. And in the end, one of those present rose and thanked the Commission for being "patient with impatient people."

As it has with other regional meetings, the Leadership Conference cooperated with the Commission in drawing up the invitation lists and publicizing the session. The Commission plans other regional meetings on civil rights and the related economic problems and we will keep you informed of them.

A FREE FILM ON MISSISSIPPI JUSTICE

The hearings on Administration of Justice that the U.S. Civil Rights Commission held in Jackson, Mississippi this past February, are the basis for a film that will be available soon for public distribution. Those organizations interested in obtaining a free print of the 40-minute documentary should write to Miss Edith Barksdale, U.S. Civil Rights Commission, 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. It will not be ready until after January 7. Washington representatives of the Leadership Conference are invited to a preview of the film on Tuesday, January 11, at 11 A.M. in the Interdepartmental Auditorium.

WE MOVE FORWARD ON NEW PROTECTION LAW

With the next session of Congress only a month away, lawyers in the Leadership Conference are working to reduce to writing their various ideas about the kind of law that would offer the greatest amount of protection to persons engaged in working for civil rights. We will keep you informed of the progress we make.

* * * * * * *

NEW BOOKLET TO HELP FARMERS HELP THEMSELVES

Realizing that the complicated titles of some of its agencies and the technical language of the laws it administers often keep the very people who can use its services from seeking them, the Department of Agriculture has developed a short, illustrated booklet that sets forth its major programs as simply as possible.

Entitled, "You Too Can Get Help," it reviews the kinds of assistance people can get, informs them of their rights and invites them to write directly to Secretary Orville Freeman if they are not treated fairly.

If you think you can use the booklet, you can order free copies direct from William M. Seabron, Assistant to the Secretary, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. 20250. The Department would be grateful if anyone ordering the publication would describe how many people he hoped to reach with it and the geographic areas in which it would be circulated.

* * * * * * *

Legis

file

JAN 30 1964

THE ASSEMBLY
STATE OF NEW YORK
ALBANY

LLOYD E. DICKENS
2153 SEVENTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

January 29, 1964

Mr. James Farmer,
National Director
Congress on Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 7, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Enclosed please find two bills (Intro. No. 1858 and No. 1859) with regard to:

1. Search and Seizure

2. Permit the courts to authorize police officers to execute search warrants.

Since these two bills are of the utmost importance to the average citizen, I am taking the liberty to send them to you for your comments and recommendations. I would appreciate your reply as soon as practical.

Hope that things are going well with you.

With kind regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Lloyd

LLOYD E. DICKENS
Member of Assembly

LED:rf
Enc.

STATE OF NEW YORK

Print. 1859 Intro. 1858

IN ASSEMBLY

January 9, 1964

Introduced by Mr. VOLKER—read once and referred to the Committee on Codes

AN ACT

To amend the code of criminal procedure, in relation to execution of search warrants

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1. Section seven hundred ninety-nine of the code of criminal procedure is hereby amended to read as follows:

§ 799. Officer may break open door or window, to execute warrant. The officer may break open an outer or inner door or window of a building, or any part of the building, or any thing therein, to execute the warrant, *(a)* if, after notice of his authority and purpose, he be refused admittance, *or (b) without notice of his authority and purpose, if the judge, justice and magistrate issuing the warrant has directed in writing that the officer executing it shall not be required to give such notice. The judge, justice or magistrate may so direct only upon a showing under oath, to his satis-*

EXPLANATION — Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [ ] is old law to be omitted.

faction, that the property sought may be easily and quickly destroyed or disposed of or that danger to the life or limb of the officer may result, if such notice were to be given.

§ 2. This act shall take effect July first, nineteen hundred sixty-four.

STATE OF NEW YORK

Print. 1860 Intro. 1859

IN ASSEMBLY

January 9, 1964

Introduced by Mr. VOLKER—read once and referred to the Committee on Codes

AN ACT

To amend the code of criminal procedure, in relation to temporary questioning and search for weapons

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1. The code of criminal procedure is hereby amended by adding thereto a new section, to be section one hundred eighty-a, to read as follows:

§ 180-a. Temporary questioning of persons in public places; search for weapons. 1. A police officer may stop any person abroad in a public place whom he reasonably suspects is committing, has committed or is about to commit any felony or any of the crimes specified in sections five hundred fifty-two and nine hundred forty of this code, and may demand of him his name, address and an explanation of his actions.

2. When a police officer has stopped a person for questioning pursuant to this section and has reasonable cause to believe that

EXPLANATION — Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [ ] is old law to be omitted.

he is in danger of life or limb, he may search such person for a dangerous weapon. If the police officer finds such a weapon or any other thing the possession of which may constitute a violation of law, he may take and keep it until the completion of the questioning at which time he shall either return it, if lawfully possessed, or arrest the person.

§ 2. This act shall take effect July first, nineteen hundred sixty-four.

Legislation

February 17, 1964

Honorable Ivan Warner
160 Broadway
New York City 38

Dear Ivan:

Thanks for sending me copies of Senate Print 1461, Intro. 1442.

Please be assured that we will press it as hard as we can for, needless to say, we are 100 per cent in favor of the bill.

Kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

cc: Norm Hill

THE SENATE
STATE OF NEW YORK
ALBANY

FEB 6 1964

IVAN WARNER
27TH DISTRICT

160 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 38, N.Y.

February 4, 1964

Dear Ivan

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I have again, in this 1964 session of the Legislature, introduced Senate Print 1461, Intro. 1442. This bill is the same as the one introduced last year and which we discussed in your communications during the session.

A formal request has been made of the Codes Committee in the Senate, Senator John H. Hughes, Chairman, to act on and discharge said bill from Committee. You may contact Senator Hughes with your views regarding the bill. Any effort you may make on behalf of this important legislation will be greatly appreciated.

I am enclosing for your consideration 6 copies of the 1964 bill.

My best regards.

Sincerely,

enclosures

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

a: Norm Hill

STATE OF NEW YORK

Print. 1461 Intro. 1442

IN SENATE

January 20, 1964

COMPLIMENTS OF
IVAN WARNER
SENATOR 27th DISTRICT

Introduced by Mr. WARNER—read twice and ordered printed, and when printed to be committed to the Committee on Codes

AN ACT

To amend the civil rights law, in relation to declaring that certain lawful actions shall not be deemed disqualifications with respect to public employment, eligibility for licenses and for other purposes

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1. The civil rights law is hereby amended by inserting therein a new section, to be section seventy-nine, to read as follows:

§ 79. *Protection of demonstrators for civil rights. 1. Legislative declaration. It is hereby found that the letter and spirit of the constitution of the United States are being violated in some jurisdictions under color of law with the result that persons from this state, as well as from other states, are being subjected to discriminatory treatment in the exercise of their constitutional rights because of race or because they seek the removal of unconstitutional barriers to equal rights.*

EXPLANATION — Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [ ] is old law to be omitted.

Such persons, sometimes referred to as freedom riders and sit-ins, intent upon peaceful resistance to discrimination, segregation and the achievement of the constitutional rights of all persons in all jurisdictions of the United States, have suffered the stigma of criminal proceedings. It is hereby declared to be the policy of the state to remove or to neutralize by affording to such residents appropriate relief to the fullest extent possible, the effect upon residents of this state of such criminal proceedings, resulting from the attempted use of public transportation facilities and other places of public accommodation.

2. Removal of disability or disqualification. Notwithstanding any provision of law to the contrary, no person shall be denied any license, right, benefit or privilege extended by law, or suffer any other disability or disqualification thereunder, or be denied the right of employment by the state or any political subdivision thereof, solely because of any arrest, apprehension, detention, indictment or other accusation, arraignment, trial, conviction or any other aspect of conviction or adjudication of a crime had under the jurisdiction of the courts of any state or of the United States, which is founded on an act or acts arising out of any peaceful demonstration or other peaceful activity, the object of which is to resist discriminatory treatment in any place of public accommodations as defined by section forty of this chapter, or to achieve equal rights for all persons regardless of race, creed, color or national origin.

§ 2. This act shall take effect immediately.

legislation

February 17, 1964

Mr. Arthur S. Flemming
2315 McMorran Drive
Eugene, Oregon

Dear Mr. Flemming:

We read with much interest your proposed bill. While I, personally, am in very great sympathy with your statement regarding the Quality Stabilization Act, now pending in Congress, I must, however, decline to sign the statement in view of the fact that it is out of CORE's immediate jurisdiction.

Best regards,

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

I suggest NORM involvement with CORE's jurisdiction

James

January 27, 1964

Mr. Arthur S. Flemming
2315 McMorran Drive
Eugene, Ore.

Dear Mr. Flemming:

Thank you for your letter and the draft text of your statement. I am having the matter studied by the appropriate staff personnel. I shall very shortly consult with my staff on it and you will then hear from us.

I shall be in touch as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:lp

cc: xBordenxBoxCarey
Norman Hill

Arthur S. Flemming
2315 McMorran Drive
Eugene, Oregon

Norm:
Please advise
A.F.

DEC 20 1963

December 20, 1963

Mr. James Farmer, Executive Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am enclosing a draft text of a statement which I hope you will join me in signing, expressing opposition to the Quality Stabilization Act, now pending in the Congress.

Under a name masking its real purpose, the Quality Stabilization Act is a price-fixing measure, vesting authority in the manufacturers, with federal sanction, to fix prices at the retail level, in addition to their power to do so at the wholesale level.

Its immediate effect would be a 20% to 27% price rise. This is the current differential between prices in States with so-called Fair Trade Laws and those without. Its most far-reaching effect would be to hobble free competition on which our economy is based.

The Act is opposed by the U.S. Departments of State, Defense, Justice, Commerce, Agriculture, Budget, the Federal Trade Commission, the President's Council of Economic Advisors, and the President's Consumers Advisory Council.

Nonetheless, the Bill has reached the Rules Committee in the House; though it is still in the Subcommittee of the Senate Commerce Committee.

There are imperative reasons why the Act should be opposed by representatives of the American community.

The Bill is a sleeper, of which the general public has little awareness. The Bill's passage is predicted in the absence of public opposition.

The proposed statement is for the purpose of registering and making visible the opposition of those who are willing to sign it, and to inform the American public of the imminent dangers. These dangers are set forth in some detail in the enclosed Fact Sheet.

Your suggestions on the text will be welcome.

The enclosed card is for your convenience. I shall look forward to hearing from you promptly.

With appreciation,

Sincerely,

Arthur S. Flemming

DRAFT STATEMENT

Under the name of "Quality Stabilization Act", there is now before the Congress of the United States, an amendment to the Federal Trade Commission Act, which forbids, under penalty of license withdrawal and injunction, the sale anywhere, of brand products at less than the retail price fixed by the manufacturer.

The Act, if passed, would destroy the major premise of a free economy which is free competition of products and their prices.

The undersigned register their opposition to this Act, as providing neither quality nor stabilization; call upon the Congress to refuse to give it sanction; and upon the President to veto the measure as inimical to the public welfare, should it pass.

Our reasons are the following:

1. The Quality Stabilization Act would legalize and place the authority of the Federal Government behind price-fixing at both the retail and wholesale levels, for products consumers buy and require for their daily living.

2. It would cause a price rise on all brand products, including food, clothing, household furnishings, conservatively estimated as between 20% and 27%; with the outlook that further price rises would ensue.

3. It would withdraw from the consumer, pricewise, the opportunity to benefit from technological advances at the manufacturing level and marketing efficiency at the retail end.

4. It would encourage manufacturers overtly or covertly, to fix prices at the wholesale level, particularly since 4 to 20 of the larger companies control up to 100% of the manufacture of commodities.

5. All consumers would be affected, from the largest, the United States Government, to the smallest, including the man on relief.

6. The Government itself, the largest consumer, would be adversely affected on the Federal, State, and local levels, through the forced abrogation of the system of competitive bidding.

7. Consumption and aggregate demand would be restricted; inflation and unemployment encouraged.

8. Real income would be reduced; the value of savings eroded, with resulting hardship particularly for those with the lowest incomes. These include some 18 million retired persons, 8-1/2 million of whom have cash incomes of less than $1,000 per year; 4 million of whom have incomes of between $1,000 and $2,000 per year; 2 million of whom now receive public assistance.

Ranged in opposition to the Bill are the United States Departments of State, Defense, Justice, Commerce, Agriculture, Budget, the Federal Trade Commission, the President's Council of Economic Advisors, and the President's Consumers Advisory Council, for the reasons above cited.

Nor will this Bill assist the small businessman, the ostensible beneficiary of the Act. The benefits to the latter would be few, temporary and illusory.

Experience has shown that there are more failures of small businessmen in States with price-fixing than in those States which do not have it.

Price-fixing, under various labels, has already been tried out at the State level. A comparison of prices with those obtaining in States without price-fixing shows a 20% to 27% rise in price for the same products in States with so-called "Fair Trade" laws.

Alleged abuses in the form of predatory "bait" advertising can be corrected by application of existing laws.

In sum, the Act is a misnomer, providing neither quality nor stabilization, which should be defeated by an informed citizenry, expressing their opposition to their representatives in the Congress, and to the President.

Union Calendar No. 237

88TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 3669

[Report No. 566]

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 11, 1963

Mr. HARRIS introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce

JULY 22, 1963

Reported with an amendment, committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, and ordered to be printed

[Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the part printed in italic]

A BILL

To amend the Federal Trade Commission Act, to promote quality and price stabilization, to define and restrain certain unfair methods of distribution and to confirm, define, and equalize the rights of producers and resellers in the distribution of goods identified by distinguishing brands, names, or trademarks, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

~~That (a) this Act may be cited as the "Quality Stabilization Act".~~

~~(b) Section 5(a) of the Federal Trade Commission Act, as amended, is hereby amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraphs:~~

~~provision to any person or circumstance shall be held invald for any reason it is the intention of the Congress that the remaining provisions thereof shall not be affected but shall remain in full force and effect."~~

That (a) this Act may be cited as the "Quality Stabilization Act".

(b) Section 5(a) of the Federal Trade Commission Act, as amended, is hereby amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraphs:

"(7) The owner of a brand, name, or trademark shall be deemed to retain his property rights therein, and in the trade and public goodwill symbolized thereby, regardless of any sale or transfer of the goods to which such brand, name, or trademark relates, and no such sale or transfer shall be deemed to diminish or extinguish any such rights.

"(8) Any person who resells goods identified by a distinguishing brand, name, or trademark, either on the label, container, or dispenser thereof, may rightfully employ such brand, name, or trademark, but only in effecting the resale of such goods and subject to the following provisions of this paragraph. If goods usable for the same general purpose are available to the public from sources other than the owner of such brand, name, or trademark, and are in free and open competition therewith, the right of any person to employ such brand, name, or trademark in effecting resale of goods

so identified may be revoked for a period not exceeding one year by the owner of such brand, name, or trademark, subject to the provisions of paragraph (10) of this subsection, on written and dated notice of revocation, if, within ninety days prior to the date of the written notice of revocation—

"(A) such person has employed goods bearing such brand, name, or trademark in furtherance of bait merchandising practices;

"(B) such person, after written notice given by such owner of such owner's currently established resale price or price range, has advertised, offered for sale, or sold any such goods, acquired by such person after he has been given such notice, at a price other than such currently established resale price or at a price not within such currently established resale price range; or

"(C) such person, with intent to deceive purchasers, has published a misrepresentation or misrepresentations concerning such goods.

The owner of a brand, name, or trademark who avails himself of the provisions of paragraphs (7) to (17) of this subsection for the purpose of establishing a resale price or price range shall thereby subject himself, without respect to the amount in controversy, to the jurisdiction of the district court of the United States for any district in which goods identified by such brand, name, or trademark are

offered for sale, but such jurisdiction shall apply (i) only for the adjudication of issues involving the goods covered by such paragraphs (7) to (17), and (ii) only if the owner of such brand, name, or trademark is not subject to process in the courts of the State in which such purchaser acquired such goods.

"(9) Notwithstanding revocation pursuant to paragraph (8) of this subsection of the right of a person, in reselling goods, to employ the brand, name, or trademark which identifies such goods—

"(A) such person may, in the regular course of his business and within a reasonable time after the date of such revocation, sell all such goods of which, on such date, he is possessed: Provided, That in such sale he shall commit none of the acts described in subparagraphs (A), (B), and (C) of such paragraph (8); or

"(B) if such person, promptly upon such revocation, shall have supplied to the owner of such brand, name, or trademark a correct itemized listing of the inventory of such goods with a statement of the price paid per item and the total price (including transportation costs) paid therefor, together with a firm offer to sell and deliver all such inventory to such owner at any time within ten days thereafter upon payment of such total price plus the cost of transportation to the

owner in the manner directed by such owner, then such person, upon expiration of the ten-day term of such offer without acceptance may so sell such goods in such inventory, in the regular course of his business and within a reasonable time thereafter, without restriction as to price, in which event each advertisement of, or offer to sell, such goods, shall state plainly that the right of the reseller, offering such goods, to employ in any way the brand, name, or trademark carried by the goods has been revoked as to any such goods not in that reseller's possession at the time of such revocation.

"(10) Any person whose right to employ a brand, name, or trademark has been revoked by the owner thereof pursuant to the provisions of paragraph (8) of this subsection, and who thereafter, except as authorized by paragraph (9) of this subsection, resells goods identified by such brand, name, or trademark, or who otherwise employs such brand, name, or trademark in effecting resale of such goods or any other goods, shall be liable in a civil action for damages and injunctive relief by the owner of the brand, name, or trademark, to prevent and restrain further violations of paragraphs (7) to (17), inclusive, of this subsection. Such owner may sue in any district court of the United States in the district in which defendant resides or does business or in which the alleged violation occurred, without

respect to the amount in controversy, and shall be entitled to (i) recover the amount of any damages sustained, (ii) injunctive relief to prevent and restrain further violations of paragraphs (7) to (17), inclusive, of this subsection, whether or not specific money damages are established, and (iii) recover the cost of suit. Any injunction granted under clause (ii) of this paragraph shall remain in effect for not more than one year from the date it is granted unless it is the second or a subsequent such injunction issued against the same defendant in favor of the same plaintiff in which case it may be a permanent injunction; except that any such injunction, upon petition of such plaintiff, may be vacated unconditionally by the court granting it.

"(11) In any proceeding under paragraph (10) it shall be a defense for the defendant (A) to establish that the plaintiff has not used due diligence to effectuate observance or enforcement of plaintiff's rights under paragraphs (7) to (17), inclusive, of this subsection against other persons who are in substantial competition with the defendant and who are known to plaintiff to be violating the same subparagraph of paragraph (8) of this subsection on which revocation of the defendant's right to employ the brand, name, or trademark was based or (B) to establish that the plaintiff has sold the same kind of goods of like

grade and quality as the goods involved in such proceeding to another person similarly situated under terms more favorable or at lower prices than those under which the plaintiff offered such goods for sale to the defendant.

"(12) No action pursuant hereto shall preclude remedial action otherwise available for wrongful use of a brand, name, or trademark.

"(13) Paragraphs (7) to (17), inclusive, of this subsection shall apply to all acts and transactions of the character referred to therein, in or affecting commerce, which Congress may lawfully regulate, but where the owner of a brand, name, or trademark avails himself of any right or remedy provided in paragraphs (7) to (17), inclusive, of this subsection, such action shall not cause any act or transaction not otherwise in, affecting, or related to, commerce to be an activity or transaction in, affecting, or related to, commerce. If any State, by any provision of its constitution adopted, or by any law enacted, after this paragraph takes effect, prohibits resale price maintenance in such State through the exercise of paragraphs (7) to (17), inclusive, of this subsection, then, while such provision or law is in effect, such paragraphs shall not authorize the establishment or enforcement of any resale price or resale price range with respect to any resale in such State of any goods if such goods

so resold are to be delivered from a place in such State to a purchaser in such State and are not to be resold again for delivery to a purchaser outside of such State.

"(14) As used in paragraphs (7) to (17), inclusive, of this subsection—

"(A) The term 'person' means any individual, partnership, association, or corporation.

"(B) The term 'goods' means goods, wares, and merchandise.

"(C) The term 'currently established resale price' means the price for goods identified by a brand, name, or trademark specified by written notice invoking paragraphs (7) to (17), inclusive, of this subsection given by the owner of such brand, name, or trademark to the person reselling such goods.

"(D) The term 'currently established resale price range' means all prices including and between the minimum and maximum resale prices for goods identified by a brand, name, or trademark, specified by written notice invoking paragraphs (7) to (17), inclusive, of this subsection given by the owners of such brand, name, or trademark to the person reselling such goods.

Each such currently established resale price and resale price range shall be uniform at each level of distribution, except for reasonable marketing costs. Such owner of the brand,

name, or trademark may so establish, for resale of a combination of two or more items of goods, a resale price or price range different from the sum of the currently established resale prices or price ranges for the items when sold individually. Such owner of the brand, name, or trademark may also engage in other promotional activities not made unlawful by any other statute.

"(15) All rights and remedies provided in paragraphs (7) to (17), inclusive, of this subsection, to owners of a brand, name, or trademark, shall be also available to any owner of a brand, name, or trademark who, in the sale of goods identified by such brand, name, or trademark, shall compete, at any level of distribution, with any reseller offering such goods: Provided, That such owner shall sell such identified goods, at whatever level of distribution, only at the price or within the price range currently established by such owner for that level of distribution.

"(16) The following transactions shall be exempt from paragraphs (7) to (15), inclusive, of this subsection—

"(A) Sales of bulk commodities when sold without wrappers or containers.

"(B) Sales by any officer acting under the orders or authority of any duly constituted court; or sales by any person in mitigation of damages or enforcement of a lien or other secured interest in said goods, when

such person is not primarily engaged in the distribution of goods for resale.

"(C) Sales of damaged, deteriorated, defaced, or secondhand goods, when plain notice of the condition of the goods is given to the public.

"(D) Sales of drugs, medicines, and devices for which either Federal or State law or regulations requires a prescription from a physician, dentist, or such other persons as the various States may authorize to prescribe such items.

"(E) Sales to or by the Federal, State, or municipal governments or their political subdivisions or agencies.

"(F) Sales to charitable, educational, medical, and religious organizations, for their own use and not for resale.

"(17) If any provision of paragraphs (7) to (17), inclusive, of this subsection or the application of any such provision to any person or circumstance shall be held invalid for any reason it is the intention of the Congress that the remaining provisions thereof shall not be affected but shall remain in full force and effect."

Union Calendar No. 237

90TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 3669

[Report No. 566]

A BILL

To amend the Federal Trade Commission Act, to promote quality and price stabilization, to define and restrain certain unfair methods of distribution and to confirm, define, and equalize the rights of producers and resellers in the distribution of goods identified by distinguishing brands, names, or trademarks, and for other purposes.

By Mr. HARRIS

FEBRUARY 17, 1967

Referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce

JULY 25, 1967

Reported with an amendment, committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, and ordered to be printed

DOMESTIC SERVICE
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram

TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 (4-55)

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate

FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE-SHIP	

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NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
32 PD FR 8 EXTRA			COR 76270	1118A EST

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

NEW YORK NY FEB 20 1964

GOV. NELSON D ROCKEFELLER — Legislation

ALBANY NY

SERIOUSLY DISTURBED BY EXTREME AUTHORITY GIVEN POLICE JEOPARDIZING CIVIL LIBERTIES INHERENT IN NO-KNOCK AND STOP-SEARCH BILL. URGE YOUR VETO OF THIS MEASURE.

JAMES FARMER NATIONAL DIRECTOR CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

38 PARK ROW NEW YORK 38

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH CO.
CONFIRMATION OF MESSAGE FILED BY PHONE

Legisl

April 20, 1964

Honorable Sol Neil Corbin
Executive Chamber
State Capitol
Albany 1, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Corbin:

Thank you for sending me a copy of the bill to include motor courts in the definition of "places of public accommodation, resort or amusement" (Introductory 806).

I heartily approve this bill to extend the ban by the State of New York in discrimination in places of public accommodation, and feel that its passage by the State Legislature will be a service to the people of our State.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, Albany, N. Y.

The attached bill is before the Governor for executive action. The Governor would appreciate receiving your comments and recommendation concerning this bill within *five days of receipt of this request*. Identification of your memorandum by the bill's introductory number would be helpful to us.

Thank you for your cooperation.

SOL NEIL CORBIN
Counsel to the Governor

CORE Farmer

STATE OF NEW YORK

Print. 806 Intro. 806

IN ASSEMBLY

(Prefiled)

January 8, 1964

TEN-DAY BILL

Introduced by Mr. MARESCA—read once and referred to the Committee on Ways and Means

AN ACT

To amend the executive law, in relation to including motor courts in the definition of the term "place of public accommodation, resort or amusement"

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1. Subdivision nine of section two hundred ninety-two of the executive law, as last amended by chapter three hundred seventy of the laws of nineteen hundred sixty-two, is hereby amended to read as follows:

9. The term "place of public accommodation, resort or amusement" shall include, except as hereinafter specified, all places included in the meaning of such terms as: inns, taverns, road houses, hotels, *motor courts,* motels, whether conducted for the entertainment of transient guests or for the accommodation of those seeking

EXPLANATION — Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [ ] is old law to be omitted.

health, recreation or rest, or restaurants, or eating houses, or any place where food is sold for consumption on the premises; buffets, saloons, [barooms] *barrooms,* or any store, park or enclosure where spirituous or malt liquors are sold; ice cream parlors, confectionaries, soda fountains, and all stores where ice cream, ice and fruit preparations or their derivatives, or where beverages of any kind are retailed for consumption on the premises; retail stores and establishments dealing with goods or services of any kind, dispensaries, clinics, hospitals, bathhouses, swimming pools, laundries and all other cleaning establishments, barber shops, beauty parlors, theatres, motion picture houses, airdromes, roof gardens, music halls, race courses, skating rinks, amusement and recreation parks, trailer comps, resort camps, fairs, bowling alleys, golf courses, gymnasiums, shooting galleries, billiard and pool parlors; garages, all public conveyances operated on land or water or in the air, as well as the stations and terminals thereof; travel or tour advisory services, agencies or bureaus; public halls and public elevators of buildings and structures occupied by two or more tenants, or by the owner and one or more tenants. Such term shall not include public libraries, kindergartens, primary and secondary schools, high schools, academies, colleges and universities, extension courses, and all educational institutions under the supervision of the regents of the state of New York; any such public library, kindergarten, primary and secondary school, academy, college, university, professional school, extension course, or other educational facility, supported in whole or in part by public funds or by contributions

solicited from the general public; or any institution, club or place of accommodation which is in its nature distinctly private.

No institution, club, organization or place of accommodation which sponsors or conducts any amateur athletic contest or sparring exhibition and advertise or bills such contest or exhibition as a New York state championship contest or uses the words "New York state" in its announcements shall be deemed a private exhibition within the meaning of this section.

§ 2. This act shall take effect immediately.

[June 1964]

YOUR BLOOD BROTHER WHITEY MAY NOT BE
NOR YET STAND CLOSE TO YOU AS A TO B
BUT THE SAME YOKE WITH YOU HE SHARES
WHEN JOB HUNTING HIS AGE HE BARES
AND FORTY BIRTHDAYS HE REVEALS AS HIS.
ALTHOUGH FAMILY DESTRUCTION THIS IS,
HOW MANY SENATORS SAID AMEN
TO THIS PLIGHT OF YESTERDAY'S YOUNG MEN!

On June 11, 1964 Senator Smathers of Florida presented his Amendment 569 for the purpose of preventing discrimination against AGE in hiring, laying off, or firing.

VOTED TO PREVENT age discrimination:	VOTED TO MAINTAIN age discrimination:	
Cotton, N.H.-R	Aiken, Vt.-R	Kennedy, Mass.-D
Eastland, Miss.-D	Allott, Colo.R	Kuchel, Calif.-R
Ellender, La.-D	Anderson, N.M.-D	Lausche, Ohio,-D
Ervin, N.C.-D	Bartlett, Alas.-D	Long, Mo.-D
Fong, Haw.-R	Bayh, Ind.-D	Magnuson, Wash.-D
Goldwater, Ariz.-R	Beall, Md.	Mansfield, Mont.-D
Gore, Tenn.-D	Bennett, Utah,-R	McCarthy, Minn.-D
Hickenlooper, Iowa,-R	Bible, Nev.-D	McGee, Wyo.-D
Hill, Ala.-D	Burdick, N.D.-D	McGovern, S.D.-D
Holland, Fla.-D	Byrd, W.Va.-D	McIntyre, N.H.-D
Johnston, S. C.-D	Cannon, Nev.-D	McNamara, Mich.-D
Jordan, N.C.-D	Carlson, Kans.-R	Metcalf, Mont.-D
Long, La.-D	Case, N.J.-R	Miller, Iowa,-R
McClellan, Ark.-D	Church, Ida.-D	Monroney, Okla.-D
Mechem, N.M.	Clark, Penna.-D	Morse, Ore.-D
Morton, Ky.-R	Cooper, Ky.-R	Moss, Utah,-D
Mundt, S.D.-R	Curtis, Nebr.-R	Muskie, Me.-D
Pell, R.I.-D	Dirksen, Ill.-R	Nelson, Wisc.-D
Robertson, Va.-D	Dodd, Conn.-D	Neuberger, Ore.-D
Russell, Ga.-D	Dominick, Colo.-R	Pastore, R.I.-D
Simpson, Wyo.-R	Douglas, Ill.-D	Pearson, Kans.-R
Smathers, Fla.-D	Edmondson, Okla.	Proxmire, Wisc.-D
Sparkman, Ala.-D	Gruening, Alas.-D	Randolph, W.Va.-R
Stennis, Miss.-D	Hartke, Ind.-D	Ribicoff, Conn.-D
Talmadge, Ga.-D	Hayden, Ariz.-D	Scott, Penna.-R
Thurmond, S.C.-R	Hruska, Nebr.-R	Smith, Me.-R
Tower, Tex.-R	Humphrey, Minn.-D	Symington, Mo.-D
Williams, Dela.-R	Inouye, Haw.-D	Williams, N.J.-D
	Jackson, Wash.-D	Yarborough, Tex.-D
	Javits, N.Y.-R	Young, N.D.-R
	Jordan, Ida.-R	Young, Ohio,-D
	Keating, N.Y.-R	

Absent but would have VOTED TO PREVENT age discrimination:	Absent but would have VOTED TO MAINTAIN age discrimination:	
Byrd, Va.-D	Brewster, Md.-D	Boggs, Dela.-R
Walters, Tenn.	Saltonstall, Mass.-R	Prouty, Vt.-R

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 11, 1964, Volume 110, Page 13490 (at Public Libraries).

MEK

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN :

Automatic AGE discrimination in employment is a foul but most profitable system that brands "UNEMPLOYABLE" job applicants in the age brackets that include parents with growing children to be raised and educated, as well as veterans of past wars who spent part of their youth defending country and democracy.

The enclosed analyses explain the greedy purpose of automatic AGE discrimination and show what was done in the Senate two years ago, during the civil rights bill debate, to protect and encourage this sinful practice.

Perhaps if the so well guarded secret about the unholy reasons for automatic AGE discrimination in hiring, or firing, or laying off were to become common knowledge, then Congress may have to outlaw this malpractice under the civil rights bill, as was proposed two years ago. You may be able and want to help bring this about.

NO POLITICAL CONNECTION,
JUST FIGHTING TYRANNY.
(Without violence)
(as noise will do)

SALIENT ARGUMENTS AND COUNTER-ARGUMENTS

JUNE 11, 1964 DEBATE

ON SENATOR SMATHERS' AMENDMENT 569

To include AGE discrimination in Article VII of the civil rights bill and abolish age discrimination along with all other job discriminations such as race,color,religion.origin.

-.-.-.-.-

SEN. SMATHERS: Title VII goes to great lengths to eliminate discrimination against race, color, religion or sex, but there is considerable discrimination the section overlooks: I believe I can establish there is more discrimination in a certain area without basis or justification than in any other area: discrimination with respect to age.

For several years the Special Committee on Aging - a study prepared by the White House Conference on aging - has produced statistics:

In St. Louis - applicants 35 years old are automatically excluded because of age, from 16.9 % of openings reported.

At 40, they are excluded from an additional 11.6 %.

At 45, from an additional 9.6 % - making it roughly 40 % of jobs not available for people who have reached their 45th birthday.

At 55, the percentage is 55 %.

The President's Council on Aging conducted another study through the U.S, Employment Service.

They considered 25,000 employer job orders received in May 1963 for Federal and State Agencies in 8 major cities.

45 % specified various age limits.

18 % specified under 35 years. An applicant who lost his job at 36 could not be considered

25 % specified under 45 years.

42 % under 55 years.

This is the worst kind of discrimination that exists in the country.

Another study by the U.S. Employment Service and our Committee showed that this type of discrimination is bad, as the study of 500 larger firms in the U.S. showed they rated the records of employees over 40 equal or better than young workers in 9 out of 10 of the following characteristics: dependability, lack of absenteism, quality of work, quantity of production, accident rates, physical capacity, versatility of skills, ability to get along with other people, speed in gaining proficiency on a new job.

Let us put a provision with respect to age in the bill and stop discrimination with respect to white citizens, colored citizens, Puerto Ricans and the rest on the ground of age, because they are discriminated against on that basis just as all the rest of us are.

We find more poverty in the aging group of 55, 60 and 65. They can't get a job because too many companies - even the Federal Government and many State Governments say: We do not take on anyone who has reached the age of 35 or 45.

OBJECTION: I am in favor of this type of legislation, but putting it on the civil rights bill will confuse the issue rather than clarify it.

OBJECTION: I oppose the age discrimination amendment for the same reason. A study is now under way by the Secretary of Labor. Time for the completion of the study is June 1965. We should wait till the Department of Labor report is received, then draw legislation.

SEN. SMATHERS: The statistics presented have been accumulated from the 10 past years records.

SEN. LONG OF LA.: In big industrial plants in my State much automation is being used. These companies do not wish to employ anyone over 40 because they do not want to be stuck with the retirement bill.

They hire Negroes and anyone, they are not worried

about race, but a person over 40 does not have a chance of getting a job there. He cannot draw welfare because he is too young and healthy, and no Social Security because he is able-bodied and capable of working. These are the people discriminated against more and more.

When the civil rights bill passes, there will still be terrible discrimination against those 40 years and over. If the Senate wants to do something about discrimination, this is one of the worst and rankest form of discrimination.

OBJECTION: All Senators know that age is often a factor in employment. But everybody knows age is important in selective types of employment where there are dangerous pursuits and occupations, such as working on a superstructure on the 86th floor of a skyscraper.

It is strange to me that we get all hot and bothered at this hour when the Senate has had years to do something about it.

I recall no bill introduced on that subject. Yet there has been about 50 bills introduced relating to elimination of race discrimination.

OBJECTION: We are busy conducting hearings on the problem of the aged. In due course a recommendation will be submitted to the Senate after adequate hearings.

The pending amendment (to eliminate age discrimination) is irrelevant to the purpose of the bill before us (civil rights bill), which is one to deal with discrimination based on color and race.

IN SUPPORT: If the provision were standing alone, I would oppose it because one who employs another and pays with his own money should have the right to discriminating judgment regarding age, character, education, personality, appearance, experience or any other fitness or suitability. But since the bill seeks to prevent discrimination on account of race, sex, religion or other factors, I join Senator Smathers in saying that the largest numbers who are suffering the most crushing form of discrimination are suffering because of age. Therefore I support the amendment to prevent discrimination on account of age.

SEN. LONG OF LA.: Nothing in the amendment would prevent the employer from declining to hire if age is the reason why a person does not qualify. But when certain employers have a policy of not hiring anyone age 40 years so they won't pay the cost of retirement, they are discriminating against persons because of age.

SEN. SMATHERS: The amendment excludes bona fide situations where occupations require young people. Or when religious organizations want their own kind.

OBJECTION: It is absolutely impossible to predict what impact this amendment would have upon group insurance policies carried by industry from one end of the country to another. If such a provision is to be adopted, there should be sustained hearings. There is a special Committee on Aging. It has authority to look into the question. We do not have the slightest idea of the impact of such a provision in terms of coverage. It seems to me therefore that it should be rejected.

We discussed this subject in various conferences. We left it very much alone because of the tremendous implications such a provision would have.

* * *

Amendment voted on and defeated.

IN SUPPORT OF SENATOR SMATHERS' GENEROUS ATTEMPT
TO BAN WIDESPREAD AUTOMATIC AND SYSTEMATIC AGE
DISCRIMINATION IN HIRING, FIRING AND LAYING OFF.

TO ALL SENATORS PARTICIPATING
IN THE JUNE 11, 1964 DEBATE:

Not much printer's ink was flowing, nor were there many sound waves in the air on June 11, 1964, or thereafter, to keep the public informed of what went on in the Senate that day, although it was tantamount to a miracle: Age discrimination had been discovered and was now given full recognition through presentation by Senator Smathers of Amendment 569 intended to ban age discrimination along with race, color, religion and origin discrimination.

Not so surprising was the defeat of this laudable amendment by a large majority vote, which could as easily as not, be construed as a declaration of loyalty to the source of age discrimination more than an act of sadism against people past 35 years seeking employment.

As pointed out by the supporters of Amendment 569, to ban race, color, religion and origin discrimination and at the same time to defend and protect AGE discrimination, cannot be considered a sincere piece of legislation. Banning of racial discrimination was a long overdue move, but it has no meaning after the age of 35 or 40 as far as job opportunity is concerned.

As explained to the protectors of age discrimination, selection of the right person to fill some particular job has never been interpreted as age discrimination. There are numerous instances where either youth or maturity may be requisites for perfectly good reasons.

Unjust, consequently objectionable age discrimination applies to the automatic and systematic rejection of applicants past some set age limit prescribed by group insurance plans paid for 50 % by employers and 50 % by Government subsidy through tax deduction as business expense. Objectionable age discrimination applies as well to the automatic and systematic elimination of older workers under these plans. Where no such plans are in effect, employers show very little or no interest at all in applicants' birth dates or in the number of

birthdays their employees have gone through, as long as their work is entirely satisfactory.

However, group plans are now offered for national pool membership even where a single person is employed which, of course, further reduces the ever diminishing job opportunities left for middle-aged people, and which of course, increases the insatiable demand for applicants in the 25-35 years age bracket, which happens to be the insurance industry's predilection age bracket. The often publicized shortage of skilled people would practically disappear but for those - anything but young themselves - who had the nerve to refuse to others past the age of 35 the same right to obtain a job for which they qualify.

The remark made by the opposition of equal opportunity, that there had never been any bill against age discrimination prior to Senator Smathers' Amendment 569 only shows how successfully old workers have been intimidated into silent acceptance by continuous rejection until they doubt their own worth despite their tested qualifications, experience and know-how. Even seniority pay has been and still is being invoked as a good excuse to eliminate older engineers, other professionals and skilled craftsmen whose precious knowledge and ability, acquired through long experience, are lost to the country, which must now or soon compete not only with Russia, but with many other highly developed countries not plagued and handicapped by any age discrimination and consequently not robbed of their best talents.

The country, therefore, has a right to expect a change when the question of age discrimination comes up again, in June 1965, as promised last June 11, 1964.

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Rec. Wiley

file-pol. action

CORE

IAN 6 1965

NY City Jan 5/65

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Gentlemen —

The Immigration Bill is probably due to be revised.

It seems to me that any revision should be tied into the unemployment rate. If the unemployment rate is high there should be less immigration, & the rate could rise or fall depending on good or bad times. Frankly there shouldn't be immigration while there are so many unemployed, but that is up to the politicians.

Yours sincerely.

An immigrant, White.

M 6 - 64/65

OFFICE OF EDUCATION INFORMATION
SERVICES AND PUBLIC RELATIONS
110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. 11201

MEMORANDUM

January 11, 1965

FROM: Jerome G. Kovalcik, Assistant Superintendent

Please find enclosed a list of proposed legislation for the 1965 Session of the New York State Legislature for which the Board of Education is seeking public support.

On bills aimed to bring about a substantial increase in State aid to education, the Board is cooperating with the Conference of Large City Boards of Education of New York State including Albany, Buffalo, New York City, Rochester, Syracuse, and Yonkers. You will find also enclosed a booklet explaining the program of the Large City Conference.

With the help of Mr. Thomas Fitzpatrick, legislative representative for the school system, we will send you additional information on legislation as it comes up.

JGK:ey

BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. 11201

PROPOSED LEGISLATION FOR THE 1965 SESSION OF THE NEW YORK STATE LEGISLATURE

Area	Objective
State Aid to School Districts	**1. To include in the state aid formula, at realisitc weightings, the attendance of summer school, evening school, trade and vocational school pupils.**

Under the present educational cost-sharing formula, the attendance of pupils in summer schools and evening schools is not included in determining a school district's weighted average daily attendance. As a result school districts which offer these programs must assume their entire cost.

Since educational cost difference is recognized as an important factor in the state's shared-cost formula (as evident in formula weightings of .5, 1.0, and 1.25 for kindergarten, elementary and secondary pupil attendance, respectively) the cost difference incurred in the programs required for pupils in the vocational schools, schools for the handicapped, and those for the retarded should be provided for by a modification of the formula. This is especially important for two reasons: first, the cost differences run from two to five times those of pupils in the regular programs; and second, the concentration of these specialized programs is in the larger cities.

2. To replace the $500 state-sharing ceiling with one representing the average per-pupil cost for all the school districts in the state and to raise the $180 floor correspondingly.

No matter how much a school district may expend per pupil, the present formula limits the amount in which the state will share to $500 per pupil. The estimated average state per-pupil cost is approximately $620 for 1963-64 and $668 for 1964-65. This bill would raise the $500 ceiling to this figure. It would also raise the present floor of $180 correspondingly. The floor is the minimum amount per pupil that a school district may receive regardless of its ability to pay the education bill.

3. Since school site costs per acre in urban areas average approximately $146,000 as against $1,355 in the non-urban areas it is only fair that state aid be based on full site cost instead of including such site cost as a fraction of the construction cost.

State aid to education is not limited to a sharing of the operating costs, but includes also the costs involved in the construction of new buildings. The present formula provides for the addition of a fraction of the construction cost for a group of additional items, including site cost, grading, architects' fees, equipment of building, machinery, etc. These items represent a fairly uniform state-wide cost except for site acquisition which may vary from a quarter of a million dollars per acre in New York City to an average of less than $1,500 in non-city school districts. This bill seeks to maintain equity by providing for a separate sharing for the site, without disturbing the formula with regard to the other items in the group.

- more -

Area	Objective

4. In urban areas only 28¢ of every tax dollar is available for educational needs as against 51¢ in the non-urban areas. The cost of providing essential governmental functions outside of education takes almost three-quarters of the tax dollar in the cities. Coupled with a constitutional taxing limitation, this burden seriously impedes a municipality's ability to provide for education. Legislation will be sought to compensate for this inequity.

The costs of governmental services, other than education, tend to increase with the size of a district and reach very large proportions in the major cities where many services are rendered to non-residents as well as residents. Police and fire protection, sanitation services, and maintenance of streets are examples of the services to which a greater portion of the large-city tax dollar must be committed than is the case in most of the smaller districts. The ability of the large city to support education is thus reduced.

5. To include the attendance of 3- and 4-year-old children in the computation of State aid for school districts conducting approved programs of instruction for such children, primarily in disadvantaged areas of the districts.

The State Education Commissioner's Advisory Committee on Human Relations and Community Tensions in its report "Desegregating the Public Schools of New York City" stated:

"The talents of New York City children must be cultivated earlier than ever before. Only a new, citywide program of pre-kindergarten education will stimulate this change."

Research has indicated that the ages of three and four are of great importance in the education of children. Many of the younger children receive educational experiences in the home that adequately provide a basis for the formal instruction in the early grades. However, there are many other children who fail to obtain these learnings and to develop the abilities necessary for them to start abreast of their peers.

The Allen Committee Report also includes the following statements:

"...it is at this level (pre-kindergarten) that what we have elsewhere called compensatory education can have a significant impact. The materially or socially deprived child can gain most from extra enrichment at the age of 3 and 4. This program is both compensatory and preventative. It would cost less and have greater benefits than remedial programs for adolescent dropouts."

The State Education Law presently provides for a state sharing of the educational costs only for pupils between ages five and twenty-one.

Preventing interruption of School Schedules	6. To amend the Education law so as to a) prevent direct or indirect interference with the compulsory education of children b) permit the Commissioner of Education to make the necessary adjustment in the area of state aid for those school districts whose pupil attendance has been affected adversely by acts of outside groups.

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Area	Objective
	Any loss of classroom learning is detrimental to a child's development. Moreover, state aid to education is based on pupil attendance, and any reduction of attendance is reflected in a loss of such aid. On a scheduled school day, total absence could mean for New York City a loss of approximately two million dollars. Education Law makes provision for the compulsory education of children and prohibits parents and other persons from inducing "a minor to absent himself from attendance upon required instruction ...". School boycotts were not a matter of concern when the law was formulated, and the wording, therefore, is not specifically addressed to this kind of inducement to absence from school. Nor does the law provide a remedy for the loss of state aid incurred by a large-scale absence. These bills would empower the Commissioner of Education to make an adjustment in the computation of attendance for state aid for those school districts incurring such attendance losses and would make it a violation of law for any person or persons to counsel, aid or abet not only the pupils but also their parents in violating the compulsory education law.
Construction of School Buildings	7. To raise from $50,000 to $100,000 the cost of construction which may be subject to single or multiple bidding. 8. To amend the Education Law so as to exempt school construction from the requirement of multiple contract letting. Under present law, construction, renovation or repairs to public buildings costing in excess of $50,000 require the preparation of separate specifications and the letting of separate bids in four areas: lighting, heating and ventilating, plumbing and general contracting. This provision entails excessive time delays, expense, and because of the lack of one responsible coordinator, frequently involves the Board of Education in extensive litigation. The Board of Education will seek to have school construction exempted from this restriction, so that one contract may be let covering all the work to be done. Concurrently it will seek to reduce the number of jobs requiring multiple bidding by having the present ceiling of $50,000 raised to $100,000. Of course, legislation raising the present ceiling would not be needed if the bill seeking to exempt school construction is successful.
Disciplinary Trials	9. To amend section 2573 of the Education Law so as to promote efficiency in the handling of disciplinary cases that require Board action. Section 2573 of the Education Law describes the procedure whereby the Board of Education is to conduct hearings on disciplinary charges against employees. It provides for two steps: 1) an original hearing to be held before a committee of the Board itself, or before a trial examiner selected by the Board, and, 2) a reading of the entire testimony by the Board of Education for the purpose of confirming, rejecting, or modifying the trial examiner's or committee's recommendations.

-more-

Area	Objective
	Stenographic minutes are taken at all such hearings, and some of these reach extensive proportions as trial examiners frequently elicit testimony in order to acquaint themselves with school practice and procedure. Under present law, members of the Board of Education must spend inordinate amounts of time in reading introductory materials and testimony on matters already familiar to them. **The proposed amendment, by substituting the words "review the testimony and acquaint themselves with the evidence" for the term "read" would permit members to devote less time to the irrelevant and the introductory and provide time for a more intensive examination of that which is relevant and significant. It would accord Board members a discretion now commonly given to all review or appellate groups. The amendment would permit a more efficient handling of the increased number of disciplinary cases that require Board action.**

xxxxxxxx

Regis

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR FAIR REPRESENTATION

2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.

Washington, D. C. 20036

22 February 1965

Dear Friends:

As you know, a number of us who worked to defeat the Dirksen anti-reapportionment rider last fall are again working in opposition to the Dirksen and other proposed constitutional amendments which would halt the fair apportionment of the state legislatures.

Royce Hansen and Marvin Kaplan have prepared a brochure on the current threats to fair reapportionment of which a mimeographed copy is enclosed. In its final form the brochure will be attractively printed with illustrations.

Representatives of a number of groups have expressed an interest in obtaining these brochures in quantity for distribution to their memberships and others. If you would like to order some of these brochures yourself, please call Mrs. Thelma Lucas at EX.3-5581, extension 43, before 5 p.m. this Thursday, February 25.

The cost will be $6.00 a hundred for such orders in advance of printing and the brochures will be available about March 5.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth E. Gray
Legislative Assistant to
Senator Paul H. Douglas

enclosure

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR FAIR REPRESENTATION

2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

22 February 1965

Dear Friends:

We enlist your help, as leaders in the fight for fair representation, in defeating the most recent attempt to perpetuate malapportionment in our state legislatures. Senator Dirksen has introduced a resolution to amend the federal constitution to maintain malapportionment in legislatures. There is a simultaneous attempt in the state legislatures to petition Congress to call a convention to propose the amendment.

We feel the Dirksen Amendment poses a grave threat to representative government in the United States.

1. It would be the first amendment ever enacted to take away constitutional rights.

2. It would make the effectiveness of an individual's vote depend on where he lives. A person, performing the same job, would have less political power simply by moving from one place to another--even in the same state.

3. The amendment would destroy the right of a voter to seek his right to political equality in the courts. It would be the first time that basic individual rights could be voted away.

4. Where there is no power to initiate legislation by petition (most states have none), one generation of voters could impose its will on all generations which follow it, whatever the changes in opinion, population or social conditions. Debate on the subject of fair representation would be forever precluded once one system was adopted.

5. The amendment establishes no standards whatever for non-population factors, leaving the door open to all forms of discrimination. It would be possible, for instance, in states where urban residents have a majority, to deprive rural interests of any sort of representation, and conversely, a state with a 51% rural majority could take 90% of the representation, just because it has the power to do so. The Court decisions protect all citizens equally.

We feel compelled to speak out against this dangerous amendment. We hope you will join us in warning your legislature of the dangers in the amendment and in urging your Senators and Representatives to work for its defeat in the Congress. In particular, please note the enclosure prepared for us by Senator Douglas' office.

Sincerely yours,

Royce Hanson
President
Maryland Committee for
Fair Representation

For:

Israel Katz
One of Counsel
Georgia Reapportionment Case
Atlanta, Ga.

Harrison Mann
Virginia
House of
Delegates

From the Office of Senator Paul H. Douglas 22 February 1965

SENATE HEARINGS ON ANTI-REAPPORTIONMENT CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

In the opinion of many of us who wish to attain the fair apportionment of the state legislatures, it is urgently necessary and proper to work for the defeat of the resolutions now introduced in the Congress to propose a constitutional amendment permitting one house of a legislature to be based on factors other than population.

In this connection, it is extremely important that there be extensive and thorough testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments. Senator Birch Bayh, the chairman of this subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee, has announced hearings on the legislative apportionment constitutional amendments to be held in Washington, D. C. on March 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, and 11, 1965. March 3, 4, and 5 have been set aside to receive the testimony of Senators and Representatives.

We hope you will want to testify in person, or at least submit a statement. In addition to developing the constitutional arguments, there is a need for detailed testimony on how a single malapportioned house can block progressive legislation and administration.

If you wish to testify, you should write Senator Bayh that you request to be heard. We would appreciate receiving a carbon copy of your letter.

The main provisions of the joint resolutions to be considered by the Senate subcommittee are reprinted below.

S. J. Res. 2 - By Mr. Dirksen and 37 Senators:
SECTION 1. The right and power to determine the composition of the legislature of a State and the apportionment of the membership thereof shall remain in the people of that State. Nothing in this Constitution shall prohibit the people from apportioning one house of a bicameral legislature upon the basis of factors other than population, or from giving reasonable weight to factors other than population in apportioning a unicameral legislature, if, in either case, such apportionment has been submitted to a vote of the people in accordance with law and with the provisions of this Constitution and has been approved by a majority of those voting on that issue.

S. J. Res. 38 - By Mr. Church:
SECTION 1. Any State having a legislature composed of more than one house may depart from the principle of equal representation in one house by adopting another reasonable system of representation with the approval of a majority of the electorate, provided review be permitted periodically. See the Congressional Record for February 2, 1965, pages 1769-70.

S. J. Res. 44 - By Mr. Javits:
SECTION 1. Nothing in this Constitution shall prohibit the people of a State from apportioning the membership of one house of a bicameral legislature upon the basis of factors other than population, from giving reasonable weight to factors other than population in apportioning the membership of a unicameral legislature, or from providing for any such apportionment following each enumeration provided for in article 1, section 2 of this Constitution if such apportionment or provision is submitted to a vote of the people through a statewide referendum held in accordance with law and with the provisions of this Constitution, and such apportionment or provision is approved by a majority of those voting on that issue. See the Congressional Record for February 8, 1965, page 2147.

THE VOTE-SHRINKERS ARE ON THE MOVE AGAIN! (Cover and Picture)

Where?

In Congress and in nearly every state of the Union, They're leading a new drive to perpetuate an old injustice. They want to preserve the old systems of electing state governments, systems that often mean a vote cast in the city counts 4 or 5 or 10 times less than a vote cast in a small town.

What Are They Doing?

They are trying to amend the Constitution of the United States to fix unequal representation for all time. They hope in this way to nullify one of the U. S. Supreme Court's major decisions. On June 15, 1964, the Court declared, "as a basic constitutional standard, the Equal Protection Clause requires that the seats in both houses of a bicameral state legislature must be apportioned on a population basis." - in short, "one man, one vote."

What Was Behind The Supreme Court's Ruling?

A long history of inequities. When the United States was an agricultural country with people spread fairly even throughout each state, the legislatures did represent the population. But as more and more people moved from the farms to the cities the legislatures tried, with considerable success, to keep the reins of power in the old rural county seats, areas sparsely settled and easily controlled. Legislatures that once provided equal representation became distorted parodies of democratic government. Systems of representation that were reasonable enough when 75 per cent of our people lived in towns and villages had become intolerable when 75 per cent lived in metropolitan areas.

These were some of the facts that confronted the Supreme Court in the cases it decided last year:

1. In Alabama, only one-fourth of the total population lived in districts that elected the majorities of the state's House and Senate. A voter in the smallest district has 15.6 times more to say about how the House is run than a voter in the largest one.

2. In Maryland, the Court said, "the five most populous political-subdivisions, with over three-fourths of the State's total 1960 population, are represented by only 10 Senators, or slightly over one-third of the membership" of the State Senate. The state's other 19 counties, with less than one-fourth of its people have 19 Senators, almost two-thirds of the Senate's members.

3. In Colorado, it takes more than two-thirds of the population to elect only a bare majority of the state's Senators.

4. In Georgia, a voter among the 1,876 people in the smallest district has 99 times the voting influence of a voter among the 185,442 people in the largest one.

And these are not the worst examples of unequal representation: In Nevada, a majority of the state Senate can be elected by a mere 8 per cent of the people; in California, by 10.7 per cent; in Vermont, by 11.9 per cent.

As the Supreme Court remarked in its June 15th decision, "it would appear extraordinary to suggest that a state could be constitutionally permitted to enact a law providing that certain of the state's voters could vote two, five or ten times for their legislative representatives, while voters living elsewhere could vote only once." Yet, the Court points out, that is the effect of the present districting schemes based on some other standard than one man one vote.

Shouldn't the States Correct These Inequalities?

Of course. But so far they have shown little disposition to change until citizens who felt themselves under-represented went into court and sued to force reapportionment.

For instance:

1. Delaware has not reapportioned since 1897.

2. New York has been using an apportionment formula unchanged since 1894.

3. Alabama, in spite of a constitution that requires it to redraw district lines every ten years, didn't reapportion for almost 60 years and then it did not act until faced with a court order in 1962.

After considering such situations, the Supreme Court said the principal responsibility for reapportionment lay with the legislatures. It did not tell the states what to do; it simply pointed out their duty to them. Only then did most states begin to listen. As Professor Royce Hanson of American University puts it, "Before the courts took jurisdiction of apportionment cases, the state legislatures consistently told the people petitioning for fair representation to go to Hell. Now they do not have to go." But most states still have a great deal to do before they can be said to have complied with the Court's ruling.

A Plan to Nullify the Court

The campaign to overturn the Supreme Court's decision is being waged right now in Congress and the state legislatures.

In Congress, the principal threat lies in the constitutional amendment proposed by Senator Everett M. Dirksen (R., Ill.). This bill (S.J.Res.2) would permit a state to apportion one house of its legislature on a basis other than population if a majority of the people voted for the change.

That may sound fair, but here's what's wrong with it:

1. Some things - and your right to vote is one of them - were never meant to be determined by a majority. The Dirksen amendment would let a majority decide that you are not to have a full vote in electing the men who run your state. The essence of constitutional government lies in the restraints it places on the power of the majority to impair individual rights. As Mr. Justice Jackson said in 1943, "One's right to life, liberty, and property, to free speech, a free press, freedom of worship and assembly, and other fundamental rights may not be submitted to vote; they depend on the outcome of no elections." And in 1964, the Court, when it struck down Colorado's plan for reapportionment, even though it had been approved by the voters in the state, said, "A citizen's constitutional rights can hardly be infringed simply because a majority of the people choose to do so."

2. Unless both houses of your state legislature are fairly apportioned, your vote may not have full value. An obstinate minority, representing as few as 10 per cent of the people, can, if it controls one house, veto improvements in schools, housing, urban renewal, mass transportation, public welfare, state taxation, fair labor standards, state cooperation in Federal poverty programs, etc. No one special interest group has a right to control one house of a state legislature forever. Yet that could be a result of the Dirksen amendment.

3. The men who oppose reapportionment often point to the U. S. Senate as proof of their argument that at least one house of a state legislature ought to be based on something other than population. But state and Federal governments cannot be compared. The Federal government represents both states and people. State governments were meant to represent people only. Congress cannot alter state boundaries to achieve more equal representation and so the Senate limits itself to two Senators from each state no matter what its size. But states, within their boundaries, can create and abolish counties and effect any arrangement they please in order to give equal weight to the votes of all their residents. Representation in the U. S. Senate is a state's right. Representation in the state legislature is a citizen's right.

4. The Dirksen proposal is so vague, it would appear to authorize the use of any standard of apportionment. That opens the way to vicious discrimination against some citizens or groups. Mississippi, for instance, might apportion its Senate on the basis of income and effectively deny state representation to Negroes who are just beginning to win the right to vote.

5. Another vice of the amendment is that it would become valid when three-fourths of the state legislatures ratified it. This means the very forces in a state legislature whose political future depends on keeping the old system intact would be asked to vote on whether or not it should be changed.

In the States - the opponents of full and fair representation are launching a campaign to bypass Congressional consideration of the Dirksen amendment. They fear the kind of searching national debate that killed it last year. By means of a procedure never used before they are now trying to get the legislatures of two-thirds of the states, 34 of them, to petition Congress to call a constitutional convention. They think they can get such a convention to approve the kind of changes Mr. Dirksen wants without too much trouble and sneak the amendment into the constitution through the back door.

Even if the opponents fail to get two-thirds of the states to apply to Congress they might conceivably build up enough local pressure to persuade Congress to enact the Dirksen amendment.

People or Trees?

The Supreme Court put the issue clearly in its decision of June 15, 1964:

"Legislators represent people, not trees or acres. Legislators are elected by voters, not farms or cities or economic interests. As long as ours is a

representative form of government and our legislatures are those instruments of government elected directly by and directly representative of the people, the right to elect legislators in a free and unimpaired fashion is a bedrock of our political system."

(Kansas Star cartoon)

HERE'S A CHECKLIST OF WHAT YOU CAN DO TO PROTECT FAIR REPRESENTATION FROM THE VOTE-SHRINKERS.

( ) Wire or write your Senators and Representatives, urging them to oppose the Dirksen amendment and any attempt in the House or Senate to keep the Supreme Court decision from having its full effect. Tell them so when you visit them in Washington or when they are at home.

( ) Organize delegations to visit your state legislators and express your opposition to any move at the State level to support the Dirksen approach. Stress your opposition to a constitutional convention.

( ) Send delegations to visit the governor. Try to get him on record for equal representation.

( ) Since mayors and city managers and suburban county officials all have a proper interest in changes that would give them a fair voice in how the state is run, be sure to visit them. Try to get them to issue statements or resolutions calling for fair reapportionment.

( ) Don't try to work alone. Wherever you can, try to set up local committees broadly representative of civic, labor, business, religious, women's and civil rights groups who are backing reapportionment.

( ) Make everything you do count double. Send copies of resolutions and press releases on your visits to newspapers, radio and TV stations. Letters to the editors of city and suburban papers help educate the public on the issue. So do editorials, if you can get them. And so do radio and TV forums.

( ) Finally, please keep the National Committee For Fair Representation informed of any developments in your state.

* * * *

The men who want to keep malapportionment know their time's running out. Under court orders, more and more state legislatures are beginning to reapportion themselves. We must see that nothing interrupts this process. Work for reapportionment! Help make sure your vote in state contests counts as much as anyone's.

distributed by:
The National Committee for Fair Representation
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. (20036)

file- Legislation

The Committee on Race Relations

Philadelphia Yearly Meeting
of the Religious Society of Friends

160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102 LO 3-7705

J. Theodore Peters
Chairman
F. James Sholomskas
Vice Chairman

Gladys D. Rawlins
Executive Secretary
Grace G. Pruitt
Associate Secretary
Richard K. Taylor
Advisor on Community Relations
Wendell C. Aldred
Treasurer
Carrie B. Mitchell
Secretary

February 1, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
CORPS
28 Park Row
New York 38, New York

FEB 3 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Enclosed is a copy of our letter to the editor of the Pittsburgh Courier regarding an editorial that appeared in their January 23, 1965 issue. I feel that the racial implications of our immigration law are not fully understood, and I hope that my letter in some small way points out that there is a link between our domestic efforts for equal treatment and a need for a nondiscriminatory immigration policy.

Sincerely,

J Theodore Peters

J. Theodore Peters, Chairman
The Committee on Race Relations

JTP:jb

Enc.

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Carrie B. Mitchell
Secretary

February 1, 1965

The Editor
Pittsburgh Courier
2628 Center Street
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Dear Sir:

I was interested to read your recent editorial regarding the Administration's proposal to change our immigration policy. I think it is important for people to realize that the proposal would increase net immigration by only an estimated 8,000 persons over what is allowed under our present law. Part of this increase would come by giving the new African nations a quota of 200 persons a year instead of only 100 allowed to immigrate under our present law.

The key factor, however, is that the President's bill (S-500, HR-2580) would abolish our ethnically and racially based selection system for admittance of immigrants. Called the National Origins Quota System, it assigns 157,000 annual quota numbers to all countries outside of the Western Hemisphere (except Jamaica, Tobago and Trinidad) in proportion to the persons of that nationality or descent in our white population in 1920. This formula results in wide discrepancies giving Switzerland a quota larger than for all of Africa, and tiny Andora with a population of 6,000 the same as India with 357,000,000. To compound these difficulties, persons with a 50 percent Oriental ancestry, whether they be Canadian, British or of any other nationality, are placed on a special quota of 100 which almost precludes their admittance.

The Administration's proposal which Senators Clark and Scott have sponsored, would substitute for the current formula a non-racially based selection system by pooling 166,000 quota numbers over a five year period,, and allocating them on a first come first served basis within preference categories including skills needed in the United States and on family reunion.

According to the Department of Labor and other sources, immigration into the United States over the last fifteen years has, in fact, constituted a "Peace Corps in reverse" that has substantially enriched the economy and benefited the American community in many ways. In the decade ending in 1961, among the immigrants who have found new homes in

the United States were 7,132 scientists, 9,025 machinists, 22,425 teachers, 14,340 doctors, 28,235 masons, and 30,000 engineers. All occupations in which there are labor shortages. The contributions of immigrants in these fields have in no way jeopardized opportunities for Americans, but have acted as a stimulant to keep our economy expanding.

Critics of our current law are not asking for more immigrants but that they be selected on a nondiscriminatory basis.

Sincerely,

J. Theodore Peters, Chairman
The Committee on Race Relations

JTP:jb

cc: Roy Wilkins - NAACP
James Farmer - CORPS
Whitney Young - Urban League

Legislation

April 1, 1965

The Honorable Gaylord Nelson
U. S. Senator
Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Nelson:

I was greatly pleased to learn that you plan to introduce today legislation to make murder of persons attempting to exercise rights guaranteed by the Constitution a federal crime. I have been asking for such legislation for some months now and emndelighted that you are introducing it.

I have read your bill with much interest and think it is a good one. If there is anything that CORE or I can do to help push the bill, kindly let us know.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:mm

2 copies

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS

March 31, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Since April 1963 there have been thirteen highly publicized murders of men, women and children, participating in legitimate civil rights activities.

The victims of these murders have all been attempting to exercise rights under the First Amendment, guaranteed against State infringement by the Fourteenth Amendment, or guaranteed by the Fifteenth Amendment.

Yet no Federal statute makes murders such as these a Federal crime; and in none of these cases have there been convictions under any statute.

On April 1, 1965 I will introduce legislation to make murder committed to deprive another of any federally guaranteed right an offense against the United States. Enclosed materials provide further information on the legislation.

I would welcome your comments and your support.

Sincerely yours,

Gaylord Nelson

GAYLORD NELSON
U. S. Senator

GN:al
enclosures

Rachlis has memo on this prepared by Mr Kates of Yale Law Journal

89 Congress

1st Session

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. Nelson introduced the following bill:

A BILL

To protect civil rights by providing that it shall be a Federal offense to kill any person in connection with his advocacy, encouragement, or support of civil rights, or while such person is engaged in exercising or enjoying any of his civil rights.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

That (a) chapter 13 of title 18 of the United States Code is amended by inserting at the end thereof the following new section:

'Sec. 245. Killing in Connection with Advocacy, Encouragement, or Support of Civil Rights, or Exercise or Enjoyment of Civil Rights

"(a) Whoever, under color of law or otherwise, kills or attempts to kill any person--

"(1) who, by his presence or activities, is engaged in giving his advocacy, encouragement, or support toward or in favor of the free exercise or enjoyment of any right, privilege, or immunity secured to him or another by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or

"(2) who, by his presence or activities, is engaged in exercising or enjoying any right, privilege, or immunity secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States

shall be punished as provided under sections 1111, 1112, and 1113 of chapter 51 of this title, except that in no case shall a conviction of an offense under this subsection be punishable by death.

"(b) Whoever, under color of law or otherwise, kills or attempts to kill any person--

"(1) whom the defendant knows, at the time of the killing or attempt to kill, has been recently, or is about to be, engaged in giving his advocacy, encouragement, or support toward or in favor of the free exercise or enjoyment of any right, privilege, or immunity secured to him or another by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or

"(2) whom the defendant knows, at the time of the killing or attempt to kill, has been recently, or is about to be, engaged in exercising or enjoying any right, privilege, or immunity secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States

shall be punished as provided under sections 1111, 1112, and 1113 of chapter 51 of this title, except that in no case shall a conviction of an offense under this subsection be punishable by death.

"(c) Whoever, under color of law or otherwise, kills or attempts to kill any person with intent to hinder, intimidate, or prevent any other person in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right, privilege, or immunity secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States shall be punished as provided under sections 1111, 1112, and 1113 of chapter 51 of this title, except that in no case shall a conviction of an offense under this subsection be punishable by death."

(b) The analysis of chapter 13 of title 18 of the United States Code is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"245. Killing in connection with advocacy, encouragement, or support of civil rights, or exercise or enjoyment of civil rights."

Sec. 2. If any provision of the amendment made by this Act or the application thereof to any person or circumstances is held invalid, the remainder of the amendment and the application of the provision to other persons not similarly situated or to other circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

Senator Gaylord Nelson
404 Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

65-50

For Release Wednesday, March 31, 1965

WASHINGTON, D. C, -- Senator Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin today introduced legislation to make murder in connection with civil rights cases a Federal crime.

He said he hoped it would also strike a blow against the Ku Klux Klan and other hate organizations.

The legislation would authorize Federal prosecutions for murder in such cases as the shooting of Mrs. Viola Gregg Liuzzo on an Alabama highway, and the brutal clubbing to death of the Rev. James Reeb in Selma, Alabama.

Existing law does not authorize Federal prosecutions for such murders, only for the lesser crime of "conspiracy" to deprive another of his Federally guaranteed rights.

Nelson said that the new legislation would also allow prosecutions in cases such as the slaying of three civil rights workers in Mississippi last summer.

"Since April 1963 there have been thirteen highly publicized killings in connection with civil rights cases," Nelson said. "None have been solved; no one could have been indicted for murder under existing Federal law. How many other unreported cases there are we can only speculate."

(See attached list of killings)

Nelson said the suggestion that murder in connection with civil rights cases be made a Federal crime was made by the Right Rev. Paul Moore, Jr., Suffragan Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Washington. Rev. Moore made the suggestion while addressing a civil rights rally of 15,000 in Washington, Sunday, March 14, 1965.

"It is a crime, punishable by death, to kidnap a child and carry him across a state line," Nelson said. "Clearly, we do not want to over-extend the power of the Federal government, but today brutal murders in connection with legitimate civil rights activities are a far greater threat to the nation than kidnapping ever was. Murder of this kind is a crime against the nation and should be treated as such."

Nelson recalled that the nation was shocked and surprised to learn that the assassination of President Kennedy was not a Federal crime.

Recent Murders in Connection With Civil Rights Activities

The adequacy of present Federal criminal legislation is illuminated by its application to a few recent examples of violence directed against civil rights activities:

1. On April 23, 1963, near Keener, Alabama, W. L. Moore, a Baltimore postman, was shot and killed on an interstate highway while marching through the south with a sign espousing racial equality. No trial or conviction in either state or federal courts resulted from this murder;

2. On June 23, 1963, Medgar Evers, Mississippi state field director of the NAACP was shot from ambush while entering his house in Jackson. Byron de la Beckwith was twice tried in Mississippi state courts without a verdict being reached. No federal indictment was requested;

3. On September 15, 1963, Denise McNair, Addie Mae Collins, Cynthia-Wesley and Carol Robertson, four Negro children, were killed in a church-bombing in Birmingham, Alabama. No state or federal court tried anyone for these murders;

4. On June 21, 1964, James Chaney, Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman, three civil rights workers, were killed by gunshot and/or beating in Philadelphia, Mississippi. Federal felony indictments were recently dismissed because of inapplicability of the statute. Federal misdemeanor indictments still stand. No state action has been taken;

5. On July 11, 1964, Lt. Col. Lemuel Penn, a Negro officer travelling under army orders on an interstate highway, was shot and killed near Colbert, Georgia. His accused killers were acquitted in a state trial and a federal indictment was dismissed because of inapplicability of the statute;

6. On February 19, 1965, James Lee Jackson, a Negro civil rights demonstrator, was killed in Marion, Alabama by a state trooper. Witnesses reported that the trooper was attacking Jackson's mother (also a demonstrator) with his nightstick and Jackson interfered. No state or federal action has been taken against the trooper;

7. On March 8, 1965, the Rev. James Reeb, having just arrived to aid the civil rights drive in Selma, Alabama, was beaten to death on a city street. Those allegedly responsible have been arrested by both state and federal authorities, but no federal indictment has yet been tested in court.

8. On March 25, 1965, Viola Gregg Liuzzo, wife of a Detroit, Michigan teamster, was shot to death while driving her car in rural Alabama after having taken a load of civil rights marchers from Montgomery to Selma.

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89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 1864

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

APRIL 30, 1965

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey (for himself, Mr. BARTLETT, Mr. CLARK, Mr. DOUGLAS, Mr. GRUENING, Mr. INOUYE, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts, Mr. KENNEDY of New York, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mrs. NEUBERGER, and Mr. YOUNG of Ohio) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

A BILL

To amend the Fair Labor Standards Act, 1938, as amended, to provide for minimum wages for certain persons employed in agriculture, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 3 (e) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended, defining the term "employee", is amended to read as follows:

"(e) 'Employee' includes any individual employed by an employer, except that such term shall not, for the purposes of section 6 (a) (4), include any individual employed

by an employer engaged in agriculture if such individual is (1) a member of the employer's immediate family, or (2) a sharecropper, or a member of the sharecropper's immediate family, working on or in connection with the sharecropper's tract of land."

SEC. 2. Section 3 of such Act is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraphs:

"(t) 'Man-day' means any day during any portion of which an employee performs any agricultural work;

"(u) 'Hired farm labor' means the labor of any employee employed in agriculture;

"(v) 'Sharecropper' means any individual who works in whole or in part a particular tract of land from planting through harvesting under general supervision and is entitled to receive as the primary return for his labor on the tract a share of the crop or crops produced thereon or of the proceeds realized therefrom."

SEC. 3. Subsection (a) of section 6 of such Act is amended by striking out the period at the end of paragraph (3), inserting a semicolon, and by adding the following new paragraph:

"(4) if such employee performs hired farm labor for an employer who during any one of the four preceding calendar quarters used more than three hundred man-days of hired farm labor, such employee shall be paid by his employer (i)

not less than $1.15 an hour during the first year following the effective date of this paragraph, (ii) not less than $1.20 an hour during the second year following such effective date, (iii) not less than $1.25 an hour during the third year following such effective date, and (iv) thereafter, not less than the rate prescribed in paragraph (1) of this subsection. If such employee performs hired farm labor for such an employer on a daily, weekly, monthly, or annual basis, such employee shall be paid at a rate which will, for the period covered by the wage payment, provide him wages at least equal to compensation he would have been entitled to receive had he been employed at the minimum hourly rate prescribed in this paragraph. In any case in which employees (covered by the provisions of this paragraph) of any employer are paid on a piecework basis, the actual wage paid such employees shall not be less than prescribed in the foregoing provisions of this paragraph. Notwithstanding any other provisions of this Act, this paragraph shall apply only with respect to an employee whose services during the workweek are performed within a State of the United States or the District of Columbia."

SEC. 4. (a) Subsection (a) of section 13 of such Act is amended by striking out in clause (6) thereof "in agriculture or".

(b) Subsection (b) of such section is amended by strik-

ing out the period at the end thereof, inserting a semicolon and the word "or" and by adding the following new paragraph:

"(12) any employee employed in agriculture.".

SEC. 5. This Act shall take effect on the first day of the fourth month following the month in which it is enacted.

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 1864

A BILL

To amend the Fair Labor Standards Act, 1938, as amended, to provide for minimum wages for certain persons employed in agriculture, and for other purposes.

By Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mr. BARTLETT, Mr. CLARK, Mr. DOUGLAS, Mr. GRUENING, Mr. INOUYE, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts, Mr. KENNEDY of New York, Mr. McCARTHY, Mrs. NEUBERGER, and Mr. YOUNG of Ohio

APRIL 30, 1965

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

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89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

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By Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mr. BARTLETT, Mr. CLARK, Mr. DOUGLAS, Mr. GRUENING, Mr. INOUYE, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts, Mr. KENNEDY of New York, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mrs. NEUBERGER, and Mr. YOUNG of Ohio

APRIL 30, 1965

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 1865

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

APRIL 30, 1965

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey (for himself, Mr. BARTLETT, Mr. CLARK, Mr. DOUGLAS, Mr. GRUENING, Mr. HART, Mr. INOUYE, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts, Mr. KENNEDY of New York, Mr. LONG of Missouri, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mr. NELSON, and Mr. YOUNG of Ohio) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

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A BILL

To amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to extend the child labor provisions thereof to certain children employed in agriculture, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 13 (c) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 is amended to read as follows:

"(c) (1) The provisions of section 12 relating to child labor shall not apply to any employee employed in agriculture outside of school hours for the school district where

such employee is living while he is so employed, if such employee is—

"(A) employed by his parent, or by a person standing in the place of his parent, on a farm owned or operated by such parent or person, or

"(B) is 14 years of age or over, or

"(C) is 12 years of age or over and is employed on a farm to which he commutes daily within twenty-five miles of his permanent residence, and (i) such employment is with the written consent of his parent or person standing in place of his parent, or (ii) his parent or person standing in place of his parent is also employed on the same farm.

"(2) No employee below the age of 18 may be employed in agriculture in an occupation that the Secretary of Labor finds and declares to be particularly hazardous for the employment of children below age 18, except where such employee is employed by his parent or by a person standing in the place of his parent on a farm owned or operated by such parent or person.

"(3) The provisions of section 12 relating to child labor shall not apply to any child employed as an actor or performer in motion pictures or theatrical productions, or in radio or television productions."

98TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 1865

A BILL

To amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to extend the child labor provisions thereof to certain children employed in agriculture, and for other purposes.

By Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mr. BARTLETT, Mr. CLARK, Mr. DOMENICI, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. HART, Mr. INOUYE, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts, Mr. KENNEDY of New York, Mr. LONG of Missouri, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mr. NELSON, and Mr. YOUNG of Ohio

APRIL 30, 1985
Read twice and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 1865

A BILL

To amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to extend the child labor provisions thereof to certain children employed in agriculture, and for other purposes.

By Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mr. BARTLETT, Mr. CLARK, Mr. DOUGLAS, Mr. GRUENING, Mr. HART, Mr. INOUYE, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts, Mr. KENNEDY of New York, Mr. LONG of Missouri, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mr. NELSON, and Mr. YOUNG of Ohio

APRIL 30, 1965
Read twice and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 1866

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

APRIL 30, 1965

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey (for himself, Mr. BARTLETT, Mr. CLARK, Mr. DOUGLAS, Mr. GRUENING, Mr. INOUYE, Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts, Mr. KENNEDY of New York, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mrs. NEUBERGER, and Mr. YOUNG of Ohio) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

A BILL

To amend the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, so as to make its provisions applicable to agriculture.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 2 (3) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, is amended by striking out the following phrase: "as an agricultural laborer, or".

SEC. 2. Section 8 (f) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"(f) It shall not be an unfair labor practice under subsections (a) and (b) of this section for an employer engaged

primarily in the building and construction industry, or an employer engaged in agriculture, to make an agreement covering employees engaged (or who, upon their employment, will be engaged) in the building and construction industry, or as agricultural laborers, with a labor organization of which such employees are members (not established, maintained, or assisted by any action defined in section 8 (a) of this Act as an unfair labor practice) because (1) the majority status of such labor organization has not been established under the provisions of section 9 of this Act prior to the making of such agreement, or (2) such agreement requires as a condition of employment, membership in such labor organization after the seventh day following the beginning of such employment or the effective date of the agreement, whichever is later, or (3) such agreement requires the employer to notify such labor organization of opportunities for employment with such employer, or gives such labor organization an opportunity to refer qualified applicants for such employment, or (4) such agreement specifies minimum training or experience qualifications for employment or provides for priority in opportunities for employment based upon length of service with such employer, in the industry or in the particular geographical area: *Provided,* That nothing in this subsection shall set

aside the final proviso to section 8(a)(3) of this Act: *Provided further*, That any agreement which would be invalid, but for clause (1) of this subsection, shall not be a bar to a petition filed pursuant to section 9(c) or 9(e)."

SEC. 3. Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the amendments made by this Act shall take effect sixty days after the date of enactment.

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 1866

A BILL

To amend the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, so as to make its provisions applicable to agriculture.

By Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mr. BARTLETT, Mr. CLARK, Mr. DOUGLAS, Mr. GRUENING, Mr. INOUYE, Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts, Mr. KENNEDY of New York, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mrs. NEUBERGER, and Mr. YOUNG of Ohio

APRIL 30, 1965
Read twice and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 1867

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

APRIL 30, 1965

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey (for himself, Mr. BARTLETT, Mr. CLARK, Mr. DOUGLAS, Mr. GRUENING, Mr. HART, Mr. INOUYE, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts, Mr. KENNEDY of New York, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mr. MORSE, Mrs. NEUBERGER, and Mr. YOUNG of Ohio) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

A BILL

To amend the Act of June 6, 1933, as amended, to authorize the Secretary of Labor to develop and maintain improved, voluntary methods of recruiting, training, transporting, and distributing agricultural workers, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Act of June 6, 1933, as as amended (48 Stat. 113; 29 U.S.C. 49 et seq.), is amended by inserting the heading "TITLE I" before the first section, and by adding at the end of such Act a new title as follows:

"TITLE II—VOLUNTARY FARM EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

"LEGISLATIVE FINDINGS AND DECLARATION OF POLICY

"SEC. 201. (a) The Congress finds that (1) an adequate supply of agricultural labor is essential to the Nation's health and welfare; (2) the insecurity and instability of agricultural employment has rendered such employment relatively unattractive; (3) in many cases agricultural workers have traveled unnecessarily long distances to obtain agricultural employment when such employment was available at relatively shorter distances; (4) shortages of agricultural labor in some areas have existed at the same time that surpluses of such labor existed in other areas; (5) the filling of such shortages with qualified, dependable agricultural workers would aid in reducing the serious rural unemployment and underemployment in this country; (6) the need for agricultural labor can be met and fuller employment for agricultural workers can be provided in many cases only through assisting such workers to travel, in many instances across State boundaries, to areas in which agricultural labor shortages exist; (7) steadily increasing mechanization has resulted in greater demand for skilled agricultural workers; and (8) the need for agricultural labor can be better met, agricultural employment can be made a more stable and attractive means of earning a liv-

ing, and fuller employment can be promoted through improvements in the recruitment, training, transportation, and distribution of agricultural workers.

"(b) It is hereby declared that the policy of the Congress is to meet the Nation's needs for agricultural labor, to make agricultural employment a more stable and attractive means of earning a living, and to promote fuller employment. It is the purpose of this title to effectuate such policy by authorizing the Secretary to develop and maintain, through the voluntary cooperation and the voluntary participation of employers and workers, improved methods of recruiting, training, transporting, and distributing agricultural workers.

"SUPPLEMENTAL NATURE OF PROGRAM

"SEC. 202. The authority of the Secretary under this title shall be in addition to and not in place of any authority under title I of this Act.

"PRESERVATION OF INDIVIDUAL CHOICE

"SEC. 203. Nothing in this title shall be construed as denying (1) the right of any worker to accept or refuse agricultural employment with any employer, or his right to refuse to enter into an agreement to perform work of a nature he does not wish to perform, or (2) the right of any employer to refuse to offer agricultural employment to any

worker, or the right to offer agricultural employment to any worker of his choice.

"DEFINITIONS

"SEC. 204. As used in this title—

"(1) The term 'agricultural employment' means services and activities defined in section 3 (f) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended, or section 3121 (g) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as amended.

"(2) The term 'employer' means any person for whom agricultural employment is performed, or association of such persons, but shall not include any employment or labor contracting agent.

"(3) The term 'worker' means any individual who is a permanent resident of the United States and engaged in or available for agricultural employment.

"(4) The term 'Secretary' means the Secretary of Labor or his duly authorized representative.

"(5) The term 'United States' means the several States, the District of Columbia, and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

"PROGRAM AUTHORIZED

"SEC. 205. (a) In order to effectuate the purposes of this title, the Secretary is authorized to—

"(1) recruit qualified, willing, and able workers

to fill orders placed by employers for workers recruited under this title;

"(2) provide for the medical examination of such workers to assure that they are physically capable of performing agricultural employment and suffering from no communicable disease;

"(3) furnish such workers with transportation to and return from areas of agricultural employment;

"(4) furnish such workers with food, housing, and emergency medical care during such transportation and while arrangements are being made for the employment of such workers or their departure from an area of agricultural employment;

"(5) provide such facilities as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this title; and

"(6) establish a revolving fund sufficient to pay the cost of transportation, food, housing, and emergency medical care authorized under this title.

"(b) An order by an employer for agricultural workers recruited under this title shall include such information as the Secretary finds necessary to enable him to carry out the purposes of this title, including information with respect to the type of agricultural employment to be performed, the time and place at which such employment

is to be performed, and any particular qualifications or experience that the employer desires the workers to possess.

"(c) No worker shall be made available under this title to an employer unless the Secretary has determined that—

"(1) sufficient qualified, willing, and able workers who reside permanently in the area where the agricultural employment is to be performed are not available for such employment; and

"(2) reasonable efforts have been made to attract such workers for such employment (including the offering of wages, hours, and working conditions comparable to those specified under section 207 for workers recruited under this title).

"EMPLOYEE AND EMPLOYER QUALIFICATIONS

"SEC. 206. (a) No worker shall be made available under this title to an employer unless—

"(1) the Secretary has determined that such worker is (A) qualified, willing, and able to perform the agricultural employment specified in the employer's order, and (B) physically fit to perform such employment and suffering from no communicable disease, as determined by a medical examination;

"(2) such worker has been interviewed by the

employer (or an opportunity for an interview has been afforded) and has not been rejected by him;

"(3) such worker has agreed (A) to accept agricultural employment, specified as to type, time, and area; and (B) to enter into an agreement, as provided in section 207, with each employer with whom he accepts such employment; and

"(4) such worker has agreed that if, without good cause, he fails to comply with any agreement entered into by him pursuant to paragraph (3) of this subsection and such failure is a material violation of such agreement, such worker will reimburse the United States for expenses incurred by it in furnishing him transportation, food, housing, and emergency medical care under this title. The amount of the reimbursement in any such case shall be determined by the Secretary, taking into account the amount of employment performed by the worker pursuant to his agreement under paragraph (3) (A) of this subsection.

"(b) No worker recruited under this title shall be made available to an employer unless such employer has agreed that if he employs such worker he will—

"(1) pay the United States a fee, not to exceed $15 (without charging the worker therefor) to cover ex-

penses incurred by the United States in furnishing tranportation, food, housing, and emergency medical care to workers recruited under this title;

"(2) furnish transportation (without charging the worker therefor) from a point designated by the Secretary in the area of employment to the point of such worker's employment and return;

"(3) enter into an agreement with the worker, or his representative, as provided in section 207; and

"(4) maintain such records relating to the earnings, deductions, and hours of employment of the worker, as the Secretary may by regulation require.

"EMPLOYMENT AGREEMENT

"SEC. 207. Any agreement between any employer and any worker, or such worker's representative, entered into pursuant to subsections (a) (3) (B) and (b) (3) of section 206, shall clearly specify—

"(1) the period of the employment, and a guarantee that the worker shall have the opportunity to work at least three-quarters of full time during the period of the employment (forty-eight hours per week to be considered full time); but in the event an agreement is terminated by an employer for reasons beyond his control, the three-quarters work guarantee shall apply only to the period beginning on the day after

the worker's arrival at the place of employment and ending on the date the agreement is terminated;

"(2) the wage rate to be paid the worker, which shall be not less than the prevailing wage rate paid by employers to workers similarly employed in the area in which the work is to be performed;

"(3) the intervals at which wage payments will be made, which shall be no less frequent than those established for other workers similarly employed by the employer, and in no event less frequent than semi-monthly;

"(4) that any housing and sanitary facilities made available by the employer will conform to minimum standards prescribed by the Secretary;

"(5) that the employer will provide, at no cost to the worker, workmen's compensation insurance;

"(6) that the worker will perform all agricultural work required of him with proper application, care, and diligence during the period of employment agreed upon; that he will exercise reasonable care and diligence in the use of any housing and sanitary facilities made available to him by the employer; that he will comply with all rules and regulations specified in the agreement relating to safety, discipline, and the care and maintenance of

property; and that he will not, except by mutual agreement, perform work for any other employer during the period of the agreement.

"REPLACEMENT WORKERS AND REIMBURSEMENT

"SEC. 208. In any case in which the Secretary determines that a worker has failed to carry out the terms of an agreement entered into by him pursuant to section 206 (a) (3) (B), and that such failure is a material violation of the agreement, the Secretary shall—

"(1) supply a replacement worker to the employer and furnish such worker transportation to the place of employment without charging an additional fee under section 206 (b) (1), or reduce the amount of the fee paid or to be paid with respect to the worker who violated the agreement by an amount that is directly proportional to the period of the agreement that such worker failed to complete; and

"(2) in any case in which a replacement worker is supplied, reimburse the employer in an amount equal to any amount expended for transportation under section 206 (b) (2) in excess of the amount such employer would have had to expend if no agreement violation had occurred, or, in any case in which a replacement worker is not supplied, reimburse such employer for transportation expenses incurred under such section with respect

to the worker who violated his agreement, taking into account the portion of the period of employment provided for in the agreement not completed by the worker.

"COMPLIANCE

"SEC. 209. (a) The Secretary may refuse to make the services afforded under this title available to any employer or worker upon a determination, made after notice and an opportunity to be heard, that such employer or worker has failed, without good cause, to comply with (1) any provision of this title, any rule or regulation implementing this title, or any agreement with the Secretary entered into pursuant to this title, if such failure is of such a nature as substantially to impair the effective administration of this title, or (2) any agreement entered into pursuant to section 206(a)(3)(B) or section 206(b)(3), if such failure is a material violation of such agreement.

"(b) The services afforded under this title may be furnished to an employer or worker who has previously been refused such services pursuant to subsection (a) if such employer or worker demonstrates, in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary, that he will in the future comply with the requirements of this title.

"GENERAL PROVISIONS

"SEC. 210. (a) The Secretary shall provide for the establishment and maintenance of a system of recording,

utilizing, and making available to employers information concerning the willingness, ability, and specific qualifications of individual workers to perform agricultural employment.

"(b) The Secretary may provide, and may require reimbursement from the worker for the expenses of, transportation, food, housing, and emergency medical care to the members of such worker's family if he determines that the furnishing of such services is a practicable and desirable means of carrying out the purposes of this title.

"(c) Private employment agencies and labor contracting agents may be permitted, to the extent authorized under regulations prescribed by the Secretary, to participate under this title in the recruitment and placement of workers.

"(d) The Secretary is authorized to enter into such agreements with State and local agencies as he deems proper for carrying out the purposes of this title, and may utilize the services of any other department or agency of the Federal Government for such purposes on a reimbursable basis.

"(e) Any money received by the Secretary pursuant to section 206(a)(4), section 206(b)(1), or subsection (b) of this section shall be credited to the revolving fund established pursuant to section 205(a)(6) of this title.

"(f) The Secretary is authorized to promulgate such

rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this title.

"JUDICIAL REVIEW

"SEC. 211. Any person aggrieved by any order or determination of the Secretary made under this title may obtain judicial review of such order or determination by filing in the United States district court for the district in which such person resides or has his principal place of business, or in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, within sixty days from the date such order or determination was made, a written petition praying that the order or determination of the Secretary be modified or set aside in whole or in part. A copy of such petition shall be forthwith served upon the Secretary and thereupon the Secretary shall file in the court a transcript of the record upon which such order or determination was made. Thereupon the court shall have jurisdiction of the record and shall have power to affirm, set aside, modify, or enforce the order or determination of the Secretary, in whole or in part. The findings of the Secretary as to the facts, if supported by substantial evidence, shall be conclusive. Service of process in such action shall be made in accordance with the rule for service of process upon the United States prescribed by the

Rules of Civil Procedure for the United States District Courts.

"SPECIAL STUDIES AND PROJECTS

"SEC. 212. In carrying out the provisions of this title the Secretary is authorized to undertake such special studies and conduct such experimental, pilot, and demonstration projects as he determines have promise of leading to fuller utilization of underemployed rural Americans and to meeting the labor requirements of employers. Such studies and projects may include, but shall not be limited to, special job training, counseling, resettlement, overnight transient camps, community exchange services, and special placement services. The Secretary is authorized to expend an amount not to exceed $200,000 per annum for the purpose of carrying out such studies and projects.

"AUTHORIZATION FOR APPROPRIATIONS

"SEC. 213. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this title.

"SHORT TITLE

"SEC. 214. The provisions of this title may be cited as the 'Voluntary Farm Employment Service Act'."

SEC. 2. The Act of June 6, 1933, as amended (29 U.S.C. 49 et seq.), is further amended by inserting at the

end of title I (as designated by the first section of this Act) the following new section:

"SEC. 14. As used in this title, references to 'this Act' shall be deemed to mean 'this title', and any reference to the provisions of this Act in any other law or in any regulation shall be deemed to refer to title I hereof unless the text clearly indicates otherwise."

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 1867

A BILL

To amend the Act of June 6, 1933, as amended, to authorize the Secretary of Labor to develop and maintain improved, voluntary methods of recruiting, training, transporting, and distributing agricultural workers, and for other purposes.

By Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mr. BARTLETT, Mr. CLARK, Mr. DOUGLAS, Mr. GRUENING, Mr. HART, Mr. INOUYE, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts, Mr. KENNEDY of New York, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mr. MORSE, Mrs. NEUBERGER, and Mr. YOUNG of Ohio

APRIL 30, 1965

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 1868

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

APRIL 30, 1965

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey (for himself, Mr. BARTLETT, Mr. CLARK, Mr. DOUGLAS, Mr. GRUENING, Mr. HART, Mr. INOUYE, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts, Mr. KENNEDY of New York, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mr. NELSON, Mrs. NEUBERGER, and Mr. YOUNG of Ohio) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

A BILL

To provide for the establishment of a Council to be known as the "National Advisory Council on Migratory Labor."

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

That (a) there is hereby established a Council to be known as the "National Advisory Council on Migratory Labor" (hereinafter referred to as the "Council"). The Council shall be composed of fifteen members, appointed by the President without regard to political affiliations as follows:

(1) Four individuals, appointed from private life, to represent the farmer, who shall be individuals

actively engaged in, and whose livelihoods are dependent upon, agriculture, and who employ migratory labor in connection therewith;

(2) Four individuals, appointed from private life, to represent the migratory agricultural workers;

(3) Two individuals, appointed from private life, who shall have a demonstrated interest in and knowledge of the problems relating to migratory agricultural labor, including the problems of the migratory agricultural worker, his employer, and the community;

(4) Two individuals, appointed from private life, who are or have been actively engaged in activities aimed at determining and solving the health, education, and welfare problems of the migratory agricultural worker and his family; and

(5) Three individuals who have had experience as State officials and who are knowledgeable of the problems relating to migratory agricultural labor.

(b) Members of the Council shall be appointed for the life of the Council. A vacancy in the Council shall not affect its powers, but shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

(c) The President shall designate one of the members of the Council as Chairman, and one as Vice Chairman. Eight members of the Council shall constitute a quorum.

(d) While rendering service as a member of the Council, or as an attorney or expert in any business or professional field employed by the Council on a part-time basis or without compensation, an individual shall be regarded as a special Government employee within the meaning of chapter 11 of title 18 of the United States Code.

(e) Members of the Council shall each be entitled to receive $50 per diem when engaged in the actual performance of duties vested in the Council, including travel time, and while away from their homes or regular places of business may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946 (5 U.S.C. 73b–2) for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

(f) The Council shall meet at the call of the Chairman or at the call of a majority of the members thereof, but not less often than once each calendar year.

SEC. 2. (a) The Council shall have a staff director who shall be appointed by the Chairman without regard to the civil service laws and the Classification Act of 1949, as amended. The staff director shall have such duties as may be imposed by the Council, and shall be compensated at a rate not to exceed $18,000 per annum.

(b) The Council shall have the power to appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel, as it deems advisable,

without regard to the provisions of the civil service laws and the Classification Act of 1949, as amended.

(c) The Council may procure, in accordance with the provisions of section 15 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946 (5 U.S.C. 55a), the temporary or intermittent services of experts or consultants; individuals so employed shall receive compensation at a rate to be fixed by the Council, but not in excess of $50 per diem, including travel time, and while away from their homes or regular places of business may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946 (5 U.S.C. 73b-2) for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

SEC. 3. (a) It shall be the duty of the Council to advise the President and the Congress, with respect to (1) the operation of Federal laws, regulations, programs, and policies relating to any and all aspects of migratory agricultural labor; and (2) any and all other matters relating to migratory agricultural labor.

(b) It shall also be the duty of the Council to consider, analyze, and evaluate the problems relating to migratory agricultural labor with a view to devising plans and making recommendations for the establishment of policies and programs designed to meet such problems effectively.

In carrying out such duty, the Council shall consider, among others, the following matters:

(1) The effect of existing laws, regulations, programs, and policies on the various problems relating to migratory agricultural labor, including the problems of the migratory agricultural worker, his employer, and the local area in which he is employed; and

(2) The means for improved coordination of Federal, State, county, and local policies and programs relating to migratory agricultural labor.

(c) The Council shall, on or before March 31 of each calendar year, submit an annual comprehensive report of its findings and recommendations to the Secretary of Labor for transmission by him to the President and to the Congress.

SEC. 4. The Council shall cease to exist upon the expiration of five years from the date of the initial appointments to the Council made by the President under this Act.

SEC. 5. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary, not to exceed $50,000 in any fiscal year, to carry out the provisions of this Act.

89TH CONGRES
1ST SESSION

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By Mr. WILLI
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Mrs. NEUBE

Read twice and

Harrison Williams
US Senate
Committee on Labor
and Public Welfare

CONGRESS
T SESSION

S. 1868

A BILL

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ENNEDY of Massachusetts, Mr. KENNEDY
New York, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mr. NELSON,
RS. NEUBERGER, and Mr. YOUNG of Ohio

APRIL 30, 1965

twice and referred to the Committee on Labor
and Public Welfare

Legislation

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8109

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MAY 12, 1965

Mr. ROOSEVELT introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor

A BILL

To amend certain provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 and the National Labor Relations Act relating to agricultural labor, and to establish a voluntary farm employment service and a National Advisory Council on Migratory Labor.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

That this Act may be cited as the "Agricultural Labor Reform Act of 1965".

TITLE I—MINIMUM WAGES

SEC. 101. Section 3 (e) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 is amended to read as follows:

"(e) 'Employee' includes any individual employed by

an employer, except that such term shall not, for the purposes of section 6(a)(4), include any individual employed by an employer engaged in agriculture if such individual is (1) a member of the employer's immediate family, or (2) a sharecropper, or a member of the sharecropper's immediate family, working on or in connection with the sharecropper's tract of land."

SEC. 102. Section 3 of such Act is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraphs:

"(t) 'Man-day' means any day during any portion of which an employee performs any agricultural work;

"(u) 'Hired farm labor' means the labor of any employee employed in agriculture;

"(v) 'Sharecropper' means any individual who works in whole or in part a particular tract of land from planting through harvesting under general supervision and is entitled to receive as the primary return for his labor on the tract a share of the crop or crops produced thereon or of the proceeds realized therefrom."

SEC. 103. Subsection (a) of section 6 of such Act is amended by striking out the period at the end of paragraph (3), inserting a semicolon, and by adding the following new paragraph:

"(4) if such employee performs hired farm labor for an employer who during any one of the four pre-

ceding calendar quarters used more than three hundred man-days of hired farm labor, such employee shall be paid by his employer (i) not less than $1.15 an hour during the first year following the effective date of this paragraph, (ii) not less than $1.20 an hour during the second year following such effective date, (iii) not less than $1.25 an hour during the third year following such effective date, and (iv) thereafter, not less than the rate prescribed in paragraph (1) of this subsection. If such employee performs hired farm labor for such an employer on a daily, weekly, monthly, or annual basis, such employee shall be paid at a rate which will, for the period covered by the wage payment, provide him wages at least equal to compensation he would have been entitled to receive had he been employed at the minimum hourly rate prescribed in this paragraph. In any case in which employees (covered by the provisions of this paragraph) of any employer are paid on a piecework basis, the actual wage paid such employees shall not be less than prescribed in the foregoing provisions of this paragraph. Notwithstanding any other provisions of this Act, this paragraph shall apply only with respect to an employee whose services during the workweek are performed within a State of the United States or the District of Columbia."

SEC. 104. (a) Subsection (a) of section 13 of such Act is amended by striking out in clause (6) thereof "in agriculture or".

(b) Subsection (b) of such section is amended by striking out the period at the end thereof, inserting a semicolon and the word "or" and by adding the following new paragraph:

"(12) any employee employed in agriculture.".

SEC. 105. The amendments made by this title shall take effect on the first day of the sixth month following the month in which this Act is enacted.

TITLE II—CHILD LABOR

SEC. 201. Section 13 (c) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 is amended to read as follows:

"(c) (1) The provisions of section 12 relating to child labor shall not apply to any employee employed in agriculture outside of school hours for the school district where such employee is living while he is so employed, if such employee is—

"(A) employed by his parent, or by a person standing in the place of his parent, on a farm owned or operated by such parent or person, or

"(B) is 14 years of age or over, or

"(C) is 12 years of age or over and is employed on a farm to which he commutes daily within twenty-five

miles of his permanent residence, and (i) such employment is with the written consent of his parent or person standing in place of his parent, or (ii) his parent or person standing in place of his parent is also employed on the same farm.

"(2) No employee below the age of 18 may be employed in agriculture in an occupation that the Secretary of Labor finds and declares to be particularly hazardous for the employment of children below age 18, except where such employee is employed by his parent or by a person standing in the place of his parent on a farm owned or operated by such parent or person.

"(3) The provisions of section 12 relating to child labor shall not apply to any child employed as an actor or performer in motion pictures or theatrical productions, or in radio or television productions."

SEC. 205. The amendments made by this title shall take effect on the first day of the sixth month following the month in which this Act is enacted.

TITLE III—COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

SEC. 301. Section 2 (3) of the National Labor Relations Act is amended by striking out the following phrase: "as an agricultural laborer, or".

SEC. 302. Section 8 (f) of the National Labor Relations Act is amended to read as follows:

"(f) It shall not be an unfair labor practice under subsections (a) and (b) of this section for an employer engaged primarily in the building and construction industry, or an employer engaged in agriculture, to make an agreement covering employees engaged (or who, upon their employment, will be engaged) in the building and construction industry, or as agricultural laborers, with a labor organization of which such employees are members (not established, maintained, or assisted by any action defined in section 8 (a) of this Act as an unfair labor practice) because (1) the majority status of such labor organization has not been established under the provisions of section 9 of this Act prior to the making of such agreement, or (2) such agreement requires as a condition of employment, membership in such labor organization after the seventh day following the beginning of such employment or the effective date of the agreement, whichever is later, or (3) such agreement requires the employer to notify such labor organization of opportunities for employment with such employer, or gives such labor organization an opportunity to refer qualified applicants for such employment, or (4) such agreement specifies minimum training or experience qualifications for employment or provides for priority in opportunities for employment based upon length of service with such employer, in the industry or in the particular geographical

area: *Provided*, That nothing in this subsection shall set aside the final proviso to section 8(a)(3) of this Act: *Provided further*, That any agreement which would be invalid, but for clause (1) of this subsection, shall not be a bar to a petition filed pursuant to section 9(c) or 9(e)."

SEC. 303. Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the amendments made by this title shall take effect on the first day of the sixth month following the month in which this Act is enacted.

TITLE IV—VOLUNTARY FARM EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

SEC. 401. The Act of June 6, 1933 (48 Stat. 113; 29 U.S.C. 49 et seq.), is amended by inserting the heading "TITLE I" before the first section and by adding at the end of such Act the following new title:

"TITLE II—VOLUNTARY FARM EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

"LEGISLATIVE FINDINGS AND DECLARATION OF POLICY

"SEC. 201. (a) The Congress finds that (1) an adequate supply of agricultural labor is essential to the Nation's health and welfare; (2) the insecurity and instability of agricultural employment has rendered such employment relatively unattractive; (3) in many cases agricultural workers have traveled unnecessarily long distances to obtain agricultural employment when such employment was avail-

able at relatively shorter distances; (4) shortages of agricultural labor in some areas have existed at the same time that surpluses of such labor existed in other areas; (5) the filling of such shortages with qualified, dependable agricultural workers would aid in reducing the serious rural unemployment and underemployment in this country; (6) the need for agricultural labor can be met and fuller employment for agricultural workers can be provided in many cases only through assisting such workers to travel, in many instances across State boundaries, to areas in which agricultural labor shortages exist; (7) steadily increasing mechanization has resulted in greater demand for skilled agricultural workers; and (8) the need for agricultural labor can be better met, agricultural employment can be made a more stable and attractive means of earning a living, and fuller employment can be promoted through improvements in the recruitment, training, transportation, and distribution of agricultural workers.

"(b) It is hereby declared that the policy of the Congress is to meet the Nation's needs for agricultural labor, to make agricultural employment a more stable and attractive means of earning a living, and to promote fuller employment. It is the purpose of this title to effectuate such policy by authorizing the Secretary to develop and maintain, through the voluntary cooperation and the volun-

tary participation of employers and workers, improved methods of recruiting, training, transporting, and distributing agricultural workers.

"SUPPLEMENTAL NATURE OF PROGRAM

"SEC. 202. The authority of the Secretary under this title shall be in addition to and not in place of any authority under title I of this Act.

"PRESERVATION OF INDIVIDUAL CHOICE

"SEC. 203. Nothing in this title shall be construed as denying (1) the right of any worker to accept or refuse agricultural employment with any employer, or his right to refuse to enter into an agreement to perform work of a nature he does not wish to perform, or (2) the right of any employer to refuse to offer agricultural employment to any worker, or the right to offer agricultural employment to any worker of his choice.

"DEFINITIONS

"SEC. 204. As used in this title—

"(1) The term 'agricultural employment' means services and activities defined in section 3(f) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended, or section 3121(g) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as amended.

"(2) The term 'employer' means any person for

whom agricultural employment is performed, or association of such persons, but shall not include any employment or labor contracting agent.

"(3) The term 'worker' means any individual who is a permanent resident of the United States and engaged in or available for agricultural employment.

"(4) The term 'Secretary' means the Secretary of Labor or his duly authorized representative.

"(5) The term 'United States' means the several States, the District of Columbia, and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

"PROGRAM AUTHORIZED

"SEC. 205. (a) In order to effectuate the purposes of this title, the Secretary is authorized to—

"(1) recruit qualified, willing, and able workers to fill orders placed by employers for workers recruited under this title;

"(2) provide for the medical examination of such workers to assure that they are physically capable of performing agricultural employment and suffering from no communicable disease;

"(3) furnish such workers with transportation to and return from areas of agricultural employment;

"(4) furnish such workers with food, housing, and emergency medical care during such transportation and

while arrangements are being made for the employment of such workers or their departure from an area of agricultural employment;

"(5) provide such facilities as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this title; and

"(6) establish a revolving fund sufficient to pay the cost of transportation, food, housing, and emergency medical care authorized under this title.

"(b) An order by an employer for agricultural workers recruited under this title shall include such information as the Secretary finds necessary to enable him to carry out the purposes of this title, including information with respect to the type of agricultural employment to be performed, the time and place at which such employment is to be performed, and any particular qualifications or experience that the employer desires the workers to possess.

"(c) No worker shall be made available under this title to an employer unless the Secretary has determined that—

"(1) sufficient qualified, willing, and able workers who reside permanently in the area where the agricultural employment is to be performed are not available for such employment; and

"(2) reasonable efforts have been made to attract such workers for such employment (including the of-

fering of wages, hours, and working conditions comparable to those specified under section 207 for workers recruited under this title).

"EMPLOYEE AND EMPLOYER QUALIFICATIONS

"SEC. 206. (a) No worker shall be made available under this title to an employer unless—

"(1) the Secretary has determined that such worker is (A) qualified, willing, and able to perform the agricultural employment specified in the employer's order, and (B) physically fit to perform such employment and suffering from no communicable disease, as determined by a medical examination;

"(2) such worker has been interviewed by the employer (or an opportunity for an interview has been afforded) and has not been rejected by him;

"(3) such worker has agreed (A) to accept agricultural employment, specified as to type, time, and area; and (B) to enter into an agreement, as provided in section 207, with each employer with whom he accepts such employment; and

"(4) such worker has agreed that if, without good cause, he fails to comply with any agreement entered into by him pursuant to paragraph (3) of this subsection and such failure is a material violation of such agreement, such worker will reimburse the United

States for expenses incurred by it in furnishing him transportation, food, housing, and emergency medical care under this title. The amount of the reimbursement in any such case shall be determined by the Secretary, taking into account the amount of employment performed by the worker pursuant to his agreement under paragraph (3) (A) of this subsection.

"(b) No worker recruited under this title shall be made available to an employer unless such employer has agreed that if he employs such worker he will—

"(1) pay the United States a fee, not to exceed $15 (without charging the worker therefor) to cover expenses incurred by the United States in furnishing transportation, food, housing, and emergency medical care to workers recruited under this title;

"(2) furnish transportation (without charging the worker therefor) from a point designated by the Secretary in the area of employment to the point of such worker's employment and return;

"(3) enter into an agreement with the worker, or his representative, as provided in section 207; and

"(4) maintain such records relating to the earnings, deductions, and hours of employment of the worker, as the Secretary may by regulation require.

"EMPLOYMENT AGREEMENT

"SEC. 207. Any agreement between any employer and any worker, or such worker's representative, entered into pursuant to subsections (a) (3) (B) and (b) (3) of section 206, shall clearly specify—

"(1) the period of the employment, and a guarantee that the worker shall have the opportunity to work at least three-quarters of full time during the period of the employment (forty-eight hours per week to be considered full time); but in the event an agreement is terminated by an employer for reasons beyond his control, the three-quarters work guarantee shall apply only to the period beginning on the day after the worker's arrival at the place of employment and ending on the date the agreement is terminated;

"(2) the wage rate to be paid the worker, which shall be not less than the prevailing wage rate paid by employers to workers similarly employed in the area in which the work is to be performed;

"(3) the intervals at which wage payments will be made, which shall be no less frequent than those established for other workers similarly employed by the employer, and in no event less frequent than semi-monthly;

"(4) that any housing and sanitary facilities made

available by the employer will conform to minimum standards prescribed by the Secretary;

"(5) that the employer will provide, at no cost to the worker, workmen's compensation insurance;

"(6) that the worker will perform all agricultural work required of him with proper application, care, and diligence during the period of employment agreed upon; that he will exercise reasonable care and diligence in the use of any housing and sanitary facilities made available to him by the employer; that he will comply with all rules and regulations specified in the agreement relating to safety, discipline, and the care and maintenance of property; and that he will not, except by mutual agreement, perform work for any other employer during the period of the agreement.

"REPLACEMENT WORKERS AND REIMBURSEMENT

"SEC. 208. In any case in which the Secretary determines that a worker has failed to carry out the terms of an agreement entered into by him pursuant to section 206(a)(3)(B), and that such failure is a material violation of the agreement, the Secretary shall—

"(1) supply a replacement worker to the employer and furnish such worker transportation to the place of employment without charging an additional fee under section 206(b)(1), or reduce the amount of the fee

paid or to be paid with respect to the worker who violated the agreement by an amount that is directly proportional to the period of the agreement that such worker failed to complete; and

"(2) in any case in which a replacement worker is supplied, reimburse the employer in an amount equal to any amount expended for transportation under section 206(b)(2) in excess of the amount such employer would have had to expend if no agreement violation had occurred, or, in any case in which a replacement worker is not supplied, reimburse such employer for transportation expenses incurred under such section with respect to the worker who violated his agreement, taking into account the portion of the period of employment provided for in the agreement not completed by the worker.

"COMPLIANCE

"SEC. 209. (a) The Secretary may refuse to make the services afforded under this title available to any employer or worker upon a determination, made after notice and an opportunity to be heard, that such employer or worker has failed, without good cause, to comply with (1) any provision of this title, any rule or regulation implementing this title, or any agreement with the Secretary entered into pursuant to this title, if such failure is of such a nature

as substantially to impair the effective administration of this title, or (2) any agreement entered into pursuant to section 206(a)(3)(B) or section 206(b)(3), if such failure is a material violation of such agreement.

"(b) The services afforded under this title may be furnished to an employer or worker who has previously been refused such services pursuant to subsection (a) if such employer or worker demonstrates, in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary, that he will in the future comply with the requirements of this title.

"GENERAL PROVISIONS

"SEC. 210. (a) The Secretary shall provide for the establishment and maintenance of a system of recording, utilizing, and making available to employers information concerning the willingness, ability, and specific qualifications of individual workers to perform agricultural employment.

"(b) The Secretary may provide, and may require reimbursement from the worker for the expenses of, transportation, food, housing, and emergency medical care to the members of such worker's family if he determines that the furnishing of such services is a practicable and desirable means of carrying out the purposes of this title.

"(c) Private employment agencies and labor contract-

ing agents may be permitted, to the extent authorized under regulations prescribed by the Secretary, to participate under this title in the recruitment and placement of workers.

"(d) The Secretary is authorized to enter into such agreements with State and local agencies as he deems proper for carrying out the purposes of this title, and may utilize the services of any other department or agency of the Federal Government for such purposes on a reimbursable basis.

"(e) Any money received by the Secretary pursuant to section 206(a)(4), section 206(b)(1), or subsection (b) of this section shall be credited to the revolving fund established pursuant to section 205(a)(6) of this title.

"(f) The Secretary is authorized to promulgate such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this title.

"JUDICIAL REVIEW

"SEC. 211. Any person aggrieved by any order or determination of the Secretary made under this title may obtain judicial review of such order or determination by filing in the United States district court for the district in which such person resides or has his principal place of business, or in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, within sixty days from the date such order or determination was made, a written petition praying that the

order or determination of the Secretary be modified or set aside in whole or in part. A copy of such petition shall be forthwith served upon the Secretary and thereupon the Secretary shall file in the court a transcript of the record upon which such order or determination was made. Thereupon the court shall have jurisdiction of the record and shall have power to affirm, set aside, modify, or enforce the order or determination of the Secretary, in whole or in part. The findings of the Secretary as to the facts, if supported by substantial evidence, shall be conclusive. Service of process in such action shall be made in accordance with the rule for service of process upon the United States prescribed by the Rules of Civil Procedure for the United States District Courts.

"SPECIAL STUDIES AND PROJECTS

"SEC. 212. In carrying out the provisions of this title the Secretary is authorized to undertake such special studies and conduct such experimental, pilot, and demonstration projects as he determines have promise of leading to fuller utilization of underemployed rural Americans and to meeting the labor requirements of employers. Such studies and projects may include, but shall not be limited to, special job training, counseling, resettlement, overnight transient camps, community exchange services, and special placement

services. The Secretary is authorized to expend an amount not to exceed $200,000 per annum for the purpose of carrying out such studies and projects.

"AUTHORIZATION FOR APPROPRIATIONS

"SEC. 213. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this title.

"SHORT TITLE

"SEC. 214. The provisions of this title may be cited as the 'Voluntary Farm Employment Service Act'."

SEC. 402. The Act of June 6, 1933 (29 U.S.C. 49 et seq.), is further amended by inserting at the end of title I (as designated by section 401 of this Act) the following new section:

"SEC. 14. As used in this title, references to 'this Act' shall be deemed to mean 'this title', and any reference to the provisions of this Act in any other law or in any regulation shall be deemed to refer to title I hereof unless the text clearly indicates otherwise."

TITLE V—NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL ON MIGRATORY LABOR

SEC. 501. (a) There is hereby established a Council to be known as the "National Advisory Council on Migratory Labor" (hereinafter referred to as the "Council"). The

Council shall be composed of fifteen members, appointed by the President without regard to political affiliations as follows:

(1) Four individuals, appointed from private life, to represent the farmer, who shall be individuals actively engaged in, and whose livelihoods are dependent upon, agriculture, and who employ migratory labor in connection therewith;

(2) Four individuals, appointed from private life, to represent the migratory agricultural workers;

(3) Two individuals, appointed from private life, who shall have a demonstrated interest in and knowledge of the problems relating to migratory agricultural labor, including the problems of the migratory agricultural worker, his employer, and the community;

(4) Two individuals, appointed from private life, who are or have been actively engaged in activities aimed at determining and solving the health, education, and welfare problems of the migratory agricultural worker and his family; and

(5) Three individuals who have had experience as State officials and who are knowledgeable of the problems relating to migratory agricultural labor.

(b) Members of the Council shall be appointed for the

life of the Council. A vacancy in the Council shall not affect its powers, but shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

(c) The President shall designate one of the members of the Council as Chairman and one as Vice Chairman. Eight members of the Council shall constitute a quorum.

(d) While rendering service as a member of the Council, or as an attorney or expert in any business or professional field employed by the Council on a part-time basis or without compensation, an individual shall be regarded as a special Government employee within the meaning of chapter 11 of title 18 of the United States Code.

(e) Members of the Council shall each be entitled to receive $50 per diem when engaged in the actual performance of duties vested in the Council, including travel time, and while away from their homes or regular places of business may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946 (5 U.S.C. 73b–2) for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

(f) The Council shall meet at the call of the Chairman or at the call of a majority of the members thereof, but not less often than once each calendar year.

SEC. 502. (a) The Council shall have a staff director who shall be appointed by the Chairman without regard to

the civil service laws and the Classification Act of 1949, as amended. The staff director shall have such duties as may be imposed by the Council, and shall be compensated at a rate not to exceed $18,000 per annum.

(b) The Council shall have the power to appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel, as it deems advisable, without regard to the provisions of the civil service laws and the Classification Act of 1949, as amended.

(c) The Council may procure, in accordance with the provisions of section 15 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946 (5 U.S.C. 55a), the temporary or intermittent services of experts or consultants; individuals so employed shall receive compensation at a rate to be fixed by the Council, but not in excess of $50 per diem, including travel time, and while away from their homes or regular places of business may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946 (5 U.S.C. 73b–2) for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

SEC. 503. (a) It shall be the duty of the Council to advise the President and the Congress, with respect to (1) the operation of Federal laws, regulations, programs, and policies relating to any and all aspects of migratory agricultural labor; and (2) any and all other matters relating to migratory agricultural labor.

(b) It shall also be the duty of the Council to consider, analyze, and evaluate the problems relating to migratory agricultural labor with a view to devising plans and making recommendations for the establishment of policies and programs designed to meet such problems effectively. In carrying out such duty, the Council shall consider, among others, the following matters:

(1) The effect of existing laws, regulations, programs, and policies on the various problems relating to migratory agricultural labor, including the problems of the migratory agricultural worker, his employer, and the local area in which he is employed; and

(2) The means for improved coordination of Federal, State, county, and local policies and programs relating to migratory agricultural labor.

(c) The Council shall, on or before March 31 of each calendar year, submit an annual comprehensive report of its findings and recommendations to the Secretary of Labor for transmission by him to the President and to the Congress.

SEC. 504. The Council shall cease to exist upon the expiration of five years from the date of the initial appointments to the Council made by the President under this title.

SEC. 505. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary, not to exceed $50,000 in any fiscal year, to carry out the provisions of this title.

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H

A B

To amend certain pro
Standards Act of
Labor Relations A
labor, and to estab
ployment service
Council on Migrat

By Mr.

MAY

Referred to the Commit

RESS
ON

H. R. 8109

A BILL

ertain provisions of the Fair Labor
ds Act of 1938 and the National
elations Act relating to agricultural
d to establish a voluntary farm em-
t service and a National Advisory
on Migratory Labor.

By Mr. ROOSEVELT

MAY 12, 1965
he Committee on Education and Labor

1.
file
Legislation

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10010

June 18, 1965

TO: Board of Directors

FROM: The Office

RE: Immigration

David Carliner has asked that the June 21 Board meeting consider the question of the Union's position on the immigration bill now before the Congress, particularly the question of whether we should endorse immediate abolition of the national origins quota system or abolition over a five year period.

The background is presented in the attached correspondence from Mr. Carliner and Ed Ennis.

EDWARD J. ENNIS
Attorney at Law
165 Broadway, New York 6, N.Y.

June 4, 1965

COPY

Mr. John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Jack:

Dave Carliner telephoned recommending you write Chairman Celler expressing our approval of the provisions of H.R. 8662, introduced by Congressman Feighan, which would eliminate the national origins quota system immediately instead of 20% a year under the Celler bill heretofore supported by the Administration and disclaiming any position on other provisions of the new bill which do not involve civil liberties questions.

I agree with Dave that immediate elimination of the National origins system is better than an elimination over a five year period but I have some hesitation about firing this shot immediately at Celler who is feuding with Feighan and wants his name on any immigration bill which is passed and with whom we want to keep good relations on other civil rights matters. The immigration agencies are disturbed that with the President behind the Celler bill and good hopes for passage this session Feighan at this late date has introduced a different bill to accomplish much the same purpose and will divide the forces pressing for immigration reform. Personally I would like to hold off a bit until the smoke clears in expressing our view which has not yet been invited, but Dave is right in stating that in principle a national origins feature alone in the Feighan bill is better and there is no reason we should not say so. I don't see why we have to say so immediately.

Sincerely,

/s/

Edward J. Ennis

WASSERMAN & CARLINER
Counselors at Law
Warner Building
Washington 4, D.C.

COPY

May 26, 1965

John de J. Pemberton, Esquire
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Jack:

As you possibly know, I appeared again for the ACLU before the House Immigration Subcommittee. My testimony was substantially the same as before the Senate Subcommittee except that I used the occasion to oppose the imposition of any new quotas upon immigration from Western Hemisphere countries.

I am writing you now because Congressman Feighan has given a number of speeches recently in which he advocates the immediate elimination of the national origins quota system. This is to be distinguished from the Administration's bill which phases the program out over a period of 5 years. In my testimony I endorsed Feighan's position.

However, he has a number of provisions in his proposal to which the Administration would probably be opposed. These relate to an overall ceiling on admissions and the distribution of priorities within the ceiling based upon relationship or occupation.

I believe there will be meetings in Washington among the organizations concerned with immigration within the next week. Legislation is being drafted now and a bill will probably be introduced by Feighan during the coming week.

As you realize, we have been playing this somewhat by ear. I would feel much more comfortable if the Board or some constituted authority within the ACLU would determine what our position should be.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Ed so that you and he can review it. I have only one copy of Feighan's speech and because Ed is primarily concerned I am sending it to him.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

/s/

David Carliner

Copies to: Edward Ennis, Esquire
Lawrence Speiser, Esquire

~~Congressmen~~
Legislation, Misc

September 27, 1965

The Hon. James H. Scheuer
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

Dear Jim:

I have read with much interest and enaitement your Bill to provide for the establishment of a Museum of Negro History and Culture. The Museum is a splendid idea and could do much to stimulate respect for the Negro and self-respect in the Negro. Our public schools, unfortunately, do not perform this service with any kind of adequacy. I find your prpposal most worthwhile. It could prove enormously helpful toward all of our efforts to achieve equality.

There will be those who will charge that such a plan, singling out the Negro's contribution to our culture and history, would be a racist or separationist. I would reject such a charge outright.

The Museum that you propose is thoroughly in line with the most advanced thinking in the civil rights movement today. The only meaningful integration will come when the Negro can come into an open society as a proud and equal partner, respecting himself and respected by others. The Museum will further that objective.

VerySsincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JFins

JAMES H. SCHEUER
21ST DISTRICT, NEW YORK

339 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
TELEPHONE: (202) 225-3816

RICHARD A. BROWN
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

DISTRICT OFFICE:
159 EAST 165TH STREET
BRONX, NEW YORK 10452
TELEPHONE: LU 8-6790

JOHN DELANEY
CONGRESSIONAL SECRETARY

SEP 7 1965

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

COMMITTEE ON
EDUCATION AND LABOR

SUBCOMMITTEES:
SELECT EDUCATION
SPECIAL LABOR
ANTIPOVERTY

September 2, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Jim:

Knowledge of the Negro's contribution to our culture and history is a necessary concomitant to the achievement of full equality for the Negro. The majority of Americans, both white and Negro, are unaware of this.

I have, therefore, introduced in the House of Representatives, H.R. 10638, which would lay the groundwork for the establishment of a Museum of Negro History and Culture. This Museum could conduct a program of public education which would include permanent and changing exhibitions of art and artifacts, literature; the sponsoring of lectures, forums and film programs dealing with the contribution of the Negro to history and culture; library facilities; and the preparation of printed historical materials for use by schools and universities, civic groups, churches, government agencies, etc.

I would greatly appreciate your comments on this proposal.

Sincerely,

Jim

Member of Congress

JHS:rt

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 10638

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

AUGUST 24, 1965

Mr. SCHEUER introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on House Administration

AUGUST 26, 1965

The Committee on House Administration discharged, and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor

A BILL

To provide for the establishment of the Negro History Museum Commission.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) there is hereby established a Commission to be known as the Negro History Museum Commission (hereinafter referred to as the "Commission"). The Commission shall be composed of eleven members, appointed by the President from persons who are authorities on Negro history and culture.

(b) The President shall designate one of the members of the Commission as Chairman, and one as Vice Chairman. Six members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum

(c) Members of the Commission shall each be entitled to receive $100 per diem when engaged in the performance of the duties vested in the Commission, including travel time; and while so engaged when away from their home or regular place of business, they may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946 (5 U.S.C. 73b–2) for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

(d) The Commission shall meet at the call of the Chairman or at the call of a majority of the members thereof.

SEC. 2. (a) The Commission shall have the power to appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel, as it deems advisable, without regard to the provisions of the civil service laws and the Classification Act of 1949.

(b) The Commission may procure, in accordance with the provisions of section 15 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946 (5 U.S.C. 55a), the temporary or intermittent services of experts or consultants. Persons so employed shall receive compensation at a rate to be fixed by the Commission, but not in excess of $75 per diem, including travel time. While away from his home or regular place of business in the performance of services for the Commission, any such person may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5 of the

Administrative Expenses Act of 1946 (5 U.S.C. 73b–2) for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

SEC. 3. The Commission shall conduct a study of all proposals for the establishment by the United States of a Museum of Negro History and Culture and shall make a recommendation to the President and to the Congress with respect to the legislative enactments which would be necessary to establish such Museum. Such study shall include consideration of the following—

(1) the advisability of establishing such Museum as part of an existing museum,

(2) the most appropriate structure for the Museum, including consideration of the use of an existing building or the erection of a building,

(3) location of such Museum,

(4) the scope of the collection to be in such Museum and the availability of materials for such collection, and

(5) any other factors relating to the establishment of the Museum.

SEC. 4. The Commission shall submit a comprehensive report of its findings and recommendations to the President and to the Congress not later than six months after the date of enactment of this Act. The Commission shall cease to exist thirty days after such report is submitted.

H. R. 10238 A BILL

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 7

A BILL

To provide for the establishment of a National Museum of Negro History and Culture, and for other purposes.

By Mr. DIGGS

AUGUST 3, 1965

Referred to the Committee on House Administration
AUGUST 4, 1965
The Committee on House Administration discharged, and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 10638

A BILL

AUGUST 24, 1965
Committee on House Administration
AUGUST 26, 1965
Committee on House Administration discharged,
referred to the Committee on Education and

for the establishment of the Negro
tory Museum Commission.

By Mr. SCHEUER

Citizens Committee for

CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES

22 East 17th Street, New York 3, N. Y. — Room 1525

WAtkins 9-6662

Legislation

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Youngstown 11, Ohio
MRS. CLARA M. VINCENT
Livonia, Michigan
REV. ELIOT WHITE
Arlington, Massachusetts

November 1965

Dear Friend:

At this time we can render an invaluable service to our brave young generation by helping put an end to the McCarran Internal Security Act.

This law hangs as an active threat and scourge against those who undertake meaningful steps to influence government policies - at home and abroad.

Under the provisions of the McCarran Act, opposition to Administration policy is equated with subversion; the democratic rights of free thinking individuals and peace, civil rights and student organizations may be arbitrarily curtailed; and minority groups face harassment and cruel punishment.

Constitutional liberties are the muscles and sinews of a democracy. If we do not use them, they shrivel and die; if we do, they become purposeful and strong.

We urge that you exercise your right of petition, and participate in this national campaign to send a "Message to The President". This is based upon an advertisement signed by over 300 prominent citizens, which appeared in the Washington Post on March 10, 1965. (See Petition.)

Please try to fill at least one petition among your family, friends and members of organizations. Return them as quickly as possible to the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties, so that the signatures may all be presented together to the President.

Sincerely,

Willard Uphaus.

Dr. Willard Uphaus,
Chairman

P.S. Whatever you can give is needed to build a more powerful campaign for Constitutional Liberties.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, ARE IN AGREEMENT WITH THE MESSAGE HEREIN.

WE URGE THAT YOU ESTABLISH, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, A PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION TO RE-ASSESS THE MCCARRAN INTERNAL SECURITY ACT.

WE ASK THAT ALL PROSECUTIONS UNDER THIS LAW BE SUSPENDED, AT THIS TIME, PENDING RECOMMENDATIONS OF SUCH A COMMISSION.

NAME	ADDRESS

In order to present all of the petitions at one time to the President, please return them as soon as possible to:

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TO THE PRESIDENT
AND
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

The 1964 Election was a clear order to create institutions and laws for public order that are appropriate to social fact.

But the freedom to meet the problems which confront us cannot be secure if the democratic process is jeopardized by repressive legislation that discourages and threatens to throttle free discussion.

The McCarran Act (Internal Security Act of 1950) is still on the statute books. This Act...

Was vetoed by President Truman as *"unnecessary"*...putting *"the United States Government into the thought control business"*. It was passed over his veto.

Contains provisions that have been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

Is a powerful resource for right-wing groups, and whenever so used arouses fear and general suspicion of dissenting thought and speech.

Makes it always possible to place the stigma of heresy on precisely that dynamism and creativity of mind which alone can envision, and enable, and sustain a Great Society.

Has been condemned by many individuals and groups in our society concerned with the integrity of the democratic process.

The signers of this announcement, in profound concern, and with confidence in freedom's ability to see and do what the moment requires, call upon our Executive and Legislative representatives to reassess an Act which, born in panic and productive of fear, adds nothing to our security and diminishes the honor of a democracy.

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FOR REPEAL OF THE McCARRAN ACT
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☐ Enclosed is 50c for a copy of the booklet, *"What You Need to Know About the McCarran Act."*

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File - Legislature

PETITION

TO THE CITY COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA:

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED STUDENTS, STAFF MEMBERS AND REGISTERED VOTERS OF TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE AND THE CITY OF TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA

HEREBY

P E T I T I O N

THE CITY COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA, TO ENACT THE FOLLOWING BILL AS HEREIN PROVIDED:

(AUTHORIZED SIGNATURES)		

DRAFT LEGISLATION ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY AND PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

(THE WARDY BILL)

CITY OF TUSKEGEE: CITY CODE

ARTICLE_____

PREAMBLE

WHEREAS, the City Council of the City of Tuskegee, Alabama, hereby finds and declares that the practice of discrimination leading to inequality of employment opportunity and access to public accommodations because of age, sex, race, creed, color and national origin within the City of Tuskegee is a matter of public concern; and that the practice of such discrimination not only threatens the rights and proper privileges of its inhabitants, but menaces the institutions and foundations of a free democratic society and, being thus a clear and present danger, threatens the peace, order, safety and general well-being of the City of Tuskegee; therefore,

BE IT ENACTED, that the opportunity to obtain employment and equal access to public accommodations without discrimination because of age, sex, race, creed, color, or national origin is hereby recognized and declared to be a civil right; and it shall be deemed within the power of the City Council of the City of Tuskegee to secure this right to all inhabitants of the City of Tuskegee by enforcing this Article as herein provided:

Sec. 1: Legislative Effect

This Article shall be considered vital legislation and shall take effect immediately.

Sec. 2: Definitions

WHEN USED IN THIS ARTICLE:

1. The term "person" includes one or more individuals, partnerships, associations, corporations, legal representatives, trustees, trustees in bankruptcy, or receivers.

2. The term "employment agency" includes any person undertaking to procure employees or opportunities to work.

3. The term "organization" includes any group of persons associated in any way for any general or particular purpose.

4. The term "labor organization" includes any organization which exists or is constituted for the purpose, in whole or in part, of collective bargaining or of dealing with employers concerning grievances, terms or conditions of employment, or of other mutual aid or protection in connection with employment.

5. The term "employment" includes all production of goods and services in exchange for remuneration in whatever form.

6. The term "employer" includes any person offering employment to another, but shall not include the United States Government or any foreign government, embassy or consulate, nor any intergovernmental international organization, nor any religious association or corporation not organized for private profit.

7. The term "Commission" means the Commission created by the provisions of section (3) of this article.

8. The term "national origin" shall include ancestry, but not be limited thereto.

9. The term "public accommodations" includes:

(a) All goods and services the production, consumption, development, use, purchase, rental, lease, or disposal whereof involves the expenditure of public credit, funds or assets of any kind, in whole or in part, and in whatever form, OR

(b) All goods and services the production, consumption, development, use, purchase, rental, lease, disposal, or exchange whereof is taxable by any government or requires

any license or publicly authorized inspection according to law, OR

(c) All goods and services requiring, in their production, consumption, development, use, purchase, rental, lease, disposal, or exchange in any form, any commitment issued by any government agency that such production, development, use, purchase, rental, lease, disposal, consumption or exchange may be financed in whole or in part by a loan, whether or not secured by a mortgage or any collateral, the repayment of which is guaranteed or insured by any government or government agency, and shall further include all goods and services produced, consumed or exchanged by any person availing of such commitment.

(d) The term "goods and services" shall include land, buildings, or any portion thereof, but not be limited thereto.

10. The term "place of public accommodations" shall include, excepting premises held by or acquired by or for the use of the United States Government or any foreign government, or any intergovernmental international organization, or any agency thereof,

(a) Any premises where public accommodations are consumed, used, purchased, rented, leased, disposed of, or exchanged for any consideration, in whatever form, OR

(b) Any premises, offering public accommodations, exempt in whole or in part from any taxes levied by the State of Alabama, or any of its political subdivisions, OR

(c) Any premises, offering public accommodations, constructed on property sold below cost by the State of Alabama, or

any of its political subdivisions, or any agency thereof, OR

(d) Any premises, offering public accommodations, constructed, in whole or in part, on property acquired or assembled by the State of Alabama, or any of its political subdivisions, or any agency thereof, through the power of condemnation or otherwise, for the purpose of such construction, OR

(e) Any premises, offering public accommodations, for the acquisition, construction, rehabilitation, development, furnishing, protection, repair or maintenance of which the State of Alabama, or any of its political subdivisions, or any agency thereof, supplies any funds, financial assistance, or any guarantee or commitment thereof whatever.

11. The term "mayor" means the mayor of the City of Tuskegee, Alabama.

12. The term "mayor's office" means the office of the mayor designated under section (2) subsection (11) of this Article.

13. The term "City Council" means the City Council of the City of Tuskegee, Alabama.

14. The term "City Attorney" means the City Attorney of the City of Tuskegee, Alabama.

15. The term "Circuit Court" means the Circuit Court located in Macon County, Alabama.

16. The term "City" means the City of Tuskegee, Alabama.

Sec. 3: Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity and Public Accommodations

1. THERE IS HEREBY CREATED, in the mayor's office, a City

Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity and Public Accommodations to enforce the provisions of this Article as herein provided. Such Commission shall consist of five members, known as Commissioners, who shall be appointed by the mayor, by and with the advice and consent of the City Council, from a list of nominees to be submitted by a biannually-elected twenty-five-member Biracial Committee, within thirty days following the enactment of this Article, and thereafter within thirty days following the existance of any vacancy on the Commission; such appointment, advice and consent shall occur within thirty days following the submission of any list of nominees pursuant to this Article, and the first public elections to the Biracial Committee shall take place no later than twenty days following the enactment of this Article. The term of office of each Commissioner shall be five years, provided, however, that, of the Commissioners first appointed, one shall be appointed for a term of one year, one for a term of two years, one for a term of three years, one for a term of four years, and one for a term of five years. One of the Commissioners shall be designated as Chairman by the mayor, by and with the advice and consent of the City Council, upon the recommendation of the Biracial Committee, provided that the office of Chairman shall rotate yearly among the Commissioners, who shall adopt their own rules of procedure in regard to rotation of chairmanship. Any member chosen to fill a vacancy occurring otherwise than by expiration of term shall be appointed for the unexpired portion of the term of the member succeeded thereby. Any three members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum for conducting the business thereof. A vacancy in the Commission shall not impair the right of the remaining members to exercise all the powers of the Commission. Any member of the Commission may be removed by the mayor, by and with the advice and consent of the City Council, upon the recommendation of the Biracial Committee, for inefficiency, neglect of duty, misfeasance,

misconduct, nonfeasance or malfeasance in office, after being served with a written statement of the charges and given an opportunity to be publicly heard thereon. Each Commissioner shall be entitled to his expenses actually and necessarily incurred by him in the performance of his duties. The Commission shall be entitled to draw upon the credit of the City of Tuskegee to the extent actually and necessarily incurred in carrying out its functions under this Article in the manner prescribed by law.

2. THE COMMISSION SHALL HAVE THE FOLLOWING FUNCTIONS, POWERS, AND DUTIES:

(a) To formulate its own policies carrying into effect the purposes and provisions of this Article, and to make recommendations to all persons, government agencies and officers of the City of Tuskegee or any of its political subdivisions in aid of such policies, provisions and purposes.

(b) To establish its principal office and such other offices as it may deem necessary, and to travel, meet and function anywhere within the jurisdictional limits of the United States.

(c) To appoint such attorneys, expert counsel, agents and employees as it may deem necessary, fix their compensation within the limitations provided by law, and prescribe their duties.

(d) To obtain, upon request, and utilize, the services of any or all city commissions, councils, boards, departments, officers and agencies.

(e) To adopt, promulgate, amend and rescind suitable rules and regulations to carry out the provisions of this Article.

(f) To receive, investigate, and pass upon complaints alleging violations of this Article within the City of Tuskegee.

(g) To hold hearings, subpoena witnesses, compel their attendance, administer oaths, take any testimony under oath or in

connection therewith, examine any books or papers relating to any matter under investigation or in question before the Commission, and compel their production.

(h) To transmit to other government agencies any information concerning possible violation of any law or regulation discovered in the process of any investigation under this Article.

(i) To confer immunity within the limitations and in the manner prescribed under section (5) subsection (k) herein.

(j) To issue such publications and such results of investigations and research as in its judgment will tend to promote good-will and minimize discrimination because of age, sex, race, creed, color or national origin.

(k) To submit each year to the mayor and to the City Council a full written report of all its activities and of its recommendations.

(l) To create such advisory agencies and conciliatory councils as in its judgment will aid in effectuating the purposes of this Article; and the Commission may empower them to study the problems of discrimination in all or specific fields of human relations, to foster voluntary cooperation and conciliation among the groups and individuals of this city, and make recommendations to the Commission in instances general or specific. Such advisory agencies and conciliation councils shall be composed of representative residents of this city, serving without pay but with reimbursements for actual and necessary travel expenses, who have been approved by the Biracial Committee; and the Commission may make provision for legal, technical and clerical assistance to such agencies and councils.

(m) To carry into effect the recommendations of the Biracial Committee insofar as the Commission shall find consistent with the purposes of this Article and its functions, powers and duties under the same.

Sec. 4: Unlawful Discriminatory Practices

1. It shall be an unlawful discriminatory practice:

(a) For an employer, because of the age, sex, race, creed, color or national origin of any individual, to refuse employment or to discharge from employment such individual, or to discriminate against such individual in compensation or in terms, conditions or privileges of employment.

(b) For a labor organization, because of the age, sex, race, creed, color or national origin of any individual, to exclude or to expel from its membership such individual or to discriminate against a member, or against an employer, or against an individual employed by an employer, in terms of conditions or privileges of membership or other benefits furnished by such organization.

(c) For an employer, labor organization or employment agency to discharge, expel, or otherwise discriminate against any person because he has opposed any practice prohibited under this Article or because he has filed a complaint, testified, or assisted in any proceeding under this Article.

(d) For any employer, labor organization, or employment agency, to print or circulate, or cause to be printed or circulated, any statement, advertisement, or publication, or to use any form of application for employment, or to make any inquiry in connection with prospective employment, which expresses, directly or indirectly, any limitation, specification, or discrimination as to age, sex, race, creed, color, or national origin, or any intent to make any such limitation, specification, or discrimination, unless based upon a bona fide occupational qualification, as determined by said employer, labor organization, or employment agency, with the approval of the Commission. Subject to the particular facts in every specific case, the race, creed, age, sex, color, or national origin of an employee or applicant for employment shall not be deemed a bona fide

occupational qualification, unless the Commission finds that these attributes are material to job performance; and the intent of said employer, labor organization, or employment agency, to challenge the provisions of this Article, or the lack of such intent, shall not prejudice the power of the Commission to act under this Article. Prohibited pre-employment inquiries shall include, but not be limited to, the following:

(1) Any question as to any applicant's age, sex, race, creed, color, or national origin, unless based on bona fide occupational qualifications, as determined by the inquiring employer, labor organization, or employment agency, with the approval of the Commission.

(2) Any question which does not inquire directly into an applicant's age, race, creed, color or national origin, but calls for an answer which will probably disclose one of these attributes, whether or not with premeditated intent to elicit the same.

(3) The attachment of a photograph of any applicant or applicant's face on a pre-employment inquiry form.

(4) Original name of any applicant, whose name has been changed by court order or otherwise.

(5) Birthplace of any applicant, applicant's spouse, parents, or other relatives, or the requirement to submit any birth certificate, naturalization, or baptismal record, or any proof of age other than in the form of a work permit issued by school authorities.

(6) Coloring or complexion of any applicant, color of skin, or texture of hair.

(7) Inquiry as to any foreign country of which any applicant may be a native, subject, or citizen, inquiry whether the applicant is or has ever been a naturalized or native-born citizen of the United States or of any other country, inquiry of the date, place, or method, where or according to which any applicant may have acquired any citizenship, or any requirement

that any applicant produce any passport or naturalization papers. Prohibited inquiry under this section shall extend to include similar inquiry as to applicant's family or any member thereof.

(8) Inquiry into any applicant's lineage, ancestry, national origin, descent, parentage, nationality, mother tongue, or the method whereinby any applicant may have acquired ability to read, write, or speak any language. Prohibited inquiry under this section shall extend to include similar inquiry as to applicant's family or any member thereof.

(9) Name of any relative other than person to be notified in case of emergency.

(10) Foreign address of any relative of applicant other than person to be notified in case of emergency.

(11) Inquiry into any applicant's military service in foreign armed forces.

(12) Inquiry into identities, names or addresses of any clubs, societies, churches, lodges, boards, committees, councils, unions, conferences, congresses, commissions, organizations, or movements of which any applicant is or has ever been an officer or a member, or intends or has ever intended to join, excepting those being material to performance on the job for which such applicant is applying.

(13) Inquiry into any applicant's voting record, or his assistance to, membership in, or attendance at any political meeting, rally, organization, party, or group.

(14) Inquiry into any applicant's religious denomination or affiliation, church, temple, synagogue, parish, pastor, priest, minister, rabbi, Sunday School, Parochial School or religious holidays observed; for the purposes of this Article, prohibited inquiry shall extend to the practice of informing any applicant that employment is restricted to any particular creed, age, race, sex, color, or national origin, or that

employment is excluded from any of them, except as based on bona fide occupational qualifications, as determined under this section.

(15) Inquiry into any applicant's general or specific beliefs on racial, religious, political, social, or any other issues not material to job performance.

(16) Inquiry into any applicant's length of residence in any country, or any political subdivision thereof, unless material to performance on the job for which such applicant is applying.

(17) Any inquiry which the Commission may find unlawful, pursuant to its powers under this Article, but nothing herein shall preclude exemptions under section (4) subsection (2) of this Article.

(e) For any person, being the owner, lessee, proprietor, manager, superintendent, sub-lessee, agent, or employee of any place of public accommodations, because of the age, race, sex, creed, color, or national origin of any person, directly or indirectly to refuse, withhold from, or deny to such person any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities or privileges thereof, or, directly or indirectly, to publish, circulate, issue, display, post, broadcast, telephone, teletype, telegraph, deliver, send, mail or otherwise proclaim any notice, communication, or advertisement, written, printed or oral, or to cause such notice, communication, or advertisement to be so published, circulated, issued, displayed, posted, printed, broadcast, telephoned, teletyped, telegraphed, delivered, sent, mailed, or otherwise proclaimed, to the effect that any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, or privileges of any such place shall be refused, withheld from, or denied to any person because of age, sex, race, color, creed, or national origin, or that the patronage, custom, use, or enjoyment of any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, or privileges thereat of any person purporting to be of any particular age, sex, creed, race, color, or national origin is unwelcome, objection-

able, not acceptable, not desired, not solicited, or that it is welcome, acceptable, desired, or solicited exclusively, or that, because of age, race, sex, creed, color, or national origin, the patronage, custom, use, or enjoyment of any of the accommodations, advantages, or privileges thereat is more welcome, less objectionable, preferred, more acceptable, more desired, or more solicited with respect to any particular group of persons of any given race, color, sex, age, creed, or national origin, in contradistinction to another. But nothing herein contained shall be construed to prevent such refusal, withholding, or denial of the foregoing accommodations, advantages, or privileges to minors in pursuance to law or established public policy, nor otherwise in the interest of national security or public safety pursuant to law, nor to prevent any religious or denominational institution or organization not operated for private profit, or any educational or charitable subsidiary operating under the same, from limiting admission to or giving preference to persons of the same religion or denomination, nor to prevent segregation by sex and age in such facilities as lavatories or playgrounds, respectively, nor to preclude exemptions from the provisions of this section in cases of bona fide business qualifications approved by the Commission under section (4) subsection (3) of this Article.

(f) For any person, being the owner, lessee, proprietor, manager, superintendent, agent, or employee of any place of public accommodations, or any person commissioned or employed to sell, lease, sublease, or finance the same, to discriminate against any person because he has opposed any practice forbidden under this Article, or assisted in any proceeding under this Article or, because of his race, color, age, sex, creed or national origin, in the terms, conditions, loans, financial assistance, furnishings of accommodations, advantages, facilities or privileges connected therewith, or to make any record of inquiry in connection

with any prospective purchase, loan, financial assistance, use, consumption, rent, lease or exchange of such public accommodations, or place of public accommodations, which expresses, directly or indirectly, any such limitation, specification or discrimination, or any intent to make the same. Prohibited inquiries under this section shall include the categories specified under section (4) subsection (1) paragraph (d) of this Article, but not be limited thereto, subject to bona fide business qualifications.

(g) For any person to aid, abet, incite, compel, or coerce the doing of any of the acts prohibited under this Article, or to conspire or attempt to do so.

(h) Nothing in this section shall be construed to prevent the termination of employment, or refusal of employment to, any person found physically, emotionally, mentally, or educationally unable to perform his duties, or to affect the retirement policy or system of any employer where such policy or system is not merely a subterfuge to evade the purposes of this section; nor shall anything in this section be deemed to preclude the varying of insurance coverage and terms according to a person's sex and age, nor shall anything in this section preclude inquiry into the minority or majority status of any applicant for employment or public accommodations.

2. Any employer, labor organization, or employment agency, wishing to make a pre-employment or other inquiry which the Commission has ruled unlawful, or which is prohibited by this Article, may apply to the Commission for a ruling that, in the particular circumstances, the inquiry relates to a bona fide occupational qualification and is therefore lawful. Such application may include, but not be limited to, request for exemption from the prohibition of inquiry as to foreign citizenship or political belief and affiliation for reasons connected with national security, as may be the case where the work involves certain government contracts.

3. Any person desiring an exemption from any provision under

section (4) subsection (1) paragraph (e) or (f) of this Article on grounds of bona fide business qualifications may apply to the Commission for a ruling that, in the particular circumstances, the exemption relates to a bona fide business qualification and is therefore lawful.

Sec. 5: Procedure

(a) Any person or organization claiming to be aggrieved, whether personally or otherwise, by any unlawful discriminatory practice may, by himself, or by his legal guardian, or by his legal representative, make, sign and file with the Commission a verified complaint in writing, which shall state the name, address, or other identification of the party alleged to have committeed the unlawful discriminatory practice complained of, and which shall set forth the particulars thereof and contain such other information as may be required by the Commission. The City Attorney may, in like manner, make, sign and file such complaint. Any employer, labor organization, employee, employment agency, or any owner, lessee, proprietor, manager, superintendent, agent, employee, patron, or prospective patron of any place of public accommodations whose employees, patrons, co-workers, owners, lessees, proprietors, managers, superintendents, or agents, or some of them,or any of them, refuse, or threaten to refuse, to comply with the provisions of this Article, may file with the Commission an anonymous or verified complaint asking for assistance, investigation, or other remedial action.

(b) After the filing of any complaint, the Chairman of the Commission shall forthwith designate one of the Commissioners to make, with the assistance of the Commission's staff, prompt investigation in connection therewith; and if such Commissioner shall determine, after such investigation, that probable cause exists for crediting the allegations of such complaint, he shall immediately endeavor to eliminate the unlawful discriminatory practice complained of by conference, mediation, negotiation,

conciliation, or other informal settlement which the parties involved may agree thereto. No member of the Commission, or any of its staff, shall ever disclose the proceedings, methods or results of such investigation, except insofar as the Commissioner may deem necessary during the course of the ensuing conference, mediation, negotiation, conciliation, or informal settlement; nor shall any member of the Commission, or any of its staff, disclose the proceedings of such conference, mediation, negotiation, conciliation, or informal settlement, which shall take place in private and remain secret; but the provisions of this section shall not prevent disclosure if all the parties involved shall agree thereto.

(c) In case of failure to eliminate any verified unlawful discriminatory practice by conference, mediation, negotiation, conciliation, or informal settlement, as determined by the Commissioner designated, he shall forthwith cause to be issued and served, in the name of the Commision, a citation, together with a copy of such complaint, as the same may have been amended, summoning any party alleged in the complaint as having committed any unlawful discriminatory practice, hereinafter referred to as defendant, to answer the charges of such complaint at a hearing before three members of the Commission, sitting as the Commission, at a time and place to be specified in the citation. The case in support of the complaint shall be presented before the Commission by a member of its staff, but the Commissioner who shall have previously made the investigation and caused the citation to be issued shall not participate in the hearing except as a witness, nor shall he participate in the deliberations of the Commission in such case; and the aforesaid endeavors at conference, mediation, negotiation, conciliation or informal settlement shall not be received in evidence. The defendant may file a written answer to the complaint and shall appear at such hearing, with or without counsel. The defendant shall have the right to submit testimony and to subpoena and

examine witnesses. In the discretion of the Commission, the person or organization filing the original complaint, hereinafter referred to as complainant, may intervene in the hearing and present testimony in person or by counsel. The Commission and the complainant shall have the power, reasonably and fairly, to amend any complaint, and the defendant shall have like power to amend his answer. The testimony taken at the hearing shall be under oath and be transcribed, but the Commission shall not be bound by strict rules of evidence, nor shall this Article be construed to prevent the Commission from deciding any case ex aequo et bono if the parties thereto agree to it.

(d) If, for some special reason, a Commissioner considers that he should not take part in the decision of a particular case, he shall so inform the Chairman. If the Chairman considers that, for some special reason, any particular Commissioner shall not sit in a particular case, he shall give him notice accordingly. If in any such case the Chairman and the Commissioner disagree, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Commission. In the event of a dispute as to whether the Commission has jurisdiction, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Commission.

(e) The Commission shall establish its own rules of practice to govern, expedite, and effectuate the procedure herein and its own actions thereunder. In particular, the Commission shall adopt rules for the conduct of hearings, the form and time in which each party must conclude its arguments and make all arrangements connected with the taking of evidence. The Commission may call upon any party to voluntarily produce any document or to supply any explanation; formal note shall be taken of any refusal.

(f) Should any defendant fail to appear, or fail to answer a charge, not only will he be liable to a penalty as prescribed under section (6) of this Article but, in addition, any other party may call upon the

Commission to find and decide in favor of its claim; but the Commission must, before doing so, satisfy itself that the claim is well founded in fact and in law.

(g) The hearing before the Commission shall be public, unless the Commission shall decide otherwise, or unless both parties move that the public be not admitted. When, subject to the rules of the Commission, all parties to the hearing have completed the presentation of their case, the Commission shall declare the hearing closed and shall forthwith withdraw to consider the findings.

(h) The deliberations of the Commission shall take place in private and remain secret. All questions shall be decided by majority vote of the Commissioners sitting in the hearing. If, upon the evidence, the Commission shall find that a defendant has engaged in any unlawful discriminatory practice prohibited under this Article, the Commission shall state its findings of fact and shall issue and cause to be served on such defendant an Order requiring such defendant to cease and desist from such unlawful discriminatory practice and to take such affirmative action, including, but not limited to, hiring, reinstatement, or promotion of employees, with or without back pay, restoration of membership in any defendant organization, or the extension of full, equal and unsegregated public accommodations, as in the judgement of the Commission will effectuate the purposes of this Article, and including a requirement for report of the manner of compliance. If, upon the evidence, the Commission shall find that a defendant has not engaged in any unlawful discriminatory practice prohibited under this Article, the Commission shall state its findings of fact and shall issue and cause to be served on the Complainant an Order dismissing the said complaint as to such defendant. The findings of fact shall state the reasons on which they are based and contain the names of the Commissioners taking part in the decision; if the statement of fact does not represent, in whole or in part,

the unanimous decision of the Commissioners sitting, any Commissioner sitting in the hearing shall be entitled to deliver a separate opinion. The statement of fact shall forthwith be countersigned by the Chairman of the Commission; it shall be served upon every complainant, defendant, and such other persons or organizations as the Commission may deem proper. In the event of dispute as to the meaning and scope of the statement of fact or of any Order pursuant thereto, the Commissioners sitting shall jointly construe it upon the request of any party. The statement of fact and any Order pursuant thereto has no binding force except between the parties to the complaint, and in respect of that particular complaint. Any complaint filed pursuant to this section must be so filed not later than ninety days after the initial discovery of the alleged unlawful act of discrimination.

(i) Any person claiming to be aggrieved by an Order of the Commission may obtain judicial review thereof, and the Commission may obtain an order of court for its enforcement, in a proceeding as provided in this section. Such proceeding shall be brought in the Recorder's court, located in the City of Tuskegee, Alabama. Such proceeding shall be initiated by the filing of a petition in such court, together with a written transcript of the record upon the hearing before the Commission, the statement of fact and any Order issued, and the issuance and service of a notice of motion returnable at a special term of such court. Thereupon, the court shall have jurisdiction of the proceedings and of the questions determined therein, and shall have the power to grant such temporary relief or restraining order as it deems just and proper, and to make and enter upon the pleadings, testimony, and proceedings set forth in such transcript an order enforcing, modifying, or enforcing as so modified, or setting aside in whole or in part an Order of the Commission; but no objection that has not been urged before the Commission shall be considered by the court, unless the failure or neglect to urge such objection shall be excused because of extraordinary

circumstances. Any party may move the court to remit the case to the Commission in the interest of justice for the purpose of adducing additional specified and material evidence and seeking findings thereon, provided he shows reasonable grounds for the failure to adduce such evidence before the Commission. The findings of the Commission as to the facts shall be conclusive if supported by sufficient evidence on the record considered as a whole.

(j) All proceedings of judicial review shall be heard and determined by the court, and by any appellate court, as expeditiously as possible, and with lawful precedence over other matters. The jurisdiction of the Recorder's court shall be exclusive and its judgement and order shall be final, subject to review by the appellate division of the Circuit Court and the Supreme Court of the State of Alabama, in the same manner and form and with the same effect as provided by law for appeals from a final order in a special proceeding. The Commission's copy of the testimony shall be available at all reasonable times to all parties for examination without cost and for the purposes of judicial review of an Order of the Commission. The appeal shall be heard on the record without the requirement of printing. The Commission may appear in court by one of its attorneys. A proceeding under this section, when instituted by any person claiming to be aggrieved by an Order of the Commission, must be so instituted not later than thirty days after the service of the Order of the Commission.

(k) In any investigation or proceeding under this Article, the Commission is authorized to confer immunity by any Commissioner, or his staff representative, if a person refuses to answer a question or produce evidence on the ground that he may be incriminated thereby, and, notwithstanding such refusal, an order is made by the Commission, or any member thereof, or his staff representative, that such person answer the question or produce the evidence; if such person complies with this order, and if,

but for this order, he would have been privileged to withhold the answer given or the evidence produced by him, then immunity shall be conferred upon him by the Commission. "Immunity," as used in this Article, means that no such person shall be prosecuted or subjected to any penalty or forfeiture for, or on account of, any transaction, matter, or thing concerning which, in accordance with the said order, he gave answer or produced evidence, and that no such answer given or evidence produced shall be received against him in any criminal proceeding; but he may nevertheless be prosecuted or subjected to penalty or forfeiture for any perjury or contempt committed in answering, or failing to answer, or in producing or failing to produce evidence, in accordance with the order, and any such answer given or evidence produced shall be admissible against him upon any criminal proceeding concerning such perjury or contempt. The Commission shall have power to enforce such an order compelling any person to answer a question or produce evidence, and any person so ordered shall comply with the order forthwith. If a person complies with such order and it is thereafter determined that the appropriate city attorney having an official interest therein was not notified, such failure or neglect shall not deprive such person of any immunity otherwise properly conferred upon him.

Sec. 6: Penal Provision.

Any person or organization who or which shall willfully resist, prevent, impede or interfere with the Commission or any of its members or representatives in the performance of duty under this Article, or shall, willfully and inexcusably, fail to appear at any hearing to which he shall have been lawfully summoned or fail to answer a charge thereat, or shall willfully violate any Order of the Commission, or shall willfully conspire with, contrive, incite, aid, abet, cause, compel or coerce others to violate the same, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and be punishable by imprisonment in the city jail for not more than two years, or by a fine of not more

than two thousand dollars, or by both such imprisonment and fine; but procedure for the review of an Order, as provided under Section (5) of this Article, shall not be deemed to be such prohibited willful conduct.

Sec. 7: Construction.

The provisions of this Article shall be construed liberally for the accomplishment of the purposes thereof. Nothing contained in this Article shall be deemed to repeal any law, but, as to acts declared unlawful under section (4) of this Article, the procedure provided herein shall, while pending, be exclusive; and the final determination therein shall exclude any other action, civil or criminal, based on the same grievance of the person or organization concerned. If such person or organization institutes any action based on such grievance without resorting to the procedure provided by this Article, he or it may not subsequently resort to the procedure herein.

If any clause, phrase, sentence, paragraph, subparagraph, section, subsection, word, numeral, letter, or portion of this Article, or the application thereof to any person, organization, or circumstances, shall, for any reason, be adjudged by a court of competent jurisdiction to be invalid, such judgement shall not affect, impair, or invalidate the remainder of this Article.

Proposed and drafted by Prof. Ben-Zion Wardy, Department of Political Science,
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

22 April 1964

Mr. Ben Davidson, Executive Director
Liberal Party of New York State
1560 Broadway
New York, N. Y. 10036

Dear Ben:

Thanks very much for your letter of Marsh 24, giving me a run down on the constructive actions of the Liberal Party with regard to bills in the State Legislature affecting civil rights. I was aware of some of these actions, but am pleased to have a more complete breakdown. Needless to say, we greatly appreciation the Party's activities in the interest of our mutual cause.

Cordially yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

1560 BROADWAY • NEW YORK, N. Y., 10036 • TELEPHONE: JUDSON 2-1100

Liberal Party
OF NEW YORK STATE

MAR 25 1964

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TIMOTHY W. COSTELLO

First Vice-Chairman
DAVID DUBINSKY

Vice-Chairmen
ALEX ROSE
LE ROY BOWMAN
REINHOLD NIEBUHR
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ADOLF A. BERLE, JR.

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SOL HUROK
LOUIS FISCHER
NATHAN CHANIN
HENRY DAVID
EDWARD KLEIN
CLARENCE SENIOR

Executive Director
BEN DAVIDSON

Asst. Exec. Director
EDWARD MORRISON

March 24, 1964

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Jim:

I would like you to know that the Liberal Party has been very active with regard to bills in the State Legislature that affect civil rights and the economic and social problems of people in the minority groups of the community. I would like to indicate a few items on which we have acted. We have tried to bring our influence to bear on legislators through letters, telegrams, delegations to legislative leaders and chairmen of the various committees in Albany, a picketing line in front of the State Capitol and a legislative conference in Albany.

1- Immediately upon hearing of the State Assembly action defeating the bill outlawing discrimination in apprenticeship and job training, we telegraphed calling for a reversal of that Assembly action.

2- We called for the defeat of such bills as those introduced by Assemblyman George VanCott of Mt. Vernon and Senator Norman Lent of East Rockaway that would prohibit transfer of school children on racial grounds and that would prevent the Boards of Education in the various cities from doing anything with regard to effecting integration in education. Over the week-end we contacted many legislators insisting on the defeat of such measures.

3- We called for the enactment of legislation granting power to initiate investigations to the Commission on Human Rights, granting the Commission injunctive powers, prohibiting discrimination in insurance and mortgage financing, and granting amnesty to peaceful demonstrators for civil rights.

4- We called for the enactment of the $1.50 hourly wage.

5- We called for the adoption of the $165,000,000 program for low income housing and the subsidization of low income families in middle income dwellings. The fact is that we indicated that this was inadequate and that the $500,000,000 bond issue should be carried.

6- We called for the authorization of rent strikes where housing is hazardous to health and safety.

7- We urged mandating free tuition in the City University.

8- We opposed strenuously the attempt to cut the rent control budget by $1,000,000,000. (We argued strongly at the New York City Council hearings for the continuation of strong rent control and against any weakening of such.)

9- We argued for the abolition of the literacy test for voting.

10- We argued against the "Stop and Frisk" and "No Knock " bills.

11- We called for an additional appropriation of $10,000,000 in State Aid for Education, to be ear-marked for the objectives of integration in education and improving schooling in the disadvantaged areas.

12- We introduced a Liberal Party bill for democratic economic planning for a full employment economy.

13- We urged action on various unemployment measures that would protect the rights and improve the benefits for the unemployed.

We acted on many other questions but the above indicate the measures and the type of measures on which we put major emphasis. We are using our strength to the utmost to promote the cause of equality of rights and opportunities for all irrespective of race, color, creed or national origin and to promote the welfare of the people, particularly those in the low income groups.

We shall continue our endeavors until the Legislature adjourns and in the period when the Governor signs or vetoes bills.

Sincerely yours,

Ben Davidson

Ben Davidson
Executive Director

BD: dgk

LIBERAL PARTY

Kings County

66 COURT STREET • BROOKLYN, N. Y. • TRiangle 5-8026

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MORRIS H. ROSENBLATT*

Marvin

May 23, 1964

MAY 25 1964

Enc. 100.00

James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

Dear Jim:

On behalf of the Kings County Liberal Party, I want you to know that we were honored by your presence at our annual Cocktail Party last Sunday. In addition, all of us who participated with you last Monday were thrilled.

Enclosed herewith is a check in the sum of $100.00 made to the order of CORE by Local 105, I.L.G.W.U. of which Martin L. Cohen is Manager. Mr. Cohen and his Local have asked for the honor of redeeming the pledge which we made to you at the Cocktail Party last Sunday.

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Cordially yours,

Gerard M. Weisberg

GMW/bs
enc. Check $100.00

* Denotes State Committeemen

LIBERAL PARTY

160 WEST 44th STREET :: NEW YORK 36, N. Y.

September 1, 1964

Received from James Farmer

Address 38 Park Row, NYC 38

The Sum of One $ 1.00

The Liberal News

A 7143

H. Miller

Treasurer

1560 BROADWAY • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10036 • TELEPHONE: JUDSON 2-1100

Liberal Party
OF NEW YORK STATE

SEP 2 1964

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HENRY DAVID
EDWARD KLEIN
CLARENCE SENIOR

Executive Director
BEN DAVIDSON

Asst. Exec. Director
EDWARD MORRISON

September 1, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Friend:

Enclosed please find the receipt for your subscription to the Liberal News, official publication of the Liberal Party of New York State.

Do feel free to express your opinions from time to time on the Liberal News. We welcome suggestions for its improvement.

If you have friends to whom you would like us to send sample copies, just let us have their names and addresses.

Sincerely yours,

Ben Davidson

BEN DAVIDSON
Executive Director

BD:bb
Encl.

1560 BROADWAY • NEW YORK, N. Y., 10036 • TELEPHONE: JUDSON 2-1100

file Liberal Party

Liberal Party

OF NEW YORK STATE

DEC 8 1964

Chairman
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CLARENCE SENIOR

Executive Director
BEN DAVIDSON

Asst. Exec. Director
EDWARD MORRISON

December 7, 1964

BE SURE TO READ
THIS LETTER

To All Members of the State
Policy Committee:

We must apologize for the complications with regard to the date of the meeting of the State Policy Committee. After having made a change to Monday, December 14th and having sent out the notices to you, we were informed that the New York State Electors for President and Vice-President of the United States have been summoned to meet in Albany on that date and would be unable to return in time for the Policy Committee meeting. This would involve Dr. Timothy W. Costello, David Dubinsky and Alex Rose.

We are therefore compelled to change the date of the meeting once again to TUESDAY, DECEMBER 15th at 8 P.M. at State Headquarters, 165 West 46th Street, 14th Fl. Please bear with us but there is an element of rejoicing with the cause of the problem- namely, that 3 officers of the Liberal Party were elected as Electors for President and Vice-President of the United States.

We therefore ask you to make a special effort to attend the Policy Committee meeting which will take place on TUESDAY, DECEMBER 15th at 8 P.M.

Sincerely yours,

Ben Davidson

Ben Davidson
Executive Director

P.S. Please phone us and let us know whether you will attend.

out of town

NYC politics

Congress of Racial Equality - CORE
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
(212) CO 7-6270
Attn: Alan Gartner

CORE's FARMER TALK WITH LINDSAY

New York City, November 8th, 1965 - James Farmer, National Director of CORE, will be meeting with Mayor-elect John Lindsay today at 2 p.m. at the Hotel Roosevelt. The meeting, requested by Mr. Farmer, follows Mr. Farmer's analysis of the Negro vote as the "decisive swing vote" in the election of Mr. Lindsay, with 43% of the Negro vote cast in favor of Mr. Lindsay. Mr. Farmer made concrete proposals in such areas as Schools, Housing, Employment, Anti-Poverty, Hospitals, Welfare and Appointments.

I. Mr. Farmer urged the extension of the concept of citizen participation in all areas of city life. Not only should the poor play the dominant role in the policy-making for the anti-poverty program but there should be representatives of those served by the city hospitals, the city's welfare programs in policy-making positions for those and other programs. There should be "No service without representation."

II. On Schools Mr. Farmer proposed (a) that the Mayor-elect act to end the shocking discrepancy in fully licensed teachers between Negro and white schools. The CORE leader proposed that this discrepancy be cut in half by September, 1966 and eliminated by September, 1967. (b) He also urged the establishment of at least 125 all-day neighborhood elementary schools, and year-round programs at all grade levels. (c) Further, Mr. Farmer proposed that a commitment be made to all children that they will attend full sessions by the fall of 1966.

(d) School integration must be accelerated by the use of educational parks with a "freeze" placed on all new school construction of permit accumulation of capital funds to build large numbers of educational parks. (e) In the interim, a proposal was made whereby each school district would consist of six (or multiples of six) schools, each serving a single grade for the entire district and when the year ends, all of the pupils would remain in the same school with it now serving the next higher grade.

III (a) On Housing, Mr. Farmer insisted that there be no displacement of families by public programs without at least an equivalent amount of new low-income housing constructed. (b) In order to accomplish the necessary rehabilitation of the city's present housing stock, increased housing inspectors are necessary and the (c) Municipal Court judges must come to treat violators of the housing code as the criminals they are. (d) The rights of tenants in public housing must be respected by the housing authority which means an end to all-hours inspections and arbitrary regulations. (e) To enhance integration of public housing, all applicants should be placed on a single central list with no individual project preferences respected unless it favors integration. Further, Mr. Lindsay was urged to take the lead in seeking adequate funding of the rent subsidy program now mired in Congress without an appropriation.

IV In employment, (a) the city must work to generate new jobs both in the public and the private sector. (b) Further development is necessary in the area of non-professional jobs, (c) while Mr. Farmer urged that city contracts be signed only with companies and unions who can show both no present racial discrimination and the taking of affirmative steps to increase minority-group employment. (d) On all city contracts, expecially new construction, a stated precentage of all jobs should be reserved for the umemployed and the underemployed. (e) To assure a decent wage for all who work, Mr. Lindsay was urged to work for a national minimum wage of $2.00 for all employers of four or more persons, and pending that to seek such a program in New York City and New York State.

V An entirely civilian police review board was (a) called for as an essential step in developing police-community confidence. (b) Also, there must be increased recruitment of minority-group members for police work and extended human relations training for all policeman. (c) The present rule requiring off-duty officers to carry their service revolvers should be revoked as a danger to policeman and civilians alike.

VI The anti-poverty program must be vitalized by the (a) heavy infusion of citizen participation. (b) The head of the city's anti-poverty program should be other than a city official. Further, (c) all anti-poverty programs as well as the city's central program should include a dominant role for the poor in policy-making. (d) The anti-poverty program must emphasise job generation with training built into the job, and the increased use of non-professionals with the opportunity for career development as a result of a combination of job experience and formal schooling.

VII The city's hospitals (a) must serve their poor patients no less well than the best private hospitals, (b) and the hospitals clientele should play a role in setting its policies.

VIII The Welfare program must serve to rehabilitate its clients not seek to catch them as "cheaters" nor to maintain them on "the dole." Again the principle of citizen participation should be extended so as to give the welfare client a major role in shaping the welfare programs.

IX Making no individaul recommendations for appointments, Mr. Farmer did point out (a) the critical importance to the Negro community of such postitions as members of the Board of Education, Commissioner of Housing, Police Commissioner, head of the city's anti-poverty program, Commissioner of Hospitals, and Commissioner of Welfare. (b) Mr. Farmer also noted the dominantly minority-group polulation served by these agencies and suggested that in the selection of department heads and senior officials cognizance be taken of the importance of a Negro appointee.

Politics NYC

LINDSAY VOTE IN THE NEGRO DISTRICTS

	TOTAL VOTE	LINDSAY VOTE	LINDSAY %
MANHATTAN (76th, 77th, 78th, 79th A.D.)	95,051	39,930	42
BROOKLYN (46th, 51st A.D.)	42,551	17,942	42
QUEENS (22nd A.D.)	29,544	14,600	49
TOTAL	167,146	72,472	43

MANHATTAN

76th A.D. Yorkville, & East Harlem (95% Puerto Rican & 5% Negro	23,173	10,286	44
77th A.D. Mt. Morris & West Harlem (80% Negro & 20% Puerto Rican)	19,238	6,137	32
78th A.D. Morningside Heights (82% Negro)	27,567	14,189	51
79th A.D. City College & Upper Harlem (80% Negro)	25,073	9,318	37
TOTAL	95,051	39,930	42

BROOKLYN

46th A.D. Bedford-Stuyvesant (92% Negro)	18,380	7,806	42
51st A.D. Fort Green & Bedford Stuyvesant (60% Negro)	24,171	10,136	41
TOTAL	42,551	17,952	42

QUEENS

22nd A.D. St. Albans-South Jamaica (90% Negro)	29,544	14,600	49

file Politics, NY

These issues should serve as guide lines for discussion and questions with John V. Lindsay. Be most interested in what his positions are regarding the following.

1. Taxes. Are you in favor of a major revision of the city's tax structure so as to eliminate recessive taxation which casts an undue burden on New York's poor? Specifically, will you seek a revision of the basic dual concept of sales taxes and real estate taxes?

2. Housing. Of New York's 8000,000 structures, 43,000 are slums. These slums are occupied by nearly one-fifth of New York's total population. Will you institute an immediate program for the rehabilitation of existing slum buildings and a program for the construction of new buildings which will ultimately replace the existing slums? To be specific, would you be prepared for an aggressive use of existing legislation permiting tax abatement and loan funds and assistance in securing Federal or Federally guaranteed loan funds for rehabilitation? Would you be willing to use the receivership law agressively? Would you be willing to triple the number of housing inspectors and, in addition, put substantive inspection duties on the health and fire departments so as to bring the number of active inspectors up to necessary levels? Would you be in favor of legislation assisting rent strikes? Would you terminate the sale of city land, much of which can be immediately used or will be required for use within the next few years for redevelopment by the public? Would you favor the use of under utilized areas, such as old commercial structures in downtwon New York, Hunt's Point section and so forth, for the development of new housing? Would you be in favor of racially and economically integrated public housing in lieu of the new style ghettos which have been built in the last few years? Would you be prepared to allocate not less than five per cent of the City's annual budget for the eradication of slums?

3. Welfare. Would you be prepared to revise the welfare system so as to provide for public recognition of the right to welfare on the part of those who cannot find their economic situation, with dignity and honor? For example, would you favor permitting people on welfare to earn at least some money so that welfare funds could be used to give them a start rather than posing people, as a present, with the alternative of welfare or earning too little to maintain their families?

4. Wages. Do you favor $1.50 minimum wage, to be extended to all so-called charitable institutions? Do you favor removing the exemptions from the labor laws which certain institutions now enjoy?

5. Education. What would you do to secure quality integrated education in New York City? Specifically, what allocations would you make in terms of teachers and funds to bring slum schools up to parity in quality and what steps would you take to eliminate the impact of gerrimandering of school districts which plagues New York City?

6. Police. Would you be in favor of a civilian review board with substantial powers to revise police department procedures and to punish policemen who brea the law? What other steps would you take to return the Police Department to civilian control? What steps would you take to eliminate such unlawful pplice activities as the Bureau of Special Services, widetapping, searches without warrants and the like? What steps would you take to protect New York citizens against beatings at police precincts and the kind of practices which led to the Whitmore case? What steps would you take to limit the police use of deadly force, such as in the Gilligan case and in the many other cases in New York when citizens are shot by policemen without sound reason? Do you believe that it is better that a criminal escape or that he be shot and killed?

7. Air Pollution. What steps would you take to reduce the dangerous air pollution which now infects New York City? Specifically, would you be prepared to curb abusive practices by the New York City Transit Authority, Con Edison and other major contributors to pollution? Would you be prepared to give the Department adequate budgetary funds?

8. Administration of Justice. The situation in New York today is that a poor man has the devil's own time securing justice, particularly in the criminal courts. Would you favor substantial neighborhood legal assistance programs and a strong public defender system to counteract the helpnessness of New York's poorer citizens when in contact with legal problems? Would you be prepared to institute a substantial campaign against consumer frauds, particularly on the retail financing level? Would you be prepared to institue a campaign to curb neihgborhood price discrimination by chain stores? Would you be prepared to appoint or to cause the appointment of judges in the criminal courts and the housing courts who are not subject to pressure by District Attorneys and landlords?

9. Rent Control. Do you favor continued rent control? Specifically, do you favor the principle that it is the community's obligation to provide housing of adequate quality for a dignified life at a price which people can afford?

10. City Owned Housing. What steps will you take to eliminate the City as the community's worst and largest slumlord? Will you require the Welfare Department to find housing for its clients? In buildings which rigidly meet city codes? Will you end the system whereby relocation intensifies ghetto segregation and population density in the ghettos?

11. Employment Discrimination. What steps will you take to cause the enforcement of all laws relating to employment discrimination in New York City? For example, will you require all city contractors to show that they have an integrated labor force before they can be considered as bidders? Will you cause the institution of prosecutions against employers and unions under the Civil Rights Law? Will you institute an intensive program of remedial education to compensate for the impact of discriminatory education suffered by many New York City residents? Will you provide for substantial enforcement and investigative facilities, as well as employment office facilities, to help minority groups secure employment?

12. 12. Administrative Structure. Will you appoint a deputy mayor with plenary powers to plan and execute housing programs and land use programs? Will you replace the City Commission on Human Rights with a strong and fully empowered agency?

13. War on Poverty. Will you take measures to utilize WOP money properly, that is to say will you remove it from political control and cause it to be applied to significant ends?

14. Public Authorities. Will you take steps to recapture for public purposes the vast sums which have been accumulated by the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority, the Port of New York Authority and other public authorities operating in the New York Area and which are being adminstrators private fiefs by a few willful men?

15. Cultural Activities. What steps will you take to further cultural activities in the City of New York at prices which all the people can afford? Will you make public funds available for theatre, modern dance and music, motion picture making etc? Will you develop a program to assist the fine arts? Will they be controlled objectively or by the usual professional cliques?

16. New York City Broadcasting. One of the most intolerable wastes of a public resource is Channel 31. This enormously valuable television channel is being utilized for the showing of sponsored films and a few vaguely educational programs. Will you allocate to Channel 31 a sufficient budget to make this public resource into what it should be?

Politics NYC

November 12, 1965

Draft CORE paper for presentation to John Lindsay

Negro voters in New York and elsewhere demonstrated in the recent election that they respond to candidates who offer programs focused on their needs and who take into account their desires, regardless of the candidate's party. We believe that the prime concern of an elected official who seeks to serve that constituency, and indeed to serve his entire constituency, is to take that constituency seriously. That means to seek out its members, solicit their views, listen to their ideas, respond to their suggestions. It means giving the people a real voice in the decisions which affect the vital areas of their lives. It means, in no original phrase, "giving the government back to the people."

The neighborhood campaign centers of the recent campaign were, we believe, a step in the right direction. For the first time, in recent history, a candidate brought his campaign to the people in their own neighborhoods. We believe that this is an area where further development can and should take place. These neighborhood centers can become the focus of community concern, serving not only as a dispensor of information about and services from the municipality, but also as a forum for the direction of ideas, complaints, proposals, etc., to the borough and city government. The concept of the government as the "servant" of the people should be broad enough to encompass both the idea that the government must provide necessary services for the people but also that the people themselves must play a continuing and important role in the definition of what these services are to be and how and by whom they are to be performed.

The language of the Economic Opportunity Act, which provides that programs should be "developed, conducted, and administered" with the "maximum feasible participation" of the affected groups, provides a model for the type of citizen involvement which we seek. And such involvement ought not be limited to the anti-poverty program alone, but can and should be extended to include such areas as hospitals, welfare programs, schools, etc. (See below for further amplification.) Indeed, one may state the slogan of, "No services without representation."

And it is important that the Mayor of New York not only seek the implementation of such ideas within the City itself, but also take a leading role on the national scene to promote the idea of citizen participation.

Within the context of increased citizen responsibility for and in their government, we would like to make a number of comments in several areas of city life. These comments are not meant to be an exhaustive examination of all the relevant issues, but rather to be suggestive and give an indication of areas of concern and priority. In each of these areas what is of utmost importance is that concerned attention be given to the needs of the community and that responsible and responsive action be taken--promptly and in more than token fashion. The people of New York"s ghettoes have undertaken an act of faith--an act of faith in the possibility of a good life for them in this city. This faith must be rewarded for their well-being and for the well-being of the entire city.

SCHOOLS

An arsenal of evidence is available to demonstrate that New York mistreats and miseducates its ghetto youth. Whatever

their state of cultural or environmental deprivation when they enter the school system--and we question the entire concept of such deprivation it is clear that the school"s do little to offset that and indeed serve to perpetuate and even accentuate this deprivation. There can be no more damning indictment of the public schools of the City of New York that to point to the fact that in the very schools which need competant teachers the most, there are the fewest such teachers. The Russell Sage Foundation's report, "Pupils and Schools in New York City," shows that as the school composition becomes blacker the percentage of teachers with Permanent Licenses decreases, such that there is not a single junior high-school in the City of New York with 85% or more Negro student population which has as many as 65% of its teachers with Permanent Licenses; while, on the other hand, over half of the predominantly white schools have more than 65% of their teachers with Permanent Licenses (Table 44; of Table 26 for Elementary School statistics. Eleanor Bernet Sheldon and Raymond A.Glazer, PUPILS AND SCHOOLS IN NEW YORK CITY: A FACT BOOK, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1965).

**********A first priority item of the new administration is to bring to a rapid end this type of discrimination against Negro pupils. This administration must commit itself to this goal and must set a timetable to bring it about. We urge that this discrepancy in the qualifications of teachers serving black and white children be cut in half with the opening of school in September, 1966, and ended entirely by September, 1967.

That there are very real shortcomings in the educational performance of Negro and Puerto Rican youth is evident to all. It is less than useful for us here to argue about the causes of

such failures. We can all agree, however, that the need is for more and not less schooling, for better and not less equipped schools, for fewer and not more children per teacher, for more and not less help for teachers.

**********We propose that a major program be undertaken to open at least half of the 225 special service elementary schools and 60 junior high schools as all-day neighborhood schools by the fall of 1966. Further, we urge that a substantial number of the city's elementary, junior high schools, and senior And most obvious, all students must have the opportunity to receive a full day's schooling; high schools remain open as all-year schools. This goal must be reached by the fall of 1966. Through such means as longer school days and a longer school year, as well as improved teacher training, and curriculum materials (especially geared to the needs and environment of the urban child), the shockingly poor product which is turned out by the schools of New York City in its pupils can be improved. And while we favor sharp increases in such programs as "Operation Headstart, " we must not allow concern for the pre-school child to mask the need for massive changes in the upper grades lest we not only "give-up" on the pupils there but also lose the gains made in "Operation Headstart" as pupils encounter the debilitating effect of the "regular" system. (Unfortunately preliminary evidence already indicates that much of the gains of such special pre-school programs are being lost by the children presently in grades 2 and 3.)

**********In addition, steps must be taken to reduce the pupil-teacher ratio so that children may receive more individualized attention from their teacher. Serving both the end of freeing increased teacher time for attention to individual students, as well as increasing the effectiveness of communication between pupil and teacher, there should be a stepped-up use of --

nonprofessionals as school aides. These non-professional positions should not be viewed as "dead-end" jobs but rather should offer further career opportunities up to and including the opportunity of becoming a fully-certified teacher through a combination of work experience and formal education.

**********We approve the so-called "Allen Plan" for school reorganization as a means for further school integration on a 4-4-4 basis and urge that action be taken to implement it to that end. The present situation where but one instance of implementation of the 4-4-4 plan now exists shows considerably less than the necessary drive from the Board of Education. Further, we believe that the present system of trade schools must be eliminated entirely--they have become little more than "parking places" for children whom the system has given up for lost. All children should attend a comprehensive high school for four years, and vocational training should follow such general schooling. And we urge efforts to seek maintenance allowances, paid through federal anti-poverty funds, for such students.

Along with and at the same time as we provide quality education for all the city's children, we must provide integrated education. Educatiors are unanimous in stating that only through integrated educational experiences can children learn to live in the polycultural world which will characterize their future lives. And long experience has taught us that only where white children are is their significant municipal concern for the educational facilities. Because it is right educationally, and because its absence serves to mark the Negro child as a pariah, we insist that forthright steps be taken to turn back the tide of the increasing segregation of Negro children in the New York City public schools.

**********It is clear that no one step or technique will integrate New York's schools, and we are bound to the use of no single means toward that end. However, as illustrative of the dimension of the problem and the necessity for broad and far-reaching solutions we suggest for your consideration the proposal that a commitment be made to the use of educational parks as the single best solution to the problem of school integration--a method which also provides important susbstantive educational and financial advantages too. In order to implement such a commitment--that is to expend the large sums of money to erect many such educational parks--we propose an immediate "freeze" on all new school construction, so as to accumulate the necessary funds and sites for these parks. In the meanwhile, we propose that all elementary schools be grouped in school districts in multiples of 6 (that is 6, 12, or 18, etc. elementary schools in each district) and that each school house all pupils in the entire district in a single grade, viz. School A contain all the 1st grade pupils in the district. School B all the 2nd grade pupils. etc. At the end of each school year, rather than the pupils moving to a new school for the next grade, the school itself advance a year so that the school which had housed all of the district's 1st grade pupils, now be used by the same pupils for the 2nd grade, etc. For junior high schools a similar plan can be used. And for high schools we propose that all "district" high schools be eliminated, and that all high school students be eligible to attend any high school in the city, based on a first-come first-served basis; of course retaining the special eligibility high schools based upon meaningful and non-culture-bound examinations. We offer the above proposal not as one to which we are irrevocably bound but to emphasize the need for creative thought applied to the problem of school integration.

We present it as a proposal and not as a firm plan, not because we value integration the less but because we know that the urgency of the need demands the most constructive solution.

HOUSING

The fact of massive numbers of our fellow citizens living in slum housing is one which we can neither tolerate nor suffer for very much longer. As the residents of Harlem or Bedford-Stuyvesant could have told all who would listen, the housing conditions of the city's Negroes is far worse than ever reported in official figures and acknowledged by city spokesmen. The reduction and ultimate elimination of slums must be a matter of the highest priority for the new administration.

**********The very depth and intensity of the problem demands the broadest range of solutions. First, there must be no more public programs which result in a net loss to the city of low-rent apartments. Before any new urban renewal or other public programs are built, low-cost housing equivalent or greater than that to be destroyed must be constructed and be made available on a first priority to those to be displaced. In addition the displacees must receive adequate relocation allowances and services from the federal government where possible, from the city where Necessary.

**********The housing stock presently existing must either be brought up to minimum code standards or rehabilitated if possible, and if not rehabilitatable torn down and the new sites used either for small "vest-pocket" housing or parks. Those who maintain substandard housing must be treated as the criminals they are, identified by an enlarged corps of housing inspectors and punished by an increasingly concerned judiciary.

**********The role of the judiciary in the enforcement of the housing code has often been neglected. However, the shocking statistics that the average fine for a housing code violation was little more than $10. last year, reveals the cavalier attitude with which most municipal court judges apparently treat such violations. As the appointer of such judges, the mayor can act to impress upon his nominees to the bench the high role which they can and should play in the provision of decent housing for their fellow citizens. The use of jail sentences should become a standard punishment for the repeated violator.

**********The resource of public housing must continue to provide for many of the city's low-income families. Because housing is public, that should not mean that the tenants rights are invaded or his dignity denied. The right of each New Yorker to decent housing should be recognized, and the arbitary and unreasonable invasion of individual rights which characterizes many of the procedures of the city's housing authority must be brought to an end.

In order to reduce the segregation of the public housing projects, the practice of giving to each individual applicant the right to select a particular project must be ended. There should be a single city-wide list of applicants, and applicants should be assigned to apartments in the order of their application, making exceptions only for such legitimate reasons as access to needed public facilities as hospitals, etc.

**********The present segregation of the poor in public housing has a deleterious effect not only on the projects themselves, but serves to increase the segregation of all aspects of the city's life. Therefore the government's proper subsidy of housing for those who cannot afford to provide safe and sanitary housing for

themselves must come increasingly in the form of rent subsidies, thus allowing the tenant a freer choice of housing facilities. The new major should take the lead in assuring that the funding of this federal program is adequate for the city's needs and, if necessary, in seeking additional state and city funds.

EMPLOYMENT

The city's role in the employment area is varied; it can help to encourage the generation of jobs by private industry; it can provide jobs itself; it can assure all of equal access to jobs; it can serve the interests of the underemployed and the unemployed; and it can assure that those who have work receive a decent wage. We urge the new administration to act in all of these areas.

**********Both in the area of private employment and public employment the city has a responsibility to push for increased jobs for minorities and for jobs in a broader range of job areas and with broader job responsibilities. An area where important progress can be made is in the development of non-professional jobs in both the public and private sector. The city can help in this area by providing training programs for non-professionals, liberalize its own civil service requirements to allow for the extensive use of non-professionals, and re-examine its own job requirements and job specifications to increase the availability of jobs to non-professionals.

**********To assure all of equal access to jobs the city must first put its own house in order. An immediate step would be the adoption of a rule that no city agency will sign a contract with any employer or union which cannot demonstrate that it has taken affirmative action to increase minority employment. We demand here not a mere showing of no present discrimination but the

necessity for an indication of present affirmative action. A system of pre-award conferences should be instituted to assure that all contractors, subcontractors, and unions meet these requirements.

The system of kinship inheritance of job access, particularly virulent in the construction trades unions, must be brought to an immediate end wherever it exists. Further, union entrance and apprenticeship rolls must be appropriately adjusted in order to take into account the previous pattern of exclusion of Negroes and other minorities. Having deprived Negroes of opportunities for a century it is not enough to now offer each his present starting point and dub that "equal treatment."

To meet the needs of the under-employed and the unemployed, we believe that a stated percentage of jobs on all city contracts be reserved for such persons. The massive school and housing building, housing rehabilitation and hospital building programs, park and recreation facility provision, as well as the servicing of these new facilities, will mean thousands of new jobs. To improve the quality of service offered to our citizens and to provide jobs for tens of thousands, such a provision for affirmative action is demanded.

**********The poor of our city consists not only of those unable to find work but also include many who work but at substandard wages. Therefore, we support a federal minimum wage of $2.00 an hour covering all employers of four or more persons, regardless of their business. We urge the new Mayor to support such national legislation, and we urge the new mayor to seek its adoption in New York City and New York pending such national action.

<u>POLICE</u>

There is no more awesome power than that characterized by the

club, the gun, and the badge of the policeman. And there is no more necessary service in a free society than that of providing law and order. And there is no agency with greater power to abuse its authority than the police. To match responsibility with that power, justice with law and order, and to check abuse is the responsibility of the mayor.

**********In a free society the police provide law and order only to the degree to which they receive citizen confidence and respect. Such confidence and respect come to the police not as a matter of right but as something which is earned. As a step toward increased citizen confidence and respect in the police, we urge the appointment of a civilian review board. Such a board should be comprised entirely of civilians not as a way to punish policemen but as a way to increase the likelihood of citizen confidence in the work of such a board. No institution is capable of sitting in judgment of unbiased observers more than the police.

**********No arm of the government comes into more frequent contact with the citizenry than the police. And no arm of the government comes into contact with the citizenry in what must be described as a quasi-punitive role more often. This being the case, there is no more important matter than the training of the police in human relations. Such training must encompass far more than textbook lessons on brotherhood. The police trainee must come to hear and listen to the views of a broad segment of our citizenry, gain an understanding of their aspirations and fears, their hopes and desires. And the policeman must know in terms so unequivocal that he will never forget that having donned the uniform of a police officer he may never use its power to project his private prejudices or predelections, for to do so weakens not only his position as an officer but the very worth

of the entire police force.

**********In order to represent all of the people of the city, the police department must conduct an immediate and intensive recruitment drive to seek out qualified minority group members to become police officers.

**********There is increasing evidence that the present police regulation requiring officers to always carry their service revolvers presents a danger not only to themselves but also to the public at large. We call for an immediate reconsideration of this regulation by the new police commissioner.

**********There is no justice when it is gained by deceiving of the ignorant or persecution of the poor. Immediately following detention and being brought to the station house, a prisoner should be informed of his full constitutional rights, including his right to remain silent and his right to counsel. When the individual is unable to afford counsel, funds for counsel should be provided by the city. And the system of bail--which is little more than a form of economic discrimination against the poor must be reformed so that only those whose return for trial can be shown to be in serious doubt should be required to post bond. The reforms in this area begun by theVera Foundation now merit rapid application throughout the city.

ANTI POVERTY

The role of the citizen in his government has been discussed before. It is in regard to the anti-poverty program that a significant break-through has occured in American life, epitomized in the phrase "maximum feasible participation" of the affected groups. This participation in its development, conduct, and administration is essential to the success of the anti-poverty program. Without such participation the anti-poverty program becomes little more

than another hand-out, doomed to failure.

**********As a first step in the expression of its commitment to the principle of meaningful citizen participation, the new administration should replace the present director of the anti-poverty program with someone who is not a city official. Further, the policy-making board of the city's anti-poverty program, as well as the boards' of all anti-poverty programs which recieve any city support, should and must include dominat representation of the poor by people selected by the poor themselves. In no other way can there be an adequate expression of the people's right to decide for themselves.

**********As for program, there are three areas which we wish to see stressed. The first is that training without jobs is less than nothing for it only further discourages the trainee while creating an army composed of an ever higher skilled group of the unemployed. Instead of training and then job, the training must be built into the job with the government providing subsidies to the employer for training. Second, anti-poverty programs in the field of education must not neglect the upper grades by exclusive attention to pre-school. We must not give up on these already beyond pre-school, and must at least equal if not exceed the imput into the pre-school program at each grade level. And third, the anti-poverty program itself should encourage the development of non-professional career lines.

HOSPITALS

The city hospital system is indeed the medical care system for the poor. There can be little doubt that they now do not provide quality medical attention for their patients. The horror of a Harlem Hospital must end immediately.

**********Immediate steps must be taken to bring all city

hospitals up to standards of cleanliness, staff, and medical care no lower than those maintained at the best private hospitals.

**********Welfare work, as well as hospital work, should provide opportunities for non-professionals. And these jobs should offer the opportunity for career development so that the non-ppofessional can combine work experience and formal education in order to reach professional status.

WELFARE

The present welfare system is now more a system of policing the client than serving his needs. The present regulations, national and local not only encourage avoidance of the rules, but may indeed be said to contribute affirmatively to the further deterioration of the clients' condition. Not the perpetuation of itself, nor the purging from the rolls of alleged "welfare cheaters" but the pffering to all the services of the society as their right and the goal of rehabilitation should be the guiding principles of New York's welfare program.

**********Just as the poor should have a voice in the anti-poverty program and in the policies of the city's hospitals, so too should the welfare clients have a say in the policits and operation of the city's welfare program. Not a dole given by a beneficent society but a right taken by those who need it.

**********Welfare work, as well as hospital work, should provide opportunities for non-professionals. And these jobs should offer the opportunity for career development so that the non-professional can combine work experience and formal education in order to reach professional status.

APPOINTMENTS

At this time we wish to make no recommedations regarding individuals for city office. We do this not because we are unaware of the

importance of the individual who administers program--we are fully aware of the individual's importance. We do not do it because we believe that more important now is the setting out of programs which we feel are necessary to serve the interests of the Negro community and the entire city.

There are several positions of particular importance to the Negro community. Some of these are the members of the Board of Education, Commissioner of Housing, Police Commissioner, head of the city's anti-poverty program, Commissioner of Welfare, and the Commissioner of Hospitals. As you endeavor to fill these positions and the other senior officials in these departments and we hail the standards of non-partisanship and qualifications which you have announced--we request the opportunity to consult with you and your staff about them.

We urge that in your consideration of candidates for these positions you take cognizance of the fact that the population served by these agencies is predominantly Negro and thus the importance of a Negro departmental head.

politics
NYC

CONFIDENTIAL

December 21, 1965

The Hon. John V. Lindsay
Mayor-Elect, City of New York
Hotel Roosevelt
Madison Avenue and 45th Street
New York, New York

Dear John:

Already, even before assuming office, you have injected a much needed element of excitement and motion into New York City's administration. Your moves in many areas have already been with sureness and skill. We are all very happy about this, but we realize that the most difficult decisions lie ahead.

I know how you must be wrestling with the problem of a police commissioner. And I know that conflicting advice and suggestions must have come from many different sources on this particular matter, so that I hesitate to add to the morass a recommendation of my own. But the issue is such a crucial one and the possibilities so great for creative action to make New York a peaceful community of progress, that I decided to send you, quite privately, a recommendation.

The man I am recommending to you for this post is not a Negro; all factors considered, I do not feel that a Negro police commissioner would have a ghost of a chance of succeeding in New York City at the present time. He is a first rate and highly qualified policeman, having served in New York City from 1940 until 1962. He has exceptional knowledge and skill in intergroup relations activities, having been a member of the National Advisory Committee on Police and Community Relations of the NCCJ since its inception. He moves easily in the Puerto Rican community as well as in the Negro community. He is a scholar holding degrees in sociology and psychology, as well as a Ph.D. in Public Administration with major fields in correctional and police administration.

I can think of no one in the country better equipped for the job than this man, Dr. William P. Brown. I have had the privilege of lecturing in two pioneering seminars conducted by Dr. Brown at New York University for police officials from cities all over the country, North and South.

If appointed, like any good policeman, Dr. Brown would be an impartial administrator of law enforcement. In other words, while he has a deep and abiding interest in intergroup relations, he would without hesitation arrest me or anyone else if we violated the law. He would bring to his task the kind of imagination and modern thinking which is so rare in police departments. I believe that his appointment would prove to be a major asset to your administration. It is for this reason that I respectfully submit his name for your consideration.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:ns

P.S. This letter will not be released to the press or its contents publicized in any way whatsoever. I am also enclosing for your information a brief biographical sketch of Dr. Brown.

Politics NYC

Call ↓ for resume on Brown

November 24, 1965

Mr. Edward P. Gottlieb
War Resisters League
5 Beekman Street
New York, New York 10038

Dear Ed:

I do remember Bill Brown and think most highly of his qualifications for such an appointment. While I am not sure that I have sufficient influence with Lindsay to insure his consideration, I would very much like to talk with Bill Brown any time he will be available. If he is coming back to New York very shortly, I would like to meet with him.

I would be glad to drop a line to Lindsay making such a recommendation if you think that it would be useful.

Sincerely,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:ns

On Wed -
O'Dwyer's bill - Ombudsman from City Council instead of Mayor's Office
Subst. for civ review bd

11:00 o'clock

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE

AFFILIATED WITH THE WAR RESISTERS INTERNATIONAL

5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK 38, N. Y. CORTLAND 7-4592

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Scott Nearing
Ruth Neuendorffer
Theodore Olson
Robert Pickus
George Reeves
Dorothy Rick
Ira Sandperl
Lawrence Scott
Mulford Sibley
Yone Stafford
Oliver Stone
William Sutherland
Lyle Tatum
Denny Wilcher
Frances Witherspoon
George Yamada

November 15, 1965

NOV 17 1965

James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York City

Dear Jim,

I was very grateful to Norman Thomas for sharing the letter you sent him explaining the circumstances of CORE'S action with respect to the CORElator and Jim Peck. Unfortunately, Jim's interpretaion of events created an adverse image of CORE which none of us wanted to accept. I shall of course try to reconcile Jim to the import of the events as you described them. I do hope and expect that Jim's devotion or willingness to serve CORE will in no way be diminished.

While I'm writing I should like to recall to you a memorandum which you and I and a number of others received perhaps a year ago from Roger Baldwin. It incorporated a profile of Professor William Brown of the State University and retired inspector in our city Police Department. In addition to the nice things Roger said, I happen to know that he was individually and solely responsible for the first school integration moves in the Glendale-Ridgewood area. He worked all summer with all manner of groups in Queens to secure a peaceful integration. Thoughthe children from Bedford Stuyvesant were met by a howling mob this was, nevertheless, an isolated opposition due to Bill Brown's efforts.

Baldwin had hoped that Bill might be appointed by Wagner when Murphy left. But he should be even more acceptable to Lindsay. I know you would be interested in the paper he will read this Wednesday in St. Louis on a City Civilian Review and Ombudsman. I think it well meets the test of Civil Rights and Civil Liberites.

You undoubtedly recall the Conference he ran in 1963 on Civil Disobedience for the American Police Executive at

which I spoke on Monday and you and Wyatt Tee Walker on Tuesday.

Bill be stopping off on his way back fro St. Louis on Whursday, and maybe stay over for Friday. If you can find time to meet him you can call me at school, Ac 2 0689.

Bill should be a credit to any administration Lindsay may organize.

With best wishes,

Ed

Edward P. Gottlieb

epg: m

PUBLISHED BY THE ORIGINAL LOUISIANA KU KLUX KLAN

THE QUESTION
WHO BOUGHT JESSE CUTRER?

Was it CORE? Was it LBJ?

In the beginning of the Racial troubles in Bogalusa, the Mayor assured the people that he COULD & WOULD handle this invasion of trouble makers. When the problem began the Mayor said that he would not give a Parade Permit. Cutrer did give the Parade Permit. The people of Bogalusa respected the Mayor's judgement. The tax-paying people gave up their streets and humbled themselves. The people were ORDERED off THEIR own streets, by a Police Force, whom the people pay. This was done by direct order of the Bogalusa Mayor, the man that was trusted. NO VIOLENCE ERUPTED. The people did EVERYTHING in their power to see that the Mayor and his Council were not interfered with in their efforts to save the city from this DEGRADATION. As the people tried to preserve our Southern way of Life, the Mayor and Council were slowly selling the people out at every turn. The Mayor has repeatly GIVEN in. James Farmer did not have the support of the local Negroes. Mayor Cutrer is not giving the city of Bogalusa to the negro citizens of Bogalusa. No. He is giving the city to James Farmer and a handful of Negro Teenagers. NO PRESSURE was put on James Farmer and Dick Gregory to keep them out of Bogalusa. Not by the Mayor, the State Representative, the State Senator, or Congressman Morrison. This was not so when the WHITE CONSERVATIVES wanted to stage a Rally. Pressure was exerted from all levels, even the invited guest speakers were "leaned on".

The Governor, the Congressman, Jimmy Morrison, or his com-rats, Suksty Rayborn, and Buster Sheridan. John McKeithen asked for our vote and promised to serve the PEOPLE. We now ask, Big John, isn't this TRUE? What is happening under your administration?

Here is the list of elected officals who COULD & AND SHOULD have helped the People of Bogalusa. All these should be tarred and feathered.

MAYOR JESSIE CUTRER
REPRESENTATIVE SHERIDAN
SENATOR SIXTY RAYBORN
SHERIFF DORMAN CROWE
CONGRESSMAN JIMMY MORRISON
GOVERNOR JOHN MCKEITHEN
SENATOR RUSSELL LONG

Now the QUESTION. Why have these men, elected by the WHITE people turned their back on us in our time of need?

Is Communism so close? Who bought them? Who bought their HONOR and FOR HOW MUCH?

MAYBE SOME OF THESE PEOPLE:

1. Rowan Burris-Homosexual; he is free on bond at the present time, charged with contributing to the delinquency of a minor.
2. Robert Hicks-Official of the Negro Voters League.
3. A. Z. Young-Official of the Negro Voters League.
4. Michael Jones-Local Program Director for CORE.
5. Robert Taylor-Official of the Negro Voters League.
6. Victor Bussie-State President of ALF-CIO, Chairman for the committee of OUTSIDERS imported into Bogalusa by Mayor Jesse H. Cutrer, Jr., to solve our LOCAL problems.
7. Camel Gravel-Member of this IMPORTED MEDIATION BOARD.
8. Bascom D. Talley, Jr.,-Local representative for LBJ's federal compliance agency, "The Community Relations Service."
9. Ronnie Moore-State Field Representative for CORE.
10. Dick Gregory-Negro Comedian.
11. James Farmer-National Director for CORE.

Clara: Please set an appt. for next wk.

Tues.-Jan. 30.
11:30 AM

LYNX

AGENCE PHOTOGRAPHIQUE de PRESSE

Siège Social:
142 Rue Montmartre
Paris 2, Tel. Cen: 62-56
R. C. Seine No. 838.416

New York Office:
26 East 60th Street
New York 22, N. Y.
PLaza 9-2194
PL 5-5556

Jan. 22, 1962

Mr. James Farmer
Chairman, Congress for Racial Equality
38 Park Row, NYC

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Our agency is preparing for distribution to the magazine press in France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, and Great Britain a series of four articles, which will be illustrated with photographs, giving the fullest possible coverage of the subject "The Anti-Segregation Struggle in the USA."

Therefore I am writing to ask you to be kind enough to grant me an interview, in the course of which I hope to gather a complete picture of your organization's activities on a national scale against racial inequality.

The renown which you have won as chairman of the Congress for Racial Equality make this interview with you of primary importance for our series.

I should, therefore, be most grateful if you could fix a date for an interview in the near future. The sooner the better, since I shall thus be in a better position to pursue other lines of inquiry on this subject.

Please accept in advance my warm thanks for your courtesy in this matter.

Most respectfully,

Lillian Tonnaire-Taylor

Lillian Tonnaire-Taylor
Chief of Bureau

LYNX

AGENCE PHOTOGRAPHIQUE de PRESSE

Siege Social:
142 Rue Montmartre
Paris 2, Tel. Cen: 62-56
R. C. Seine No. 838.416

Lillian TONaire
PL 5-5556
415 E 58th St.
Stairway to Freedom

New York Office:
26 East 60th Street
New York 22, N. Y.
PLaza 9-2194

1. When was your organisation founded, and what were the circumstances which prompted its founding?
2. What activities has your organisation pursued since it was founded?
3. What successes have you had?
4. What is your present program?
5. In which cities of the United States do you have representatives?
6. Who are your supporters - moral, economic, and social?
7. What are your relations with, and your demands upon, the federal gouvernment at Washington?
8. Do you have relations with organisations or gouvernments outside the USA?
9. Could you give us a general picture of the problems of the black population of the United States?
10. What solution would you like to see of each of these problems?
11. Do you beleive that the United Nations can contribute to making an end of racial inequality?
12. How would you explain the origins of segregation in the USA and the causes which operate today?
13. Do you think that the new Kennedy administration has made a contribution toward resolving certain problems of segregation?
14. Do you think that in the years to come President Kennedy will undertake to resolve some of these problems in an effective manner?

I thank you !

1. Our organization is the Congress of Racial Equality, which we call CORE, founded in 1942 in Chicago, Illinois. It was founded by thirteen or fourteen young people who were students at the University of Chicago, who were studying Gandhi in India, and felt that the techniques used by Gandhi, nonviolent direct action, could be applied to the United States. We felt that the techniques would be very effective in race relations problems. There were tactical reasons that Negroes could not fight violently against discrimination--we are one-tenth of the total population of the United States; we do not have weapons. Many of us, in addition to that, felt that there was a principle involved, and that it would be more effective to fight with goodwill and nonviolence, rather than with violent weapons. We would try to create a society of friends, you might say.

2. Well, since 1942, our organization has held sit-ins--let me explain what I mean by that. Negroes and whites in an interracial group go into restaurants and when the Negroes are refused service, the party will just sit there and wait for service and sit as long as necessary, and go back the next day and after that, to seek service. We have held sit-ins at restaurants, stand-ins at cafeterias and theater lines, wade-ins in swimming pools and at public beaches, and so forth. Also, we have worked on employment discrimination and housing discrimination.

3. Well, I think it lis largely because of the sit-ins and stand-ins and the other demonstrations such as we have held in Northern cities since 1942, that discrimination in public places--at least places of public accommodations such as restaurants, hotels, theaters and so forth--is quite rare in Northern cities now. It has been done by our demonstrations and court cases, and by other organizations. In the South, we have also had successes--the student sit-ins, which began February 1, 1960, spread throughout the Southern part of the United

States, succeeded in desegregating lunch counters in 150 Southern cities. In our Freedom Rides, Negroes and whites got on buses as interstate passengers, and rode throughout the South, seeking to use bus terminal facilities: waiting rooms, rest rooms, the lunch counters and so forth, without discrimination. The Supreme Court said that we had that right, and we were testing the enforcement of the Supreme Court ruling. As a result of the Freedom Rides, some of us were beaten and many others had to spend long periods of time in Southern jails. The Interstate Commerce Commission, which is an agency of the federal government, issued an order which went into effect on November 1, 1961, saying that all the signs for colored and white in waiting rooms in the South must come down, and in their place must be put up signs saying that discrimination on the grounds of race or color was a violation of the federal order. These signs were to be posted not only in the waiting rooms but also in the buses. Since November 1, 1961, we have been testing throughout the South to see whether this order was being enforced. We found that in most of the Southern states and most of the Southern cities, this order is being enforced and Negroes can now use the facilities without segregation. There are exceptions to that; in the state of Mississippi there are only two cities where the bus terminals are no longer segregated. In the state of Louisiana, most of the cities are still segregated. Yes, I was arrested in Jackson, Mississippi on June 24, 1961 in the bus terminal waiting room. I had entered the waiting room with a group of my friends who were Freedom Riders. We started for the restaurant and there we were stopped by a policeman and arrested. The charge was breach of the peace, in spite of the fact that we were all peaceful and non-violent. I served 20 days in the Mississippi jail.

4. Our present program is, first of all, a mopping-up operation in interstate transportation: that is, to see to it that the federal laws are fully enforced in all the waiting rooms used by buses, trains and airplanes. We will not be

satisfied until compliance with federal orders is one hundred per cent. In addition to that we are going to see to it that discrimination in so-called private restaurants comes to an end in the South, and that in hotels and other places of public accommodation. Schools? Yes, the Supreme Court ruled back in 1954 that segregation in public schools is a violation of the Constitution. However, since that time, it was been seven years, and only seven percent of the Negro children in the South are attending integrated schools: just a few. We would consider it "token integration," and this is what we are trying to fight against. We feel that it is not much of a victory to have three or four Negro children in a city of 150,000 attending school with white children.

5. Well, we have different types of representatives. Now, we have chapters, or branches, in 60 or more cities about the country. About half of these are in the South and about half in the North. In the North, we have chapters in such cities as New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco, Los Angeles. We have 8 chapters in the state of South Carolina. We also have a chapter in New Orleans, Louisiana; in Baton Rouge, Louisiana and Shreveport, Louisiana; we have chapters in Tennessee and in Kentucky as well.

6. Well, we have many, many supporters. We have a list of members and associate members totalling 40,000, both white and Negro--I would say that they are about equally divided. All over the country, these persons help to contribute to the organization and support us financially. We send out membership appeals to them and they send us contributions annually, and this is our major method of keeping going financially. There are many more Americans who sympathize with what we are doing and we reach them through radio and television. I myself frequently appear on radio and television, as do other members of our staff, sometimes on networks, coast-to-coast hookups, so that millions of Americans listen to what wehave to say. We get their letters expressing sympathy and

support for what we are trying to do. I would say that many of the trade unions sympathize with what we are trying to do and send their contributions as well as aid in personnel. When we have picket lines picketing a company that discriminates in employment, very frequently some of the trade unions will send some of their members to join our picket lines. Also, we get support from churches both white and Negro, all over the country. Both Protestants and Catholics support the organization. We have a public education department which publishes a great deal of literature which we distribute as widely as we possibly can. We distribute it through mass meetings and a few organizations such as churches and trade unions. We also are preparing a documentary film about the Freedom Rides which we hope to show before two or three million American citizens all over the country in the next two years to let them know what CORE is doing and to urge their continued support.

7. We have no official relationship with the federal government. We are a voluntary organization, as distinguished from a governmental organization, but we do consult with friendly agencies in the federal government. On many occasions we have consulted with the Department of Justice in the federal government and have informed them of our plans. We do not ask their permission, nor can they tell us what to do; we decide on our own policies. As a matter of courtesy and as a matter of getting their support, we inform them of our plans in most situations. Now, as to our demands upon them, we urge the Department of Justice to take action; we pressure them, we push them. Whenever there is an incident of violence or denial of civil rights in a southern town that we know about, I immediately contact the Department of Justice and urge them to investigate and to take appropriate action. We also put pressure upon the President of the United States to take a firmer stand on these issues.

8. No, not really. We are an incorporated organization in the United States so that our operation is strictly within the confines of this country. However, we do have a friendly relationship with some of the officials of the new nations in Africa--we correspond with them and when they are over here we consult with them. However, this is strictly informal.

9. Yes, I would try to. It will have to be a summary picture, because this is an enormous problem. There are roughly twenty million Negro citizens in the United States. A little more than one tenth of the total population. Now, the great majority of the Negroes are in unskilled labor, though that situation is changing; more and more Negroes are getting education now and are intending to move to semi-skilled and skilled trades. A growing number of Negroes are entering the professions. There is a growing Negro middle class in this country: doctors, lawyers, governmental officials, and so forth. Now, roughly one million of the Negro workers in this country are organized in trade unions, not as separate Negro unions, but in integrated trade unions. There are many others that are not in unions. For example, the large number of farm workers and migratory workers are not organized in trade unions as yet, but plans are under way to seek their organization. Now, in housing, still the great bulk of Negroes are in rental housing, rather than owning their own homes. In most of our cities, the Negro population is confined, and I say confined because there is an area of the city which is occupied by Negroes--sort of a ghetto, you might say--and this is largely because of housing discrimination. It is difficult, and in some cases impossible, for a Negro to buy or to rent property outside of his prescribed area. Of course, we are trying very hard to change that kind of situation, with some successes. These ghettos, Negro sections of our large cities, tend quickly to become slums because of the fact that there is so much congestion. The population is so great in these areas, and the area

is so small in comparison. Now, in the schools, education among Negroes has increased very rapidly, since the Reconstruction days which followed the Civil War. The number of Negro college graduates has mushroomed, because there are scores of Negro colleges in the South, some of them quite good colleges, others struggling because of inadequate funds and so forth. Since the Supreme Court ruling in 1954 on school segregation, we have found that a larger number of Negroes have entered state universities, which were previously for whites only. Even in the South--in the North this has been an old pattern--Negroes have been going to state universities and private colleges and universities. Still, as I might have indicated earlier, in the Southern states only 7 per cent of the Negro school children are in integrated schools. That means that 93 per cent are still in segregated schools. Now this is very slow progress toward the enforcement of the Supreme Court order.

The Army is fighting discrimination as follows: up until the late 1940's there was segregation in the Armed Forces. Most of the troops who fought in World War II were segregated troops--Negro units fighting by themselves and white units fighting by themselves and so on. In the Navy, most of the Negroes were in segregated service, such as mess attendants, working in the kitchen and so forth. However, following the war, Harry S. Truman issued an executive order outlawing discrimination in all of the Armed Forces. Investigation has indicated that this order is being enforced and that Negro and white troops are now integrated into the same units. This we look at with a great deal of pleasure. There are Negro officers; there is at least one Negro Brigadier General in the Army of the United States.

10. Well, our solution is, of course, integration, where Negroes of the United States are citizens like anyone else and they should have the same rights and the same privileges. We do not believe in enforced separation or segregation, we are opposed to the idea of a black state - it is a fantastic notion. We think that the solution to all of these problems is integration. In other words, treating each individual as an individual on the grounds of his own merits as an individual. We do not ask that any certain percentage of Negroes be employed in businesses; we ask that people be employed in business according to their qualifications regardless of race and if this is done, we feel that Negroes will have their share of the jobs, and that up-rating and promotion in employment be without regard to race. We feel that housing should be available to anyone who is able to pay for it, regardless of his race, Negro or white, and that all places that serve the public - restaurants, theaters, hotels, and so forth - should serve the public without regard to race. This is the solution which we are looking for.

(Question about Negroes who want to go back to Africa)...
Well, there are a few. I think that there are only a few, however, because most of the Negroes in this country consider themselves Americans. This is their land, most of their parents were born here, and their grandparents were born here, as slaves, so their culture is considerably different from the culture of Africa. I should point out, however, that there is a great and growing identification between the Negro in this country and Africa. This identification began when the Gold Coast, the former Gold Coast, became independent Ghana, the first of the former colonial areas to be independent. Before that time, Negroes in this country had the same stereotypes or mental image of Africa as most other Americans did. We thought of Africa as being a backward land, the Dark Continent where a few people were riding around on the backs of elephants and throwing spears at each other. But with the independence of Ghana and the other nations, we saw that here were

dignified people and civilized people and began to take increasing pride in our ancestry and our African heritage. There is this growing spirit of identification. I myself was in Africa on a tour, visiting fifteen countries in Sub-Sahara Africa and I found that the Africans received me and accepted me immediately as a brother. The feeling is mutual indeed. Yet we see no solution in a return of Negroes in this country to Africa. We would be out of our culture, out of our environment. Furthermore, the economies of these new nations could not possibly absorb any mass migration of Negroes to their country. While they welcome in Africa individuals who have capital, skills and talents, they could not accept mass migration. We, therefore, are not in favor of any return to Africa. We will stay here in this country and fight for equality.

11. Oh, I think the U.N. can serve a valuable service in this regard, its service being largely one of education and public pressure, the pressure of public opinion throughout the world. We know for a fact, that people all over the world are aware of what happens here in the field of race relations. They are aware of every incident of violence that takes place in the South; they are aware of discrimination. Sometimes we feel that they do have inaccurate and distorted views about what is taking place because they are so far away from it. But their opposition to discrimination helps us a great deal. It gives us moral support and we are able then to point out that the situation should be changed, primarily because the present situation is wrong and ought to be adjusted so it is right. But it ought to be changed also because our nation is put in a very bad light abroad whenever there is discrimination here, and we simply cannot tolerate that discrimination

12. Ah, very good question! Segregation in the United States is one of the results of the long period of human slavery which existed until 1863 when the slaves were freed. Following the Emancipation Proclamation in that year there was a period of some twenty or thirty years of Reconstruction, so-called Reconstruction

That ended with the setting up of the pattern of segregation. Many of the white persons feel that they are superior to Negroes. This is particularly true in the South, where is has been felt necessary to keep a hard and fast pattern of separation of races, so as to avoid intermixture. This is historical, it is traditional, especially in the Southern part of the United States, but not exclusively in the South. I think it also ought to be pointed out that the problem is partly economic. Negroes and whites are competing for the same jobs in the South and whenever you find people competing for the same jobs, all sorts of differences rise up between them, and fears and suspicions.

13. Oh, I think so. Not as much as we would desire. The new Kennedy Administration is certainly doing more than the old Eisenhower Administration which preceded it. In my opinion, the Eisenhower Administration did very little if anything on this problem. What little it did was far too late, and too little. The Kennedy Administration has good instincts on this; I think their hearts are in the right place. However, we disagree on their timing, we want freedom and equality now, and we don't want to wait. The President feels that he can attack the problems through the Justice Department and through his own office, the Executive Department; in other words, through Executive Orders and through enforcement of Federal law through the Department of Justice. We feel that this is good as far as it goes, but it is also necessary to have further supervisory legislation -- we don't have enough and strong enough laws. The laws that exist should be strengthened. We would like the President to take much more rapid action along these lines. His position is that this is not the time to push for civil rights legislation. We think that there is no better time than the present. We feel that the President should issue an executive order outlawing discrimination in housing which is in any way subsidized by Federal funds. Such an order is on his desk, pending his signature, but to date he hasn't signed it. We hope that he will sign it soon,

and are pressuring him to do so.

14. Well, I certainly hope so. The Administration, before it was elected, pledged that it would take strong and bold action to eliminate discrimination on grounds of race. That strong and bold action has become weaker as we go along. We would like to see it strengthened. There are some observers who indicate that the Administration will take a much firmer stand after the first four-year term. Then, it will not have to look forward to a political campaign for re-election and will be able to do what it thinks ought to be done. We hope we don't have to wait that long, because I must indicate that our people are not in a mood to wait; we have waitdd a hundred years.

15. Very good relationship. I myself was on the staff of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for two years as program director before coming here as National Director of CORE. I was one of the founders of CORE, back in 1942. We work closely with them, on the local level as well as the National level; many of our projects are joing projects. However, they do emphasize a different level. Their emphasis is on legal action through the courts, litigation and modeling for legislation, whereas our action is direct action of a nonviolent type. There are other organizations, such as the Urban League and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, with which we work closely on occasions. Here again, the emphasis is a different one. The Urban League is the social service approach, largely. This is a very valid approach and a valuable one, but it is not our approach. Our approach is direct action. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. uses nonviolent direct action as we do, their organization is regional, ours is national--they are a Southern organization. Theirs also is a group within the churches, the

Negro churches in the South, the clergy largely Whereas CORE is a secular organization; we are not a religious organization. Though many of our members have a religious motivation, we do not limit it to religious motivation Some of our members have a humanitarian, or philosophical motivation which drives them to do something about our racial inequalities.

(Question about Black Muslims)

We have no relations with them, but I have debated against one of the Muslim leaders on one occasion and have scheduled now a debate the month after next with Malcolm X, who is the Muslim leader in New York. We disagree with them and they with us; we are an interracial organization and they an all black organization We believe in integration, they believe in separation, or more segregation. They believe in a black state, or a separate territory for the Negroes in this country and to us that would be suicidal.

(Question about nationalist movements)

Well, of course the Muslims are one of the nationalist movements, for their first objective, as I stated, is a black state. Failing in that, they want to go back to Africa, and get all the Negroes in American to go back to Africa. There are other nationalist groups as you indicate by the question, whose objective is immediately to go back to Africa. They have no mass support behind this idea. Even if the ships were standing in the harbor, ready to go back to Africa, there would not be many takers. It would mean pulling up roots and going to what is, in effect a strange, new land. This is our home here, and however great the identification with the emerging nations of Africa Africa is not our home. It is our land of origin, it is true, but it is not our home.

(Do you think that discrimination will end) . . . I think that in the next ten years we will see an end to segregation --- publicly supported segregation That would mean an end - in my generation - to segregation in all public places and

all places that serve the public. We think that solving the problem of housing discrimination and employment discrimination will be a much longer term thing.

1. Our organization is the Congress of Racial Equality, which we call CORE, was founded in 1942 in Chicago, Illinois. It was founded by thirteen or fourteen young people who were students at the University of Chicago, who were studying Gandhi in India, and felt that the techniques used by Gandhi, nonviolent direct action, could be applied to the United States, and we felt that the techniques would be very effective in the racial problem. For there were tactical reasons that Negroes could not fight violently against discrimination. We are one-tenth of the total population of the United States; we do not have weapons. Many of us, in addition to that, felt that there was a principle involved, and that it would be more effective to fight with goodwill and nonviolence, rather than with violent weapons, because we would try to create a society of friends, you might say.

2. Well, since 1942, our organization has held sit-ins -- let me explain what I mean by that. Negroes and whites in an interracial group, going into restaurants and when the Negroes are refused service, the party will just sit there and wait, and sit as long as necessary, and go back the next day and after that, to seek service. We have held sit-ins at restaurants, stand-ins at cafeterias line and theater lines, wade-ins at public beaches and so forth. Also, We have worked on employment discrimination and housing discrimination.

3. Well, I think it is largely because of the sit-ins and stand-ins and the other demonstrations such as we have held in Northern cities since 1942, that discrimination in public places -- at least places of public accommodations such as restaurants, hotels, theaters and so

3. (continued) forth is quite rare in Northern cities now. It has been done by our demonstrations and court cases, and by other organizations. In the South, we have also had successes -- the student sit-ins, which began February 1, 1960 spread throughout the Southern part of the United States, succeeded in desegregating lunch counters in 150 Southern citieis. In addition, our Freedom Rides, Negroes and whites got on buses as interstate passengers, rode throughout the South, seeking to use bus terminal facilities, waiting rooms, rest rooms, the lunch counters and so forth, without discrimination. The Supreme Court, incidentally, said that we had that right, and we were testing the enforcement of the Supreme Court ruling. As a result of the Freedom Rides, though some of us were beaten and many others had to spend long periods of time in Southern jails . The Interstate Commerce Commission, which is an agency of the Federal Government, issued an order which went into effect on November 1, 1961, saying that all the signs for colored and white in waiting rooms in the South must come down, and in their place must be put up signs saying that discrimination on the grounds of race or color was a violation of the Federal order. These signs were to be posted not only in the waiting rooms but also in the buses. Since, November 1, 1961 we have been testing throughout the South to see whether this order was being enforced. We found that in most of the Southern states and most of the Southern cities, this order is being enforced and Negroes can now use the facilities without segregation. There are exceptions to that; in the state of Mississippi there are only two cities where the bus terminals are no longer segregated. In the state of Louisiana, most of the cities are still segregated.

4. Yes, I was arrested in Jackson, Mississippi on June 24, 1961 in the bus terminal waiting-room. I ~~sat in (?)~~ had entered the waiting-room with a group of my friends who were Freedom Riders; and we started for the restaurant and there we were stopped by a policeman and arrested. The charge was Breach of the Peace, in spite of the fact that we were all peaceful and non-violent. I served 20 days in the Mississippi jail.

4- Our present program is, first of all, a mopping-up operation in Interstate ~~transportation~~, that is, to see to it that the Federal laws are fully enforced in all the waiting rooms used by busses, trains, and airplanes. We will not be satisfied until compliance with Federal orders is 100%. In addition to that we are going to see to it that discrimination in so-called private restaurants comes to an end, in the South. And that hotels, and other places of public accommodation -- schools? Yes, the Supreme Court ruling of 1954 that segregation in public schools and places of education is a violation of the constitution. However, since that time, it has been seven years, and only 7% of the Negro children in the South are attending integrated schools . . . Just a few, we would consider it "token integration," and this is what we are trying to fight against, because we feel that it is not much of a victory to have three or four Negro children in a city of 150,000 attending school with white kids.

5. Well, we have different types of representatives. Now, we have chapters, or branches, in 60 or more cities about the country. About half of those are in the South and about half in the North. In the North, we have chapters in such cities as New York, Boston,

5. (cont.) Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco, Los Angeles. We have 8 chapters in the state of South Carolina. We also have a chapter in New Orleans, Louisiana; In Baton Rouge, La. and Shreveport, La.; we have chapters in Tennessee and in Kentucky as well.

6. Well, we have many, many supporters. We have a list of members, and associate members totalling 40,000, both white and Negro -- I would say that they are about equally divided. All over the country, these persons help to contribute to the organisation and support us financially. We send out membership appeals to them and they send us contributions annually, and this our major method of keeping going financially. There are many more Americans who sympathize with what we are doing and we reach them through radio and television. I myself frequently appear on radio and television as do other members of our staff, sometimes on networks, coast-to-coast hookups, so that millions of Americans listen to what we have to say. We get their letters expressing sympathy and support for what we are trying to do. I would say that many of the trade unions sympathize with what we are trying to do and send their contributions as well as aid in personnel. When we have picket lines picketing some company that discriminates in employment, very frequently some of the trade unions will send some of their members to join our picket lines. Also, we get support from churches both white and Negro churches all over the country. -- both Protestant and Catholic support the organization.

We have a public education department which publishes a great deal of literature which we distribute as widely as we possibly can. We distribute it through mass meetings and a few organization such as churches and trade unions. We also now are preparing a documentary film about the Freedom Rides which we

6. (cont.) hope to show before two or three million American citizens all over the country in the next two years to let them know what CORE is doing and to urge their continued support.

7. We have no official relationship with the Federal government. We are a voluntary organization, as distinguished from a governmental organization, but we do consult with friendly agencies in the Federal government. On many occasions we have consulted with the Department of Justice in the Federal government and have informed them of our plans. We do not ask their permission, nor ~~they~~ can they tell us what to do; we decide on our own policies. As a matter of courtesy and as a matter of getting their support, we inform them of our plans in most situations. Now, as to our demands upon them, we urge the Department of Justice to take action; we pressure them, we push them. ~~Whenever~~ Whenever there is an incident of violence or denial of civil rights in a ~~Southern~~ southern town that we know about, I immediately contact the Department of Justice and urge them to investigate and to take appropriate action. We also ~~XXXXX~~ put pressure upon the President of the United States to take a firmer stand ~~upon~~ on these issues.

8. No, not really. We ~~are~~ are an incorporated organization in the United States so that our operation is strictly within the confines of this country. However, we do have a friendly relationship with some of the officials of the new nations in Africa -- correspond with them and when they are over here we consult with them. However, this is strictly informal.

9. Yes, I would try to. It will have to be a summary picture,

~~XXXXXXXXX~~

10. (cont'd) because this is an enormous problem. There are ~~probably~~ roughly twenty million Negro citizens in the United States. A little more than 1/10th than the total population.. Now, the great majority of the Negroes are in unskilled labor, though that situation is changing; more and more Negroes are getting education now and are intending to move to semi-skilled and skilled trades. A growing number of Negroes are entering the professions; there is a growing Negro middle-class in this country. Doctors, governmental officials, lawyers, and so forth. Now, roughly one million of the Negro workers in this country are organized in trade unions, not as separate Negro unions, but in integrated trade unions. There are many others that are not in unions, for example, the large number of farm workers and migratory workers are not organized in trade unions as yet, but plans are under way to seek their organization. Now, in housing, still the great bulk of ~~Negroes~~ Negroes are in rental housing, rather than ~~holding~~ owning their own homes. In most of our cities, the Negro population is confined, and I say confined because there is an area of the city which is occupied by Negroes, sort of a ghetto, you might say, and this is largely because of housing discrimination. It is difficult, and in some ~~places~~ cases impossible for a Negro to buy or to rent property outside of his ~~prescribed~~ prescribed area. Of course, we are trying very hard to change that kind of situation, with some successes. These ghettos, Negro sections of our large cities tend quickly to become slums because of the fact that there is so much congestion. The population is so great in these areas, and the area is so small in comparison. Now, in the schools, education among Negroes has in-

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The Army is fighting discrimination as follows: up until the late 1940's there was segregation in the Armed Forces. Most of the troops who fought in World War ~~II~~ Pacific were segregated troops - Negro units fighting by themselves and white units fighting by themselves and so on. In the Navy, most of the Negroes were in segregated service, such as ~~messmen~~ mess attendants, working in the kitchen and so forth. However, following the war, Harry S. Truman issued an executive order outlawing discrimination in all of the Armed Forces. ~~However~~ Subsequent, investigation has indicated that this order is being enforced and that Negro and white troops are now integrated into the same units. This we look at with a great deal of pleasure. (Question) There are Negro officers; there is at least one Negro Brigadier General in the Army of the United States . . .

10. Well, ~~the problem~~ our solution is, of course, integration, where Negroes of the United States are citizens ~~like~~ like anyone else and ~~that~~ they should have the same rights and the same ~~priveleges~~ privileges. We do not ~~beleive~~ believe in enforced separation or segregation, we are opposed to the idea of a black state — and ~~incidnetally~~, we think it is a fantastic notion. We think that the solution to all of these problems is integration. In other words, treating each individual as an individual on the grounds of his own merits as an individual. We do not ~~have~~ ask that any certain percentage of Negroes be employed in businesses; we ask that people be employed in business according to their qualifications regardless of race and if this is done, we feel that Negroes will have their share of the jobs, and that up-rating and promotion in employment be without regard to race. We feel that housing should be available to anyone who is able to pay for it, regardless of his race, Negro or white, and that all places that serve the public, such as restaurants, theaters, hotels, and

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race. This is the solution which we are looking for.

(Question about Negroes who want to go back to Africa) . . .

Well, there are a few. I ~~doubt~~ think that ~~they will admit that they~~ there are only a few, however, because most of the Negroes in this country ~~think~~ consider ~~of~~ themselves ~~as~~ Americans. This is their land, most of their parents were born here, and their grandparents were born here, as slaves, so ~~there~~ their culture is considerably different from the culture of Africa. I should point out, however, that there is a great and growing identification between the Negro in ~~the~~ this country and Africa. Cap. This identification began when the Gold Coast, the former Gold Coast, became independent ~~and became~~ Gh. Ghana, case the first of the former colonial areas to be independent. Before that time, Negroes in this country had the same stereotypes ~~on independence in~~ or mental image of Africa as most other Americans did. We thought ~~that~~ Gh. of Africa as being a backward land, the Dark Continent where a few people were riding around on the backs of elephants and throwing spears at each other. But with the independence of Ghana and the other nations, we saw that here were dignified people and civilised people and began to take increasing pride in our ancestry and our African heritage. There is this growing spirit of ~~identification~~ identification. I myself was in Africa on a tour, visiting 15 countries in ~~Sub-Sahara~~ Sub-Sahara (?) Africa and I found that the Africans ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ received me and accepted me immediately as a brother. The feeling is mutual indeed. Yet we see no solution in a return of Negroes in this country to Africa. We would be ~~our~~ out of our culture, out of our environment. Furthermore, ~~xxx~~ the economies of these new nations could not possibly ~~xxxxx~~ afford absorb any mass migration of Negroes to ~~their~~ their country. While they welcome in Africa individuals who have capital, skills and talents, case they could not accept mass migration . We, therefore,

10. (cont'd). are not in favor of any return to Africa. We will stay here in this country and fight for equality.

11. Oh I think, the U.N. can serve a valuable service in this regard, case its service being largely one in education and public pressure, the pressure of public opinion throughout the world. We know for a fact, that people all over the world are aware of what happens here in the field of race relations. They are aware of every incident of violence that takes place in the South; they are aware of discrimination. Sometimes we feel that they do have inaccurate and distorted views about what is taking place because they are so far away from it. But, on their opposition to discrimination helps us a great deal. It gives us moral support and we are able then to point out that the situation should be changed, primarily because the present situation is wrong and ought to be adjusted so it is right. But it ought to be changed also because our nation is put in a very bad light abroad whenever there is discrimination here, and we can simply not tolerate that discrimination.

12. Ah, very good question! Segregation in the United States is one of the results of the long period of human slavery which existed until 1863 when the slaves were freed. Following the Emancipation Proclamation in that year there was a period of some twenty or thirty years of Reconstruction, so-called Reconstruction. That ended with the setting up of the pattern of segregation. Many of the white persons feel that they are superior to Negroes. This is particularly true in the South, where it has been felt necessary to keep a hard and fast pattern of separation of races, so as to avoid intermixture. This is historical, it is traditional, especially in the Southern part of the United States, but not exclusively in the South. I think it also ought to be pointed out that the problem is partly economic. Negroes and

12. (cont'd.) whites are competing for the same jobs in the South and whenever you find people competing for the same jobs ~~xxxxfxr~~ all sorts of differences rise up between them, and fears and suspicions.

13. Oh, I think so. Not as much as we would desire. The new Kennedy Administration is certainly doing more than the old Eisenhower Administration which preceded it. In my opinion, the Eisenhower Administration did very little if anything on this problem. What little it did was far too late, and too little. The Kennedy Administration has good instincts on this; I think their hearts are in the right place. However, we disagree we their timing, we want freedom and equality now, and we don't want to wait. ~~Where~~ The President feels that he can attack the problems through ~~his~~ the Justice Department and through his own office, the Executive Department. In other words, through Executive Orders and through enforcement of Federal Law through the Department of Justice. We feel that that is good as far as it goes, but it also necessary to have further ~~supervised~~ supervisory adminstration (?) -- we don't have enough and strong enough laws. The laws that exist shouddbe strengthened. We would like the President to take much more rapid action along these lines. His position is that this is not the time to push for civil rights ~~xxxxxxx~~ legislation.. We think that there is no better time than ~~then~~ the present. We feel that the President should issue an executive order ~~especially in housing~~ outlawing discrimination in housing, which is in any way subsidized by Federal funds. Such an order is on his desk, pending his signature, but to date he hasn't signed it. We hope that he will sign it soon, and are pressuring him to do so.

14. Well, I certainly hope so. The administration, before it was elected, ~~promised~~ pledged that it would take strong and bold action to eliminate discrimination on grounds of race. That strong and bold action has

14. (cont'd.) become weaker as we go along. We would like to see it strengthened. There are a ~~couple jurors~~ some observers who indicate that the adminstration will take a much firmer stand ~~after the first term~~ on. after the first four-year term.. Then it will not have to look forward to a political campaign for ~~direction~~ re-election and will be able to do what it thinks ought to be done. Per Cap. We hope we don't have to wait that long, because I must indicate that our people are not in a mood to wait. We have waited a hundred years.

15. Very good relationship. I ~~x~~ myself was on the staff of the Natianal Association for the Advancement of Colored People for two years as program director before coming here as National Director of Core. I was one of the founders of CORE, back in 1942. We work closely with them, on the local level as well as the national level; many of our project are joint projects. However, they do emphasize a different level. Their emphasis in on legal action through the courts, litigation and modeling for legislation, whereas our action is direct action of a nonviolent type. There are Other organizations, such as the Urban League and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, with which we work closely on occasions. Here again, the emphasis is a different one. The Urban League is the social service approach, largely. ~~Now~~ This is a very valid approach and a valuable one, but it is not our approach. Our approach is direct action. Thes Southern Christian Leadership Conference , led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., uses nonviolent direct action as we do, their organization is regional, ours is national -- they are a Southern organization. ~~There~~ Their also is a group within the churches, the Negro churches in the South, the clergy largely. Where as Core is a secular organization; we are not a religious organization. Though many of our members have a religious motivation, we do not limit it to seligious motivation. Per Cap. Some of our members

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(Do you think that discrimination will end) . . . I think that in the next ten years we will see an end to ~~discrimination~~ segregation. --Publicly supported segregation. That would mean an end to segregation in all public places and all places that serve the public. We think that solving the problem of housing discrimination and employment discrimination will be a much longer term thing.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM

1st Plan of Operation Submitted

to Chairmen

T O: JAMES FARMER

MARTIN LUTHER KING

JOHN LEWIS

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

ROY WILKINS

WHITNEY YOUNG

National Office
c/o March on Washington
170 W. 130
N.Y., N.Y.

July 8, 1963

I. Certain General Problems Needed to be Cleared with Mr. Randolph and Chairman

1. Names for stationery; Vice-Chairman, Coordinators
2. List of cities Church Coordinators should visit; South, East, West.
3. Revision of the call in light of New Developments
4. Revision of why we march in light of New Developments.
5. Restatement of the aims in clear simple language.
6. Relation of March finances to those collected at June 2nd, Hotel Roosevelt meeting.
7. Exact participation of the Urban League
8. Physical provisions, if any, made for people coming into D.C. very early in the morning.
9. Clear on what child-care arrangements should be made at State locations
10. Budget: The matter should await the appearance by all organizational coordinators so that each group has its say and there is a unity of position possible.

II. Staff

1. Each civil rights' organization shall supply and be responsible for the salary of a coordinator.
2. A.PH. Randolph shall be director. Bayard Rustin shall be Deputy Director.
3. The Workers' Defense League, Students for a Democratic Society and the Fellowship of Reconciliation are donating each a staff person whose salary will be paid by the donor.
4. District 65, RWDSU will contribute three men from its organizing staff to the March.
5. The following areas of work will be divided among the staff. (Until

the participating organizations designate the coordinators we cannot know precisely how many additional people will be needed).

a. Public Relations and Publicity.

b. Transportation Director.

c. Community Organizations coordinator.

d. Youth groups coodinator.

e. Fund-raiser.

f. Church Liaison

g. Labor Liaison

h. Liaison with women's groups.

i. Liaison with Fraternal organizations.

6. In addition to the Deputy Director and Coordinator there shall be at least: An Administration Assistant to the Deputy Director to act as secretary, Supervisor of volunteers and office manager.

b. A Switchboard-operator-Typist

c. 2 Stenographers.

d. Typist-bookkeeper

III. Finances

1. Initial Pledges:

$2,000.00	------	NAACP
2,000.00	------	CORE
2,000.00	------	SCLC
500.00	------	SNCC
500.00	------	NALC
$7,000.00	------	TOTAL

2. Finance Committee to include: Richard Parrish, Treasurer and four people -- any two of whom may sign a given check --, Father Moran

Weston, Rev. Joshua Williams. Cleve Robinson and Rev. Thomas Kilgore.

3. There will be a Typist-Bookkeeper.
4. Ralph DiGia will set up the book-keeping methods.
5. Check books will, in addition, show intake and disbursements.
6. A C.P.A. will inspect books weekly.
7. The director and coordinators will be empowered to sign checks.
8. The director will be responsible for Petty Cash and require signed and dated vouchers for disbursements.
9. All major expenditures must have been approved by the Administrative Committee or its Chairman.
10. All checks will be made payable to March on Washington.
11. Coordinators from NAACP, SCLC, CORE, SNCC will be paid a salary by their organizations. Any travelling they do while on the March staff will come from the March Budget.

IV. Discipline

1. New York will provide 1000 Marshalls to be trained by the Guardians. These men will be our own internal police and they will maintain order. A special training school will be set up for them.
2. A group of 500 to 1,000 men will be assembled and trained in Washington, D.C. under CORE, SCLC, NAACP, SNCC, the leadership of whom will use Walkie-Talkies and bull horns for moving people and for any emergency.
3. The participating organizations should arrange for arm-bands or other identification for the people they bring to Washington. Or, if this is not feasible, the committee should agree on a common

sv symbol to identify people who are part of our disciplined movement.

4. Police will be informed of everything that is planned for Washington that day so that they will be able to move people expeditiously Police will, therefore, understand what is on the March program and what is not. The Justice Department will be informed in advance of the routes of groups leaving Southern cities in order that these routes might be properly policed and groups protected. We will also inform Northern police officials - along major routes where large contingents will pass -- so that traffic may be organized.
5. Each bus will have a person designated "captain" who will be responsible for maintaining discipline and liaision with marshalls.
6. Constant liaison will be maintained among the marchers, bus captains, guardians and top leadership of the march, so that no decision will be made or emergency faced without consulting March Chairman.
7. Within the confines of the program in Washington -- as now set up-- the Committee must plan for a variety of activities (speakers, entertainment, meeting at Churches, lobbying, etc.) so that we are insured that the 100,000 participants will feel that their time in Washington was meaningfully spent and so that militance does not give way to uncertainty and frustration.
8. There should be creative use of ministers in March and at Rally to maintain peaceful spirit.

V. Certain Physical Problems to be cleared Pertaining to Washington

A meeting has been set for Thursday, July 11, with Chairman of

Washington CORE, NAACP, SCLC chapters, Norman Hill and Bayard Rustin to talk with district police and Federal agencies about the following:

1. Parade permit along Pennsylvania Avenue to Lincoln Memorial.
2. Permit for Rally at Lincoln Memorial.
3. Traffic problems on entering and leaving Washington.
4. The care the Justice Department needs to take to see that routes which the Southern delegations take to Washington are properly guarded and policed since a brutal incident could have repercussions in the Capital.
5. Arrangements for lobbying and special projects. (See FOR, National Council arrangements).

Further we need to clear with the Red Cross government agencies and our committee in Washington to fix responsibility for:

1. Stand-by ambulances.
2. First-aid stations
3. Nurses
4. Drinking water
5. Portable toilets.

VI. Utilization of the Resources of Major Civil Rights Organization.

Instructions should be sent by leaders of each organization to respective local affiliates, their highest officers and all field staff making march mobilization top priority, detailing mobilization procedures and urging participation in local committees. Such a memo should include plans for action and discipline in Washington, suggested means of transportation, while indicating that a concentrated effort

should be made on raising funds for getting unemployed to Washington.

The importance of gathering large numbers of unemployed workers for the March on Washington should be emphasized, hopefully all groups would be able to donate a certain percentage of seats to unemployed. Local affiliates should be urged to approach city & state officials to obtain proclamations declaring August 28th Jobs and Freedom Day.

A special effort should be made by the field staff of each of the civil rights groups to mobilize people from the South and from areas in which Senators and Congressmen are opposed to or are not firmly committed to support civil rights legislation.

VII. Local March Committees

1. A policy statement should be written with the approval of the Chairman to define the nature of the march and outline the organizational and political relationship of local committees to the National organization.

The staff proposes the following basic formulations:

a. The March is a non-partisan political venture.

b. The National Committee and its Local affiliates do not accept either funds nor participation of organized political groups (Republican, Democratic, Socialist Communist, or any other)

c. Local affiliates must accept the policy and program of the National Chairmen in the execution of the project.

II. A guide for organizing local committees should be written which tells why we march, outlines plans for action in Washington, sets down March discipline and discusses how to fund-raise etc.

III. Local committees should include the major civil rights organization where they have affiliates, along with church, civic, fraternal, labor and youth representation.

IV. Focal points for local mobilizations should be:

a. The unemployed

b. The use of local rallies and demonstrations to point up the job crisis, to stimulate interest in the march, and to pressure Congressmen and Senators to vote for meaningful civil rights legislation. (It would be best if march chairmen, vice-chairmen, administrative committee, etc. could participate in an informal speakers bureau to be coordinated between National officers and Local affiliates.)

c. Securing in as many cities and states as possible Jobs and Freedom Day proclaimations for August 28.

V. In addition Local committees and National office must pay particular attention to such areas as Albany, Ga.; Gadsden and B'ham, Ala.; Jackson, Miss; along with protest areas in the upper South such as Danville, Va. and Cambridge, Maryland with emphasis on providing financial assistance for transportation. Immediate effort must be made in Eastern seaboard cities from Boston to North Carolina.

VI. A special letter should be sent immediately to key people in local cities asking them to begin laying groundwork for the formation of local committees.

VIII. YOUTH COMMITTEE

1. Structure: Major Negro rights organizations represented along with representatives of church, labor and student groups.

2. Aims: Nationally & Locally:

(a) to find unemployed youth and help them get to Washington

(b) to mobilize youth through mass meetings, parties, projects, etc. and in general to create enthusiasm.

(c) to provide, nationally & locally volunteers for work projects such as distributing leaflets, mailings, etc.

(d) to provide a limited number of aides for work in D.C. on August 28th

(e) to give parties, etc. for fund raising.

(f) to lobby for civil rights legislation in their home towns.

(g) to help plan youth participation in the Washington activities on August 28th.

IX. LABOR

1. Attempt to meet with William Schnitzler, Sec'y-Treas. of the AFL-CIO and chairman of the civil rights committee to ask him:

a. about the possibility of AFL-CIO person serving as chairman or vice-chairman of the march.

b. possibility of his proposing a resolution to the AFL-CIO urging all state federations, central labor bodies and affiliated to support and participate in the March and to declare, in the name of the AFL-CIO August 28th Jobs and Freedom Day.

c. To arrange for AFL-CIO participants to either wear armbands or buttons.

II. Obtain an interview with Walter Reuther, President IUD, UAW to:

a. ask him to be either a chairman or vice-chairman of the March

b. call upon all unions in the IUD to support financially and urge their membership to participate in March.

III. Organize a meeting with eight to ten particularly sympathetic trade union leaders in New York with A. Philip Randolph to

A. Raise funds for the March.

B. Solicit organizers to aid in mobilization

C. Urge them to take necessary steps to insure large participation from their membership

D. Designation of a labor committee to advise and counsel We hope a labor coordinator can be designated at this time.

IV. Send a letter to major unions urging them to:

A. mobilize membership participation in march

B. contribute toward expense of March

C. bring unemployed workers to Washington

V. Arrange special interviews with leaders of key unions such as, Packinghouse, ILG, USA, etc.

X. CHURCH COMMITTEE

I. A special church letter should be sent to all major denominations outlining March plans and asking for support in the form of participation and money. It is hoped that this may be done through the National Council of Churches.

II. A special follow-up letter should be sent to key churches asking each church to bring at least one busload of participants and unemployed to Washington.

III. A schedule and itinerary should be developed for Rev. Kilgore, (who will serve in the capacity of church coordinator and liaison with the National Council of Churches and Negro churches) for visiting key areas and encouraging participation.

IV. National and local church leaders should meet with Mr. Randolph and Rev. Kilgore, to implement the above suggestions in addition to urging church participation in local committees.

V. The F.O.R. and the National Council have already agreed to work on the following suggestions (if they are approved by March chairman)

1. a prayer vigil, conducted by priests, ministers and rabbis, and fasting during filibuster

2. Ministers, priests and rabbis to request audiences with Congressmen.

3. they will help to maintain effective and orderly parade to Lincoln Memorial.

In any event we are assured 1,000 ministers in robes in Washington for August 28th.

VI. A special effort to mobilize and establish liaison with the ministers of NAACP Branch Church Committees and members of the SCLC must be made.

VII. The help of the National Council of Churches and NAACP Branch Church Committees and the SCLC ministers should be enlisted to declare August 25th, jobs and Freedom Sunday with appropriate sermons preached throughout the country.

COPY

JUL 5 1963

AUG 5 - 1963

Sent to Dana Greeley, Pres., Unit. Univ. Assn.

SUGGESTED MEMO (To Clarify Motivation of Unitarian Universalist Participation in The March on Washington on August 28)

MOU

The stated purpose of The March on Washington when it was first announced was to highlight the economic plight of the Negro and to support the civil rights movement and the need for civil rights legislation. The economic plight of the Negro, due to discrimination in employment, is one of the major concerns of the current Negro protest movement.

Based on this understanding of the purpose of The March and on the understanding that The March would be a peaceful demonstration in the nation's capital involving citizens from all states, the Commission on Religion and Race of the Unitarian Universalist Association voted at its meeting on July17 to endorse The March and to commend participation in it to our constituency.

Since then, the leaders of the six civil rights organizations organizing The March have proclaimed an eight-point program of specific proposals that would alleviate the economic plight of the Negro and help assure his human and civil rights. This specific platform lists proposals By the leadership of the Negro protest movement which they believe would help solve the racial problems facing our nation. This leadership recognizes that unanimity of support for any such program of specifics by all participating in The March cannot be obtained. Therefore, participation in the Washington Demonstration is not limited to those who support every item in the specific platform.

The participation in The March by the officials, ministers, and constituents of the Unitarian Universalist Association remains as the support of the original general purpose of The March and does not imply endorsement of every specific item in the later announced program.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM
170 West 130 Street, New York 27, N. Y.
FI 8 1900
Monday, August 12

Memorandum: Mathew Ahmann, Eugene Carson Blake, James Farmer, Martin Luther King, John Lewis, Joachin Prinz, A Philip Randolph, Walter Reuther, Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, Cleveland Robinson, Courtland Cox, Ann Arnold Hedgeman, Rev. Thomas Kilgore, Jr., Rev. George Lawrence, James McCain, Gloster Current, Guichard Parris, Erwin Suall.

From: Bayard Rustin, Deputy Director

Reference: Agenda for leadership meeting - National Urban League, 14 East 48th Street, Friday August 16 at 2 PM.

At our last meeting there was some confusion concerning the agenda and the method of reaching decisions on policy matters. I am, therefore, as was proposed, sending you the following agenda items as suggested by Mr. Randolph and the staff in the hope that you will either send me in advance any additional items you would like discussed or be prepared to insert them under an "open" agenda item on Friday.

AGENDA ITEMS

1. Home Rule for the District of Columbia.
   A number of groups in Washington would like home rule to be included in the specific aims of the March and they would like to carry signs declaring such in the line of march.

2. The President and his Cabinet
   A proposal has come forward that President Kennedy and members of his cabinet be invited to attend the Assembly at the Lincoln Memorial.

3. Sponsoring Groups and Placard Making
   A number of trade unions, churches, etc. have proposed making placards based on our slogans with their own identification.

4. The Programs at Washington Monument and Lincoln Memorial.

5. The Pledge
   It has been proposed that in order to make the day's experience more meaningful, all present would pledge to return home to carry on the civil rights revolution more vigorously.

6. Transportation Problems

What can be done to deal with the bus and train shortage.

7. Vice Chairmen

Suggestions of a list of persons to be invited as Vice Chairmen.

LISTER HILL, ALA., CHAIRMAN

PAT MC NAMARA, MICH.
WAYNE MORSE, OREG.
RALPH YARBOROUGH, TEX.
JOSEPH S. CLARK, PA.
JENNINGS RANDOLPH, W. VA.
HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., N.J.
QUENTIN N. BURDICK, N. DAK.
BENJAMIN A. SMITH II, MASS.
CLAIBORNE PELL, R.I.

BARRY GOLDWATER, ARIZ.
JACOB K. JAVITS, N.Y.
WINSTON L. PROUTY, VT.
JOHN G. TOWER, TEX.
LEN B. JORDAN, IDAHO

STEWART E. MC CLURE, CHIEF CLERK
JOHN S. FORSYTHE, GENERAL COUNSEL

MOW

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

SEP 17 1963

August 15, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
239 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear ~~Mr. Farmer:~~ Jim

Mrs. Javits and I would be most pleased if, at the end of the "March" on August 28th, you could come to our home in Washington, 2713 35th Street, N.W., just off Massachusetts Avenue (FE 3-4497) for cocktails and a snack between 6 and 8 p.m.

Please let us know if you can make it by leaving word at my office. We certainly hope to see you that evening.

With warm regards.

Sincerely,

Jack

Jacob K. Javits, U.S.S.

JKJ/bm

Please bring Mrs Farmer if she is with you!

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SIGNATURE

JACK LYNN

VICE-PRESIDENT PROGRAMMING
METROPOLITAN BROADCASTING TELEVISION
205 EAST 67TH ST

HEREBY CONFIRM RECEIPT OF YOUR WIRE REGARDING ONE HOUR TELEVISION PANEL WITH OTHER LEADERS OF MARCH ON WASHINGTON AND MODERATED BY J. RICHARD KENNEDY IN WHICH I HAVE AGREED TO PARTICIPATE. TIME OF TAPING AFTER RALLY SHOULD BE CLEARED

SUB CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
.15 PD FOR CFN

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WITH CY POSNER, PUBLIC RELATIONS DIRECTOR, MARCH ON WASHINGTON, AS WELL AS WITH INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPANTS.

MIV
087 BN

AM 11 20

SIGNATURE
JAMES FARMER
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

SUB

8/23

[redacted] August 20, 1963

To: [redacted]

From: [redacted]
Member - Administrative Committee - B.S.H.

Copy to: [redacted]
Director - National March On Washington

Re: Proposed Program - Lincoln Memorial

Enclosed [redacted] is the enclosed letter dealing right to Mr. A. Philip Randolph and Mr. Bayard Rustin, his assistant. I have not heard from Mr. Randolph and assume he is busy.

Because we are having a full committee meeting on Friday at 2 P.M., it occurred to me that it might be useful to share this letter with the other five of the "Big Six."

Allard
Enc.

August 16, 1963

To: Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Director - National March On Washington

From: Anna Arnold Hedgeman
Member - Administrative Committee - M.O.W.

Re: Proposed Program - Lincoln Memorial

This memo is addressed to you because of the statement which precedes the program recommendations presented to the full Committee of the March On Washington Movement on Friday, August 16th at the National Urban League, 14 East 48th Street, New York, N. Y.

That statement reads, "Because members of the program Committee were not able to meet for discussion, Mr. Randolph proposes that the full committee consider the following items for inclusion." Your program proposals follow the above statement.

Comments:

In light of the role of Negro women in the struggle for freedom and especially in light of the extra burdens they have carried because of the castration of our Negro men in this culture, it is incredible that no woman should appear as a speaker at the historic March on Washington Meeting at the Lincoln Memorial.

The suggestion that it is difficult to find a single woman to speak without causing serious problems vis-a-vis other women and women's groups should not be acceptable to any thoughtful Negro woman. In this connection, for example, it might well be pointed out that there are many Negro men leaders to whom each of the 'Big Six' Civil Rights Leaders is unacceptable. Such realities did not deter us in selecting the men. The same realities should not deter us in connection with the selection of one woman as speaker.

August 16, 1963

Re: Proposed Program - Lincoln Memorial

Had we, as I originally recommended placed the heads of Negro women's Organizations (Nat'l Assn' of Colored Women Clubs, Nat'l Council of Negro Women, Nat'l Assn' of Business and Professional Women, Women Fraternal Leaders, Recognized National Sorrorities leaders, etc.) on the National Committee with the six Civil Rights Leaders, there would have been a responsible group of women who could have discussed their proper presentation on the Lincoln Memorial program.

It is my conviction that these women would have understood and desired the appearance of each of the six Negro men on the program, for we have been their admirers and supporters. I am convinced also that we as women could have agreed on one woman to represent all of us.

Since the 'big six' have not given women the quality of participation which they have earned through the years, I would like to suggest the following:

1. That a Negro woman make a brief statement and present the other Negroes just as you have suggested that the Chairman might do.

2. The selection of such a woman could be achieved by calling together some of the leaders of women's Organizations and permit them to wrestle with the problem just as the Negro men did initially as they developed the beginnings of their new unity.

3. If time factors make this impractical, we might be forced to accept a less democratic procedure.

4. It has occurred to me that no woman or man could object to Mrs. Medgar Evers, the widow of our freedom fighter, for this role. Her performance on Television just after the murder of her husband proves her ability to make even one sentence memorable.

August 16, 1963

Re: Proposed Program - Lincoln Memorial

If for some reason the 'Big Six' is unwilling to select Mrs. Bevel for this role, it occurs to me that pride in our Militant Younger Generation might make it possible for the elder women to bow to youth and ask Mrs. Diane Nash Bevel to represent women and all youth in one person. Recently, Mrs. Bevel told the story of the Negro freedom struggle to the Council of Episcopal Bishops from across the country. She was perceptive, articulate and honest. She is a disciplined person and would observe the time allotted her. Mrs. Bevel is in essence the consummation of the quality of the past of Negro women and part of the hope of all of us for the future.

If you believe that a poll of Negro women should be made, I shall be pleased as the woman member of the Administrative Committee to accept that responsibility.

I hope that this memorandum will receive careful consideration and submit it in the belief that my service to the "March Idea," since you suggested it early in 1963 when you proposed the March For Jobs in October has been of the quantity and quality which merits reasonable recognition of my proposal.

Anna Arnold Hedgeman

AAH:gs

P. S. You can reach me at AU 1-3210 or RI 9-2200. I should like to hear from you quickly, since the printing of the program must occur soon. I have not yet submitted this memo to any other member of the 'six six' or the additional four who make-up the 'big ten'.

AAH

Wednesday
August 28, 1963

MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM

170 West 130 Street
New York 27, New York
FIlmore 8-1900

AUG 2 3 1963

21 August 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

Founding Chairmen
Mathew Ahmann
Eugene Carson Blake
James Farmer
Martin Luther King
John Lewis
Joachim Prinz
A. Philip Randolph
Walter Reuther
Roy Wilkins
Whitney Young

Administrative Committee
Cleveland Robinson
Chairman
Courtland Cox
Ann Arnold Hedgeman
Rev. Thomas Kilgore, Jr.
Rev. George Lawrence
James McCain
Gloster Current
Guichard Parris
Irwin Suall

Director
A. Philip Randolph

Deputy Director
Bayard Rustin

Coordinators
Norman Hill
L. Joseph Overton

Southern Administrators
Dr. Aaron Henry
Worth Long
Att. Floyd McKissick
Rev. Wyatt Walker

TO : Religious, Labor, Fraternal, and Civil Rights Organisations

FROM : Bayard Rustin, Deputy Director, March on Washington

SUBJ : Signs to be carried on the line of march.

Below is a list of slogans that have been approved by the Chairmen of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Should any religious, labor, fraternal or civil rights organisations wish to produce signs bearing these slogans and the name of the organisation, they are free to bring such signs to Washington. In keeping with the established policy, all other organisations will receive slogans from the National Committee and may identify themselves only under the banner of MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM.

All slogans should be prefaced: "WE MARCH FOR..." or "WE DEMAND..."

JOBS FOR ALL NOW

AN END TO BIAS NOW

INTEGRATED SCHOOLS NOW

AN FEPC LAW NOW

DECENT HOUSING NOW

AN END TO POLICE BRUTALITY NOW

HIGHER MINIMUM WAGES)
COVERAGE FOR ALL WORKERS)

EQUAL RIGHTS NOW

VOTING RIGHTS NOW

FIRST CLASS CITIZENSHIP NOW

EFFECTIVE CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS NOW

JOBS FOR ALL - A DECENT PAY NOW

NO U.S. DOUGH TO HELP JIM CROW

CIVIL RIGHTS, PLUS FULL)
EMPLOYMENT EQUALS FREEDOM)

WE MARCH TOGETHER : CATHOLICS, JEWS, PROTESTANTS,
FOR DIGNITY & BROTHERHOOD OF ALL MEN UNDER GOD, NOW

BR:srl

August 20, 1963

Special Agent, James D. Brody
Federal Bureau of Investigation
201 East 169th Street
New York City, New York

Dear Mr. Brody:

I am enclosing two copies of the March on Washington Organizing Manual #2, which arrived in our office today.

I am also enclosing a copy of CORE's Constitution which I think would be of interest to you.

If you require more copies, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Glenda Lubelsky,
Secretary to the
National Director

GL:s AS
Enc.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM

August 28, 1963

Organizing Manual No. 1

This manual is designed to give you information you will need regarding the March for Jobs and Freedom, and to help you prepare for this event.

The time to organize your delegation for the March is NOW. The time is short – start as soon as you have received and read this manual.

A Second Edition of the manual will appear before August 28 and will provide final and detailed information as it becomes available.

National Office

March on Washington
for Jobs and Freedom

170 WEST 130th STREET
NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK
FIlmore 8-1900

Cleveland Robinson
Chairman, Administrative Committee

Bayard Rustin
Deputy Director

Who is sponsoring the March to Washington for Jobs and Freedom?

The official call for the March was issued on July 12 by the following national leaders:

James Farmer, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality

Rev. Martin Luther King, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference

John Lewis, Chairman of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee

A. Philip Randolph, President of the Negro American Labor Council

Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Whitney Young, Executive Director of the Urban League

Labor and religious organizations are being asked to join with the above in sponsoring the March. A full list will be issued in due course.

What is the purpose of the March?

The purpose of the March is, by a massive, peaceful, and democratic demonstration in the nation's capital, to provide evidence of the need for the Federal Government to take effective and immediate action to deal with the national crisis of civil rights and jobs that all of us, Negro and white, are facing.

What are the demands of the March?

I The Civil Rights demands include:

Passage by the Congress of effective and meaningful civil rights legislation in the present session, without filibuster.

Immediate desegregation of the nation's schools.

An end to police brutality directed against citizens using their constitutional right of peaceful demonstration.

II The Job demands include:

A massive Federal Public Works Program to provide jobs for all the unemployed, and Federal legislation to promote an expanding economy.

A Federal Fair Employment Practices Act to bar job discrimination by Federal, State, and Municipal governments, and by private employers, contractors, employment agencies and trade unions.

Broadening of the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act to include the uncovered areas of employment where Negroes and other minorities work at slave wages; and the establishment of a national minimum wage of not less than $2.00 per hour.

Who is invited to participate in the March?

Politically the March is non-partisan; that is, neither funds nor organized participation will be accepted from political parties. We expressly reject the aid or participation of totalitarian or subversive groups of all persuasions. Organizational participation is invited from only the established civil rights organizations, from major religious and fraternal groups, and from labor unions. Such groups are invited to form committees, to sponsor the March, and to send delegations to Washington in their own names.

Other groups are invited to publicize the March, to raise funds for it and to send groups to Washington under the banner of the March on Washington itself. These would include, for example, student and youth organizations, settlement houses, committees and other organizations of the unemployed, professional organizations (doctors, teachers, etc.), and Greek Letter organizations.

What literature is available for publicizing the March?

The National Office of the March will provide you, free of charge, with as many copies as you need of the following:

THE MARCH CALL

This folder, entitled "The Time is Now," gives detailed information on the aims and sponsorship of the March.

LEAFLET

One-page flyer entitled "To All Americans: Join the March for Jobs and Freedom," designed for mass distribution.

Additional copies of this organizing manual are also available. Other material will be put out by the March Office and sent to you as it appears.

What are the immediate tasks of participating organizations and groups?

1. PUBLICIZE THE MARCH

Our time is short! Our first and most urgent task is to make the March known. Get to the press, to church services, to union meetings; take our literature into the streets, distribute it outside movie houses, at the ball game. Make the March known.

2. ORGANIZE TRANSPORTATION

Our time is short! We have to get thousands of people to Washington on short notice. Set up your transportation committee at once and have a hardworking and reliable person head it up. Investigate carefully the possibility of bringing your group by train – it is a little more expensive, but special rates are available, and the more who come by rail, the less congestion there will be on the roads. If you come by bus make sure that you have a written contract issued in advance and that the bus company has a group insurance policy in effect that covers all members of the group.

Coordinate your activities with other groups in your area. It will, in some cases, save time if several groups can make joint transportation arrangements.

The National Office will not make transportation arrangements for local groups. Notify the National Office by mail of the progress of your work in organizing your March groups.

3. ORGANIZE THE UNEMPLOYED FOR THE MARCH

It will serve no purpose to hold a March for Jobs and Freedom if unemployed people are not able to come and add their voices and presence to the demonstration. Organizations must make it a main task to get the news of the March to the unemployed and to encourage the unemployed, where possible, to establish their own March Committees.

Organizations may further guarantee the presence in Washington of the unemployed by (a) assigning a given number of seats in buses and trains to the unemployed, and (b) raising funds to pay for these assigned seats. Make it your goal to send one unemployed person to Washington for every three who can pay their way. We hope that not a bus will go, nor train start, that does not have its quota of the unemployed.

If there are no unemployed in your area, raise funds for the transportation of unemployed persons elsewhere, and transmit the money to the National Office (see under National Office below).

4. HAVE THE COMMUNITY RECOGNIZE AND SET ASIDE THE DAY

Ask the Governor of your State, and the City Fathers, to proclaim August 28 as FREEDOM DAY. Ask ministers and rabbis to offer special prayers August 24-25 for the success of the March. Approach employers with the request that they close their plants on August 28 and grant workers paid vacation on that day in honor of the Centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation and the Civil Rights movement.

How should funds be sent to the National Office of the March?

While your fundamental task is mobilizing people to Washington, bear in mind that the National Office has to meet heavy expenses in preparation for the March. Any funds that may be sent by local organizations for this purpose will be welcome. In addition you are asked to solicit, where possible, special contributions to defray the expenses of unemployed persons, which funds we will administer at our discretion in accordance with need. Make your checks payable to MARCH ON WASHINGTON.

We ask you also to sell a March Button that will help publicize the March, and to transmit the proceeds to us. The button is 2 1/2" in diameter, emblem is a black and white handclasp, and the title, March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. August 28. Price of each button is 25 cents. Order from the National Office. Send checks, not cash. Shipping costs will be borne by the Office.

How will the March be organized in Washington?

All persons coming to Washington, whether by bus, train or plane, who are being sent by organizations, must be under the leadership of captains appointed locally before departure. (Private cars create confusion and traffic problems, their use is discouraged.) Captains will be responsible for the group en route and in moving around Washington. Further details on the role and function of the March leadership at this level will be forthcoming in the next manual.

The March will provide its own police to maintain order and internal security among the marchers in Washington. These marshals are specially trained and will be in constant contact with captains and marchers. The Washington police and the U.S. Government have promised full cooperation in controlling traffic, maintaining order, providing comfort and first-aid stations for the marchers.

Marchers from the 50 States and the District of Columbia will be assigned specific assembly points where they are to gather on arrival in Washington.

Further information about these assembly points will be provided in due course. All persons are expected to report at the assembly points not later than 10:00 A. M. on August 28th.

Meetings will be held at the Assembly points – in most cases they will be churches – for two purposes: 1) To meet with Congressmen and Senators, who will be invited to meet with the delegations at the Assembly points and to report their positions on pending legislation and to answer questions from their constituents. 2) To select representatives who will proceed to Capitol Hill seeing those legislators who did not respond to our invitation to meet with their constituents. These representatives will be accompanied by representatives of the six civil rights organizations sponsoring the March.

A massive demonstration will be held at the White House. A statement will be issued making clear to the President, the Congress, and the Nation our view that the job problem for Negro citizens cannot be solved unless the problems of all the unemployed are tackled. The delegation will call for the immediate inauguration of a Federal Public Works Program adequate to cope with the deepening economic crisis.

Later the Marchers will assemble for a parade down Pennsylvania Avenue. The parade will dramatize our demands for Jobs and Civil Rights and will commemorate Medgar Evers of the NAACP, William Moore of CORE, Herbert Lee of SNCC, and the thousands of nameless heroes of the freedom movement who have given their lives in the struggle for full equality. The procession shall sing "We Shall Overcome" to the accompaniment of bands and choirs for the entire line of march.

All placards to be used on the March will be provided by the National Office.

No other slogans will be permitted.

In the afternoon there will be a mass meeting at the Lincoln Memorial to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation and to voice our needs and demands.

What arrangements are there for staying in Washington and for refreshments?

THIS IS A ONE-DAY DEMONSTRATION.

The size and scope of this March make it imperative that all participants come in and go out on the same day - August 28th. All organizations are urged to see to it that participants come provided with box lunches and suppers, and especially that groups furnish themselves with ample water. You are strongly advised not to bring children under 14; children over 14 should be accompanied by a parent or guardian.

In the event of a filibuster before August 28th, March machinery will be used to send daily waves of approximately 1000 people to Washington for the duration of the filibuster. If the filibuster has not begun by August 28th, March participants will be asked to return to Washington at the time of the filibuster in waves of 2000.

enclosures: 1 Call
1 Leaflet

ORDER-BLANK

PLEASE SEND _____ Calls "The Time is Now"
No.

_____ Leaflets "To all Americans...."
No.

_____ Buttons at 25 cents (CHECK
No. FOR FULL PURCHASE
PRICE MUST BE INCLUDED)

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

ORGANIZATION_____

TELEPHONE_____

National Office
March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom
170 West 130th Street
New York 27, New York
FIlmore 8-1900

Wednesday
August 28, 1963

MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM
170 West 130 Street
New York 27, New York
FIlmore 8-1900

Founding Chairmen
Mathew Ahmann
Eugene Carson Blake
James Farmer
Martin Luther King
John Lewis
Joachin Prinz
A. Philip Randolph
Walter Reuther
Roy Wilkins
Whitney Young

Administrative Committee
Cleveland Robinson
Chairman
Courtland Cox
Ann Arnold Hedgeman
Rev. Thomas Kilgore, Jr.
Rev. George Lawrence
James McCain
Gloster Current
Guichard Parris
Erwin Suall

Director
A. Philip Randolph

Deputy Director
Bayard Rustin

Coordinators
Norman Hill
L. Joseph Overton

Southern Administrators
Dr. Aaron Henry
Worth Long
Att. Floyd McKissick
Rev. Wyatt Walker

NEWSLETTER #2

To Leaders of all Participating Groups:

(1) This edition of the Newsletter contains information about participating organizations, the progress of the March, key people in many areas of the Country, health instructions.

(2) In a few days time you will receive from us organizing manual #2. This will contain detailed instructions for August 28 -- timetable, conduct of groups, program, method of assembly and dispersal, etc. Read this carefully and be sure that copies get into the hands of all March leaders and bus captains in your area. It is the final instruction manual that you will receive.

(3) Keep your local press and publicity media posted on your activities. Send them names of participating groups, names and addresses of committee officers, news about rallies and fund raising events. Let the press know where people who want to go to Washington from your area can get information about travel. Send carbon copies of all releases to us so that we may have a picture of what is going on in your area. (See attached memo.)

(4) Enclosed with this letter is a Bus Captain form. All groups chartering buses should select their captains, fill out this form, and return to us not later than August 19.

(5) Unemployed people are anxious to come to Washington from both Northern and Southern communities. They cannot do so in any numbers unless this is made financially possible by other communities. Please send us any funds that you have raised for this purpose -- payable to MARCH ON WASHINGTON and marked 'unemployed' -- now.

WHY WE MARCH

The historic March called for August 28 of this year raises demands for speedy action on two fronts, civil rights and jobs. It insists that only national action through the Federal Government, can achieve full and speedy integration of public facilities and schools, the end of police brutality, and full equality before the law. It underlines the gravity of the economic crisis, with at least five million people out of work; and insists that only swift Federal action through a massive public works program, can eliminate this threat to national security.

The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom that will be held on August 28th will mark a new stage in the struggle against the brother evils of American society: racial discrimination and economic deprivation. Never before have such numbers of citizens, of all races and for a wide range of purposes, united in direct action at the seat of the Federal Government to protest their enemies and to inspire their friends. Time is heavy with proofs that there is no substitute for the personal involvement of people who are outraged or oppressed by social wrongs; and the solutions to the great wrongs that affect us all are in a large measure in the hands of the Federal Goverment.

Thus we call on all Americans to join us in Washington:

to demand the passage of effective civil rights legislation which will guarantee to all

... decent housing

... access to all public accommodations

... adequate and integrated education

... the right to vote

to prevent compromise or filibuster against such legislation

to demand a federal massive works and training program that puts all unemployed workers, black and white, back to work

to demand an FEP Act which bars discrimination by federal, state and municipal governments, by employers, by contractors, employment agencies and trade unions

to demand a national minimum wage, which includes all workers, of not less than $2.00 an hour.

ORGANIZATIONS SPONSORING THE MARCH AND PARTICIPATING IN IT

I SPONSORING ORGANIZATIONS

American Jewish Congress
Congress of Racial Equality
Industrial Union Department AFL-CIO
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Conference of Catholics for Interracial Justice
National Council of Churches of Christ in America
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Student non-Violent Coordinating Committee
National Urban League
Negro American Labor Council

II PARTICIPATING GROUPS
(Partial list)

Churches

Hundreds of churches of every denomination are sending buses to Washington and joining the March. Those that have reported to the office their participation include Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, Episcopalian, and Lutheran denominations.

Community Organizations and Institutions

Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights
Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority
Alumni Association of Catholic University
American Civil Liberties Union
Americans for Democratic Action
American Friends Service Committee
American Jewish Committee
Association of Catholic Trade Unionists
Chicago Commission on Human Relations
Committee on Religion and Race
Committee of Conscience
Council of Community Churches
Delta Sigma Theta Center of Human Relations
Japanese American Citizens League
Jewish Labor Committee
Jewish War Veterans
Mobilization for Youth
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of Negro Women
New York City Commission on Human Rights
New York City Mission Society

National Federation of Settlements-Neighborhood Centers
New York State Association of Elks

Pan African Student Orgarization
Presbyterian Interracial Council
Prince Hall Grand Lodge of the Masons of the State of N.Y.
Prince Hall Order of the Eastern Stars
Princeton Human Rights Group

Queens's College Student Association

Rutgers University Labor Institute

Union of American Hebrew Congregations
United Conference of College Teachers
United Hebrew Trades

Workmen's Circle
Workers' Defense League

Young Christian Worker
Young Israel (Pelham Parkway and West Side)
Young Men's Christian Association (National Board)
Young Women's Christian Association (Pittsburgh)

Zeta Nu Omega

LABOR

State Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations
New York City Central Labor Council
Long Island Federation of Labor
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America AFL-CIO
Amalgamated Laundry Workers
Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers Workmen and Fur Workers Division
American Federation of Teachers AFL-CIO
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
Building Service Employees
Cleaners and Dyers Joint Board
International Union of Electrical Workers (District 33/4)
Retail Wholesale Department Store Workers
Hotel and Restaurant WorkersJoint Board
International Association of Retail Clerks
International Jewelry Workers
International Ladies Garment Workers Union
International Association of Machinists (District Council 15)
International Maritime Union
Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers
Painters District Council #9

Seafares' International Union
United Steelworkers of America
United Furniture Workers
United Transport Workers
United Automobile Workers

The National Council of Churches of Christ in America has announced that August 28, the day of the March, will be a Church Assembly in Washington. A special printed folder has been distributed to thousands of churches throughout the Country explaining the Christian purposes of the March and the reasons for church involvement in it.

> "We need," says the National Council, "thousands of Christians, white and Negro in Washington on August 28. Put everything else aside and COME."

A similar position has been taken by the Catholic Church. A pastoral letter read in Catholic churches August 11 from Cardinal Spellman urges a similar involvement in the March upon American Catholics.

Jews as well as Christians of all denominations have responded to the call to come to Washington. The organization of Methodist and Lutheran Marches to facilitate involvement may be mentioned; and in many areas the churches and synagogues have set up their own coordinators to facilitate involvement of their congregations.

Doctors, dentists, nurses and health workers are participating as part of a medical group. This will make clear to the nation that health workers stand solidly with clergy, labor, and the unemployed in the effort to secure freedom and jobs for all. The medical groups will each march under their own banners (caducei). Further information may be obtained from Medical Committee for Civil Rights, P.O. Box 499, Madison Square Station, New York 10, N.Y. or 4 5660.

NEWS OF THE MARCH

News is pouring in to us of March preparations being made around the country. Committees to publicize the March and arrange transportation and recruitment have sprung up literally in hundreds of communities. City and country-wide committees are coordinating these activities. We include a list of people in different States who are organizing for the March, with their addresses, area codes, and phone numbers.

In the South plans are under way for a Freedom Train from Tallahassee, Florida on August 27, and will travel along the east coast to Washington, picking up people as it goes. Those desiring passage on this train should call Rev. Abraham Woods, 334 Auburn Avenue Atlanta, Georgia. 404 524 1378. Stops at Brunswick and Savannah, Georgia, and Charleston, S.C.

Floyd McKissack, National Chairman of CORE, reports that he has eleven buses ready to leave from North Carolina, and will fill many more before August 28. Robert Moses, director of voter registration in Mississippi, is certain that he can get more than 1,000 people from Mississippi to participate in the March if there is money to pay for transportation (those of you who have not sent funds to the National Office, please note.)

News reaches us of preparations for the turning out of many thousands of people from Baltimore and Washington, D. C. In the latter city government authorities have advised departmental heads to give their employees the day off where possible.

In the mid West two trains anda number of planes have been chartered from Chicago, and one train is scheduled to come from Detroit. Busloads will arrive in Washington from Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Youngstown, Ohio; from Kansas City, Kansas, and Kansas City, Missouri; and from Louisville, Kentucky.

In New York our smallest calculations include that at least thirty or forty thousand people will leave the city by bus, plane, and train. Mayor Wagner has declared August 28 Jobs and Freedom Day. City employees have permission to take the day off, presumably with pay.

MARCH ORGANIZERS

Contact the following people in your area for further information:

California

Fredericka Cushner
1958 Golden Gate #3
San Francisco 415 FI 6-9082

Rev. Maurice Dawkins
1025 E. 18th Street
Los Angeles 21 213 RI 7-6365

Colorado

Tom Milstein
Boulder March on Washington Com.
870 Hudson St.
Denver 20, Colo. 322-9219

Rev. Joseph L. Griffin
Greater East Denver Action Com.
3240 Adams St.
Denver 5, Colo. 377-1910

Connecticut

Rev. James Peterson
511 Central Ave.
Bridgeport 203 366 0688

Delaware

General Jackson
402 Robinson Dr.
Wilmington 302 OL 6-1777

Georgia

Joseph Eyer
416 W. Park Ave.
Savannah

Worth Long
8½ Raymond St.
Atlanta 404 668-0331

Rev. Abraham Woods
334 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta 404 525-1378

Illinois

Timuel Black
4859 South Wabash Ave.
Chicago 312 268-5077
312 624-1810

Indiana

Curtis Strong
1978 Harrison St.
Gary 219 885 8307

March Coordinators - 2

Kansas

Lela Shanks
2600 North 12th
Kansas City 913 FI 2-9140

Kentucky

George A. Trice
1104 South 41st St.
Louisville 502 774-1174

Louisiana

Isaac Reynolds
Plaquemine 504 687-6244

Maryland

Gloria Richardson
Reggie Robinson
317 High Street
Cambridge MA 8-2040

Troy Brailey
2405 Baker St.
Baltimre 301 LA 3-5205

Massachusetts

Arthur Epps
541 Massachusetts Ave.
Boston 617 CO 7-1058

Michigan

Horace Sheffield
18405 Greenfield
Detroit 855-8321

Minnesota

James White
4545 Fourth Ave. So.
Minneapolis 612 781 6022

Missouri

William Clay
722 Chestnut St.
St. Louis 314 FO 1-9202

Mrs. Connie Timberlake
4728 East 44th Terrace
Kansas City 816 VI 2-5121

New Jersey

Assemblyman George Richardson
52 Holland Street
Newark 201 BI 8-3788

Isaac McNatt
Bergen County
844 St. Nicholas Avenue
New York 31 201 TE 7-2396
Office: 212 AU 3-2400

March Coordinators - 3

New York

John A. Scott
Blyden Jackson
170 West 130th St.
New York City 202 FI 8-1900

James Cook
6 Depot Plaza
White Plains 0914 WH 9-1175

North Carolina

Floyd McKissack, Esq.
213½ West Main St.
Durham 919 682 8106

Ohio

Clarence Holmes
9293 Cedar St.
Cleveland 216 231 2620

C. W. Vinegar
3549 Redding Road
Cincinnati 216 281-8388

Pennsylvania

Samuel Evans
229 N. Broad St.
Philadelphia 215 PO 5-2229

Rev. Herbert Wilkerson
220 Grand St.
Pittsburgh 412 GR 1-1024

Virginia

Lester Banks
404½ West 2nd St.
Richmond MI 4-5678

Rev. Virgil Wood
1405 Grace Street
Lynchburg

Rev. Robinson
920 Lexington St.
Norfolk 203 MA 2-9798

Washington, D. C.

Ed. Brown
1417 U St., NW

HEALTH INSTRUCTIONS

For organizations and bus captains:

(1) A professional nurse or a person trained in first aid should be on each bus or train.

(2) The following first aid supplies should be on hand with each transportation unit:

spirits of ammonia	aspirin
travel sickness pills	enteric coated
gelusil or antacid tablets	salt tablets
Waterproof paper bags for travel sickness	band aids
	paper towels

(3) In case of emergency en route requiring the help of a physician contact the local police and request transportation to nearest hospital with emergency service. If you run into difficulty contact --:

Medical Committee for Civil Rights
Willard Hotel
Washington, D. C. 202 NA 8-4420 collect

This number will be staffed continuously from 8:00 p.m. Tuesday night until 8:00 a.m. Thursday morning (27 - 29th August)

(4) In Washington the D. C. authorities are establishing field hospitals at the assembly areas where emergency cases may be brought.

For Individuals

(1) Supply yourself with plenty of water. Do not bring alcoholic refreshments, only water and soft drinks.

(2) Avoid using sandwich fillings that will spoil rapidly in the heat. In particular avoid the use of mayonnaise, as it deteriorates reapidly and may cause serious diarrhoea.

(3) Wear low-heeled comfortable shoes, and bring a light raincoat. Be sure and bring a hat or other protection for your head, as you may be standing and walking for a number of hours in the hot sun. And don't forget sunglasses.

(4) Supply yourself with enough food for two meals. Include fresh fruit, and also dried fruit like raisins which supply energy, and hard candy. Enteric coated salt tablets may help you guard against heat exhaustion. (any food in a cold insulted bag.)

Subsidy of southern travel is still a problem
Conway: such subsidy should be special project.
Committee appointed to review proposed art sale (college)
Arrangements for health, medicine + sanitation are complete.
Headqtrs. tent - Ident. banner — placards — cleanup squad
D.C. mobilization: Norman, Cromwell (NAA) Kilgore.
Buses Union Sta. to Monument.
Emerg. housing: none at Howard; 150 spaces Americ. Univ.
1500 hotel rms, 66 churches, 200 homes.

421-5235 Ruth Turner

/721-3238 Eric Reinthaler
Cleveland CORE

7

Appendix A.

To: All Local Groups
From: Sy Posner, Information Officer

National press, radio and TV coverage of the March has been tremendous, but there should be more publicity on a local level.

Keep your local media (including local weeklies and dailies, church bulletins, radio and TV stations, etc.) posted on your activities. Send them such information as:

1.- Names and addresses of all committee officers and members of all groups participating in the March.

2.- Full details (who, what, when, where, why, and how) on rallies, fund-raising drives, telephone chains, letter-writing campaigns -- and anything else you are doing to promote the March.

3.- Where people in your area can call to get transportation to Washington, including the cost, time of departure and return, and other pertinent information.

4.- How many buses, trains, planes and cars your area is sending to Washington. Information on any people planning to walk to Washington is of particular interest to the press and to the national office of the March.

No information (let me repeat) no information on the plans or operations of the March on a national level, except for printed material you receive from the national office, may be given to the press without clearance from the national office. I am sure that you will understand that this directive is designed to prevent conflicting or out-dated stories. Rule of thumb: refer such requests to the national office.

Your local press would appreciate receiving your stories typed and double-spaced. Keep your stories as clear and simple as possible. Start off your stories with the essential facts -- What is happening (appointment of committee, rally drive, etc.); where the event is taking place; when, including date and hour; why (to raise funds, to sign up Marchers, etc.); who, with titles and addresses; and how.

Send carbon copies of your press releases to the national office. A number of coast-to-coast TV stations, magazines and others are interested in getting local stories about this grass-roots movement. We will keep them posted on what you are doing.

We would also appreciate clippings of stories that appear in your local papers.

See you in Washington on the 28th!

Income to date 30 000
Expenditures to date 15 000

Telegrams to celebrities from Randolph, King, Norm Thomas
4 local rallies N.Y. area
Elks rally
Money thus far about 80% equally divided + civ. rights labor.
other from churches, indiv., other.
IUD, ILGWU + UAW will underwrite communications expense $16,000
NAACP advances $18,000 escrow for communic. damage
Suggestion: Insurance against libel (communic. co. requires 1 million)
" " communic. damage.

Sure of 191 - 2 - 51 - 1 - 1 - 15 - 5
22 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 5 - 1 - 1 - 4 - 5 - 6 - } buses
3 - 2 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 8 - 3

394 busses
11 trains
1 plane

→ 44,000 people.

Manual #2 in print

H. Moon is chief press officer
Calvin Brooke
Guichard Parrish also!

Whitney Young - ① exploit religious participation both for present + future
② gen. agreement that spokesmen for press should be 10 leaders

LETTERS: Messages need not be long, and it is desirable that you use your own language. However, the following example will give you an idea of what to write:

Honorable_____
House Office Building (or Senate Office Building)
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Congressman_____(or Senator_____):

The President's Civil Rights Bills have been submitted to Congress. Although they fall short of all that is desired, they are, nevertheless, a great step forward, and I hope you will do all in your power to see that an effective bill is passed.

The bills should be strengthened by including a provision for an FEPC and one givign power to the Attorney General to initiate legal proceedings in all cases in which civil rights have been violated.

Sincerely yours

[redacted]

PEOPLE TO CONTACT NOW

BOTH YOUR SENATORS AND YOUR CONGRESSMAN. Call political parties, local newspapers, the League of Women Voters, etc. for the name of your Congressman.

HON. EMANUEL CELLER, Chairman, House Judiciary Committee,
New House Office building, Washington, D.C.

The bills are now pending before the House Judiciary Committee, so in addition to communicating with your Representatives and Senators, you are urged to communicate with the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee.

[redacted]

CORE - 4
38 PARK ROW - 10
NEW YORK 38, N.Y. - 17
(CO 7-6270) - 11

FROM: Richard Haley

TO : Core Chapter Chairmen -

SUBJECT: CALL FOR ACTION - PRESIDENT'S CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS

omit.

WHAT YOU CAN DO NOW

The importance of speed in undertaking a civil rights legislative action program cannot be overestimated. Visits and communications to all Congressmen and Senators NOW may prevent weakening compromises and give the pro-civil rights forces a fighting chance to strengthen the bill.

The President's bills are wholly necessary if freedom and equality are to win out in America. Yet it is far from an extreme or an all-encompassing measure. The bills should be strengthened by at least including a provision for an FEPC and one giving power to the Attorney General to institute on his own initiative legal proceedings in all cases in which civil rights have been violated.

Time is short! It is urgent that thousands of communications (letters, telegrams, abd personal visits) be sent at once to Representatives and Senators urging them to support and strengthen the President's Civil Rights Bills.

We would suggest a program such as this:

1) APPOINT A LETTER-WRITING CHAIRMAN [omit.] and send his name and address to CORE headquarters, (Use enclosed card.)

2) LETTER-WRITING CHAIRMAN

a) HOLDS A MEETING to explain need for everyone to write individual letters to ~~to communicate, as individuals, with~~ their Representatives and Senators, ~~and suggest things present to do so~~. (Have stationery at meeting, if possible.).

b) LINES UP as many ~~individuals~~ persons as possible as special letter-writing AIDES.

c) ASSIGNS TO EACH AIDE A SPECIFIC ORGANIZATION to contact - religious, ethnic, fraternal, labor, business and professional groups should be assigned. The organizations should be urged to conduct letter writing campaigns. The more communications legislators receive from different groups interested in civil rights, the better.

3) At all chapter MEETINGS or any other meetings you might attend, be sure that a PLEA FOR LETTERS is issued and procedures outlined. (Extra copies of material enclosed.)

4) If you prefer to TELEGRAPH, the Western Union Telegraph Company has recently fixed a special 75 cent price for messages to Congressmen and Senators.

5) SET A DEADLINE OF AUGUST 18th. That gives us three weeks to organize and make our views felt. If necessary, be prepared to continue the pressure till adequate bills are passed.

6) DISTRIBUTE THROWAWAYS (see enclosed) at meetings, at subways, or in other key places. A table with stationery might be set up at the same time - a sound truck would be helpful.

see next page

CALL FOR ACTION!

THE TIME IS NOW

~~NOW IS THE TIME~~

← the most ~~important~~

CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS

are now before Congress!

DO THIS NOW:

~~YOU CAN DO YOUR PART~~

WRITE

VISIT

TELEGRAPH (special .75 ¢ rate)

HON ~~Sam~~ EMANUEL CELLER

Chairman House Judiciary Committee.

and

your senators and Representatives

(do donate ~~Washington~~, D.C. and

~~Congress~~ da House Representatives -

Washington 25 DC

DO* THIS AUG. 28:

JOIN MARCH ON WASHINGTON

~~[redacted]~~

URGE FIGHT FOR STRONG CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS

including: Public Accommodations

FEPC

*For information contact:

Local ~~MARCH~~ ON WASHINGTON Aug 5, 1020

CORE 38 Park Row NY38 Cg 6270

DRAFT BUDGET

I Salary

Bayard Rustin, Deputy Director (Beginning June 24th)	10 wks @ $135.00	$1,350.00	
Carl Maynard, General office worker (July 8th)	7 wks @ 65.00	450.00	
Pat Morris, Receptionist (July 15th)	6 wks @ 65.00	390.00	
Peter Graham, Mail (July 29th)	5 wks @ 40.00	200.00	
Tom Kahn, Ass't to B.R. (")	5 wks @ 100.00	500.00	
Sandy Leigh, Stenographer (")	5 wks @ 65.00	325.00	
Evelyn Fosu, Typist (")	5 wks @ 33.00	165.00	
Ted Brown, Travel (")	5 wks @ 125.00	625.00	
Victor Alleyne, Bookkeeper (Aug. 12)	3 wks @ 100.00	300.00	
Ann Kemble, Mail (Aug. 5)	4 wks @ 40.00	160.00	
			$ 8,465.00

II Travel and Expenses

Speakers Bureau -- key leaders to specific meetings	2,500.00	
Frank Montero	1,500.00	
Norman Hill	2,500.00	
Rev. Thomas Kilgore and Ted Brown	1,500.00	
		8,000.00

III Rent

Two months @ $350.00	700.00	
Caretaker	200.00	
Nightwatchman	225.00	
		1,125.00

IV Telephone — 7,000.00

V Office Materials and Supplies

(Tables, typewriters, lamps, office furnishings...) — 3,000.00

VI Postage — 6,000.00

VII Signs

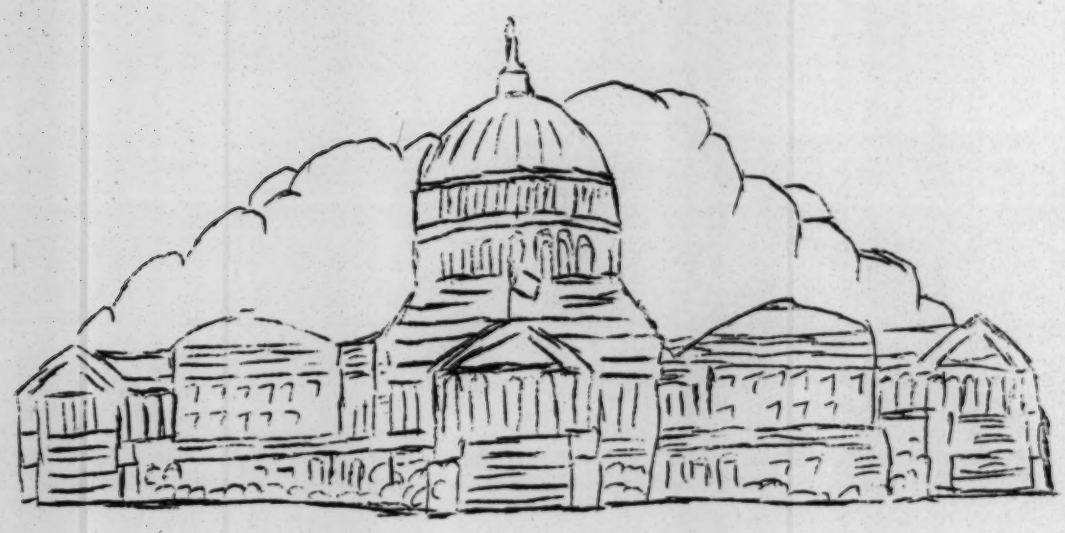
(Banners, placards, and window cards) — 7,000.00

VIII Printing		
Manuals, calls, throwaways, etc.		10,000.00
IX Volunteers		
Expenses for approx. 5 volunteers @ 1.00 per diem for food and carfare	150.00	
Transportation for errands within city	350.00	
		500.00
X Emergency Funds		
Feeding and caring for people in Washington; dealing with special problems of lost and confused people		3,500.00
XI Washington Expenses		
Washington Committee operating expenses (gen.)	6,000.00	
Special expenses one week prior to March	5,000.00	
Special transportation expenses to and from Washington	1,000.00	
Transportation and hotel expenses for staff and leadership	1,500.00	
Toilet facilities (150 toilets plus urinals	6,750.00	
Clean-up facilities and personnel	300.00	
Sound equipment (installation and operation)	16,600.00	
Deposit against damage to sound	(20,000.00)	
Cost of premium on $1 million personal liability insurance	....	
		37,150.00
XII Transportation and expenses for the unemployed and for groups from protest areas who cannot afford to pay own way		25,000.00
GRAND TOTAL		117,240.00

PLEASE POST PLEASE DISTRIBUTE PLEASE PASS THE WORD

BULLETIN I

Local 1707 Marches



On Wednesday, August 28th, tens and tens of thousands of Negro and white Americans will journey to Washington for a massive demonstration in support of President Kennedy's civil rights bill.

Our Local, in cooperation with other unions and with civil rights organizations and other groups, is participating in this March on Washington. President Kennedy has said that he will welcome this demonstration.

We have chartered buses. Get on the buses and join our members. We need a large turnout. Sign up now!

Our President, Mary Gottesfeld, has written to every agency asking that members be given the day off without loss of pay to join this demonstration.

RESERVATIONS MUST BE MADE IMMEDIATELY.

We ask each member to pay $5.00 toward the round-trip transportation. The Local will absorb the balance.

Buses will leave at 4:00 a.m. from Manhattan - if there is a large contingent, one bus will leave from the Bronx.

SEND YOUR $5.00 NOW - payable to CSAE, Local 1707.

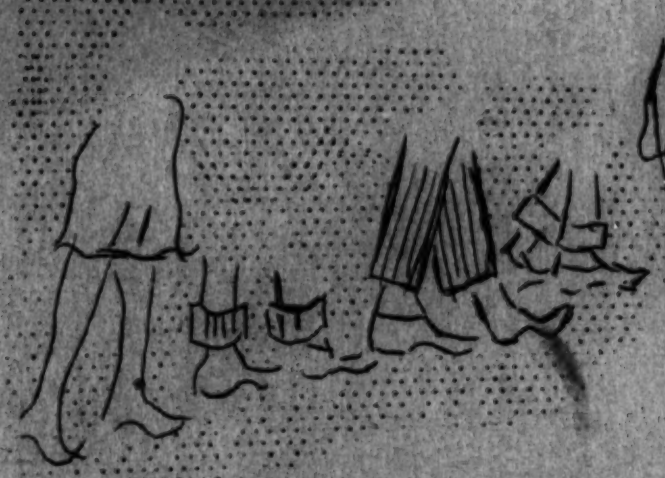
GET ON THE BANDWAGON GET ON THE BUS

Further bulletins will be sent. If you have questions, call the union office (LO 5-0750).

DETACH AND MAIL TO LOCAL OFFICE, 149 WEST 28 STREET, MANHATTAN

- - - -

BULLETIN #3



MARCH ON WASHINGTON

AUGUST 28TH, 1963

FOR JOBS! AND FOR FREEDOM!

FLASH!

YWCA NATIONAL BOARD IS CLOSING DOWN AGENCY ON AUGUST 28TH AND DESIGNATING IT AS FREEDOM DAY! THE YWCA IS ONE OF OUR CHAPTERS.

OTHER MANAGEMENTS HAVE AGREED TO GIVE WORKERS THE DAY OFF WITHOUT LOSS OF PAY TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS MARCH.

HAVE YOU CONTACTED YOUR MANAGEMENT ? PLEASE DO SO AT ONCE !

PLEASE SEND RESERVATIONS WITH MONEY IMMEDIATELY. $5.00 FOR MEMBERS AND $6.00 FOR NON-MEMBERS.

WE MUST HAVE ALL RESERVATIONS IN THE OFFICE ON OR BEFORE AUGUST 15TH.

HAVE YOU DISTRIBUTED BUTTONS? THEY ARE AVAILABLE AT 25¢ EACH.

HAVE YOU VOLUNTEERED TO HELP THE NATIONAL OFFICE AT 170 WEST 130TH STREET, NEW YORK. OFFICE HOURS ARE FROM 10.00 A.M. TO 12 MIDNIGHT.

HELP MAKE THIS A DAY TO REMEMBER IN CIVIL RIGHTS HISTORY!

AN INTERESTING AND EXCITING PROGRAM HAS BEEN PLANNED FOR THIS DAY.

HARRY BELL, OUR CIVIL RIGHTS CHAIRMAN PERSONALLY APPEALS TO ALL OUR MEMBERS TO GIVE TIME, EFFORT, AND MONEY. MONEY SHOULD BE SENT TO THE LOCAL OFFICE SO THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO SEND MEMBERS WHO CANNOT AFFORD TO PAY FOR THIS. PLEASE MAKE YOUR RESERVATIONS IMMEDIATELY. ROUND TRIP WASHINGTON BUS FARE IS $5.00 NON-MEMBERS MUST PAY $6.00. NO CHILDREN UNDER 14 YEARS OF AGE

PLEASE DETACH AND MAIL TO LOCAL 1707, 149 WEST 28TH ST
NEW YORK 1, NEW YORK

I ENCLOSE $5.00 FOR ROUND-TRIP BUS TRANSPORTATION FOR MARCH ON WASHINGTON.

NAME
ADDRESS
AGENCY

I WISH TO CONTRIBUTE $_____ TOWARD SENDING A MEMBER TO THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON

NAME
AGENCY

ISSUED BY CSAE, LOCAL 1707 OEIU/153

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COurtlandt 7-6270

MOW

Message of James Farmer, CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY National Director, from the Donaldsonville Jail, Donaldsonville, Louisiana, to the March on Washington for JOBS and FREEDOM, August 28, 1963

From a South Louisiana Parish Jail I salute the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Two hundred and thirty-two Freedom fighters jailed with me in Plaquemine Louisiana also send greetings to you.

I wanted with all my heart to be with you in Washington on this great day. My imprisoned brothers and sisters wanted to be there too! I cannot come out while they are still in, for their "Crime" was the same as mine--demanding FREEDOM NOW! And most of them will not come out until the charges are dropped or their sentences served. I cannot let the heroic Negro citizens of Plaquemine down by leaving them now while they are behind bars. I know that you will understand my absence.

So we cannot be with you in body, but we are with you in spirit. By marching on Washington, your tramping feet have spoken the message--the message of our struggle in Louisiana--You have given voice to the Struggles of our people in Mississippi and Alabama, too, and in California and Chicago and New York. You have come from all over the nation and in one mighty voice you have spoken to the nation. You have also spoken to the world. You have said to the world by your presence here, as our succesful Direct Action in numberless cities has said, that in an age of thermo-nuclear bombs, violence is outmoded as a solution to the problems of men. It is a truth that needs to be shouted loudly, and no one else anywhere in the world is saying it as well as are American Negroes through their non-violent direct action demonstrations.

The tear gas and the electric cattle prods of Plaquemine, Louisiana, like the fire hoses and dogs of Birmingham, are giving to the world a tired and ugly message of terror and brutality and hate. Theirs is a message of pitiful hopelessness from little and unimaginative men to a world that fears for its life. It is not they to whom the world is listening today. It is to America's Negroes.

Our direct action method is bringing down barriers all over America---in jobs, in housing, in schools in public places, is giving hope to the world, to peoples who are weary of warfare and who see extinction hovering over the future like an ominous mushroom cloud.

If we can solve our problems, and remove the heavy heel of oppression from our necks with our methods, then man has no problems anywhere in the world which cannot be solved without death.

So we are fighting not only for our rights and our freedom; we are fighting not only to make our nation safe for the democracy it preaches. We are fighting also to give our old world a fighting chance for survival. We are fighting to give millions of babies yet unborn--black, white, red, yellow and brown--a chance to see day and to carry on the battle to remove the night of hate, hunger and disease from the world.

You, thus, are at the center of the world's stage. Play well your roles in your struggle for freedom in the thousands of communities from which you come throughout the land. Act with valor and with dignity, and without fear. Some of us may die, like William L. Moore and Medgar Evers, but our war is for life, not for death, and we will not stop our demand for "FREEDOM NOW." We will not slow down. We will not stop our militant, peaceful demonstrations. We will not come off the streets until we can work at any job befitting our skills any place in the land. We will not stop our marching feet until our kids have enough to eat and their minds can study and range wide without being cramped in JIM CROW schools. Until we can live whereever we choose, and can eat and play with no closed doors blocking our way. "<u>We will not stop till the dogs stop biting us in the South, and the Rats stop biting us in the North</u>." We will not stop till the heavy weight of centuries of oppression is removed from our backs, and like proud men everywhere we can all stand tall again.

Statement by James Farmer, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality

I thank you gentlemen for the opportunity to appear here to express my views and the views of the Congress of Racial Equality on this proposed legislation.

Although the burden of the current protests throughout the nation has been in the area of visible segregation, such as public accommodations and education, there is no doubt that one of the most sinister forms of discrimination in the United States is the historic and aggressive segregation of Negroes from equal employment opportunities throughout our economy. There is no chicken or egg in this fight for freedom. Equal employment is an empty victory without a base of integrated education. Access to public facilities is a token without a pocket-full of money to use them. We must approach this incredibly difficult national question <u>on all fronts simultaneously</u>.

We have characterized this struggle in moral terms and that characterization has been the spine and the arms and the heart of the movement until now.

I would like this opportunity to talk to you, however, in much more pragmatic and direct terms. America has a sad and spotty history of employment discrination. The State of New York has generally excellent laws on the books, some since 1946, providing equality in employment for the State's non-white citizens. Yet, at this very moment, close to a thousand people have accepted the penalty and discipline of jail in order to achieve <u>actual</u> integration on state and city-supported construction projects. The difference in New York is obviously enforcement--the difference is obviously the will of public officials, state and federal legislatures, to replace picket lines with serious and conscientious attention to their responsibilities.

So far, we have been unable to achieve this even in the state of New York.

If we are in trouble in New York, we are obviously in trouble in Mississippi, and if we are in trouble in Mississippi, no one can deny that the nation is in trouble throughout the world.

This legislation does indeed make an important federal stride toward achieving better enforcement of its high-minded and eloquent principles. As I read this new

legislation, various Commissions will be able to initiate appropriate investigations, remedial orders, and orders of disqualification of contracts on a federal level without waiting for the inevitable defeat on the level of the state. This commission system of rerouting enforcement around hostile state authorities is absolutely imperative if we are going to have legislation that does more than gather dust.

Now let's talk some frank and hard facts. As a result of segregation and discrimination in employment, housing, education, voting and public accomocations, the American Negro is in a tightly padlocked economic and social box. How does he unlock it?----how does he get out? Most recently he has resorted to direct, non-violent actions.

The proof in employment alone, item:

Item a. The non-white worker suffers a severe occupational disadvantage. In 1960, 45 percent of the non-white males were working in low wage, dead-end jobs as laborers or in the service industries. The proportion of whites in these industries was 13 percent. Among women workers, 40 percent of the non-whites were found in private household employment (domestics) compared with 6.1 percent for their white counterparts. And during the entire decade from 1950 through 1960 hardly any progress was made in eliminating this imbalance.

Item b. In 1960 the average Negro family earned 55 percent of what the average white family earned. This percentage has gone up exactly 1 percent point in the ten year period from 1950 through 1960.

Item c. For 1962, unemployment fell heaviest on the non-white worker. The jobless rate for non-white was about double that of white workers (11% compared with 5%). Non-white teenage boys and girls had the highest rates of any population group (21% and 21% respectively). The rates for white youngsters was high -- around 12% - ...but far lower than those of non-whites in the same age group. A large disparity also persisted among adults. For example, the unemployment rate for non-white men 25 years of age and over was 2½ times that for white men in the same age group.

Non-white workers accounted for 22% of the jobless in 1962 as contrasted with 20% in 1957. They were 28% of the very long-term unemployed compared with 24% five years earlier, although still representing only 11% of the labor force.

Item d. During the 1960's, 13 million additions will be made to the labor force. The present trends of automation show destruction of 1.4 million jobs a year. Unless a vast national effort is made to create employment, the unemployment figures by 1970 will be staggering.

The impact of this on the nonwhite worker is already clear. When opportunity declines for whites, it stops altogether for the Negro. Between 1956 and

1962 the only area where significant expansion of Negro employment took place was in government. Approximately 85% of the increase in nonwhite employment during this period was in the public economy.

Between 1960 and 1962, there was an increase in government employment of nonwhites of approximately 200,000. For the economy as a whole, employment for nonwhites rose by about 100,000, indicating that in the private economy, there was an actual loss of nonwhite jobs.

NOW WHAT DOES THIS MEAN?

Place yourself in the following postures and you will begin to grasp the meaning in the human and tangible terms of a man's life and livlihood.

You are an unemployed Negro farmhand, facing a declining need for farm labor, your family supported by your wife's earnings as a domestic and you cannot get a job as an apprentice in order to learn a new and more economically feasible trade.

You are a Negro construction worker in New York City. You have "shaped up" every morning for four weeks at a city sewer-construction project on Delancy Street .....hundreds of white men are hired instantly and finally when you do work, you are placed on a segregated work gang.

You are a Negro college graduate forced into hod-carrying in Chicago because a majority of big business management training programs callously exclude Negroes.

You are a Negro writer, a Negro accountant, a Negro teacher, a skilled Negro drill-press operator....and you are out of work only because of the color of your skin!

We must have strong, reasoned legislation to combat these inequities and we must have even stronger committments that such legislation will be enforced. Only in this way can we begin to invoke the image of our nation as truly brave and truly free.

Gentlemen.....our hearts are open....our hands are extended. We do not want the wash of blood and anguish that some predict. But we do want our simple freedoms... ...to live.....to learn.....to work. And if the cost of that freedom will maim us; then we accept that disfurment. If the cost of that freedom is to lose our own individual freedom in the jails of New York, New Orleans, Jackson, Mississippi or Los Angeles.....then that cost will be paid, in full.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM

AUGUST 28th, 1963

MARSHAL'S MANUAL

Informational Guidelines for Bus, Plane, and Train Captains

Dear Volunteer Marshal for Jobs and Freedom:

August 28th will become as historic a date as July 4, 1776, January 1, 1863, and May 17, 1954.

Your role in this unprecedented event will be a unique one. For all of us who are dedicated to eradicating the twin evils of discrimination and economic deprivation--which have long robbed all Americans, Negroes and Whites, of human dignity, self-respect and freedom--look to you to create an atmosphere conducive to the most effective expression of our demand for freedom now.

We are confident that every participant in the March intends to conduct himself in keeping with the great dignity and historic character of the event. But upon your shoulders especially there falls the heavy responsibility for maintaining, by your own example and leadership, the order and nonviolent discipline that will write this March, and your role in it, in the annals of history.

We look forward to seeing you at our Headquarters for Marshals--located at 14th Street and Constitution Avenue, the morning of August 28, 1963.

Sincerely,

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
Director

WILLIAM H. JOHNSON, Jr.
Chief Marshall

APR/WHJ:srl

MARSHALS:

Our Marshal force for Jobs and Freedom will be made up of more than 1500 volunteers coming from sixteen Negro civil service Fraternal organizations and the six major civil rights organizations. The Fraternal groups are: (New York) Vulcan Society, Carib-Men Society, Correctionaires, Counseliers, Praetorian Society, Sentinel Society and Guardians Association. (New Jersey) Bronze Shields, Grenadiers, Le Bastions and Les Gendarmes. Also the Westchester Guardians, Connecticut Guardians. Long Island Guardians, Nassau County Guardians, and the Philadelphia Guardian Civil League.

MARSHALS: (Assembly, Departure, and Arrival in Washington, D.C.):

1. All Marshals from the New York Regional Area will assemble at West 143rd Street and Fifth Avenue at 11:30 PM, Tuesday, August 27th, 1965. (Marshals from other sections of the country will assemble and depart as directed by the Chief Marshal.)

2. Marshals from the New York Regional Arrea will depart by bus at 1 AM Wednesday, August 28th, 1963 from West 143rd Street and Fifth Avenue, and will arrive in Washington, D.C. at 5 AM.

3. Immediately upon arrival in Washington, D.C. all Marshals will report forthwith to Marshal Headquarters (14th Street and Constitution Avenue), and will stand by for pertinent instructions and general briefing.

4. After receiving all pertinent information and instructions, Marshals will report to assigned posts, as directed by the Chief Marshal, and be prepared to remain at said posts until the cessation of activities.

5. All Marshals coming to Washington independent of the New York Regional contingent will report to Marshal Headquarters (14th Street and Constitution Avenue), Wednesday, August 28th, 1963, immediately upon arrival.

CHAIN COMMAND

1. Chief Marshal and memebers of his personal staff.
2. Assistant Chief Marshals.
3. Deputy Chief Marshals.
4. Captains.
5. Marshals.

AUTHORITY AND DUTIES OF MARSHALS

1. Authority - Marshals will have NO POLICE POWERS (NO WEAPONS OF ANY KIND) --FEDERAL AND LOCAL POLICE WILL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL POLICE ACTION.

2. DUTIES (General)

a) Assist the Local and Federal police authorities in guiding demonstrators arriving in buses, planes, trains, and cars to the Washington Monument.

b) Create, by example, an atmosphere of passive, peaceful, nonviolent behavior for the more than 100,000 Marchers.

c) Help maintain the Line of March down Constitution and Independence Avenues to the Lincoln Memorial.

d) Help the Marchers to return to their buses, cars, planes and trains at the conclusion of the March, as quickly as possible and to handle such minor emergencies as lost and found, etc.

3. DUTIES (Specific)

a) Assist the local and Federal police authorities in protecting the physical equipment and facilities in the general March area.
b) Detect, point out, and encircle offenders, using at all times nonviolent persuasion to contain the situation.
c) When the above nonviolent methods fail and arrest is imminent - summon ranking police officer and follow arresting officer to point of clearance.
d) When necessary, internal communications should inform Marchers that the Marshals have requested action taken by local and Federal police authorities.
e) Direct and assist Marchers to First Aid Stations, Food and Rest Areas, Bus and Car Parking Zones, and Urban League Booth.
f) At Lincoln Memorial be responsible for collecting the tickets and seat Congressmen and V.I.P.s.

SPECIAL NOTE: ALL MARSHALS WILL EXTEND EVERY COURTESY TO ALL BUS, PLANE AND TRAIN CAPTAINS.

GENERAL INFORMATION:

1. All Marshals will wear white shirts, dark trousers, preferably blue and the remaining attire dark, also.

2. Food for Marshals will be provided by the March Committee.

3. There are four (4) designated parking zones for buses only (see map).

4. All Marshals will carry a regulation police whistle.

5. There are special parking areas for automobiles on the outer fringe. These areas are:
Carter Barron, N.W. (Vicinity of 17th Street and Colorado Avenue)
Soldiers' Home, N.E. (Vicinity of Kenyon Street & North Capitol)
Columbia Island, S.W. (Vicinity of Columbia Island and Mt. Vernon Memorial Parkway)
South Capitol Street (Vicinity of D.C. Tree Nursery)

6. Shuttle Bus service will be available to bring Marchers who arrived by car and are parked on the outer fringe parking areas to the Monument Area.

7. All Marshals will wear an identifying arm band.

8. Marshals will be in charge of the internal communications system.

9. Marshals will be responsible for directing and guiding the Marchers down Constitution and Independence Avenues to the Lincoln Memorial.

10. The special entertainment program will start at Washington Monument at 10 AM.

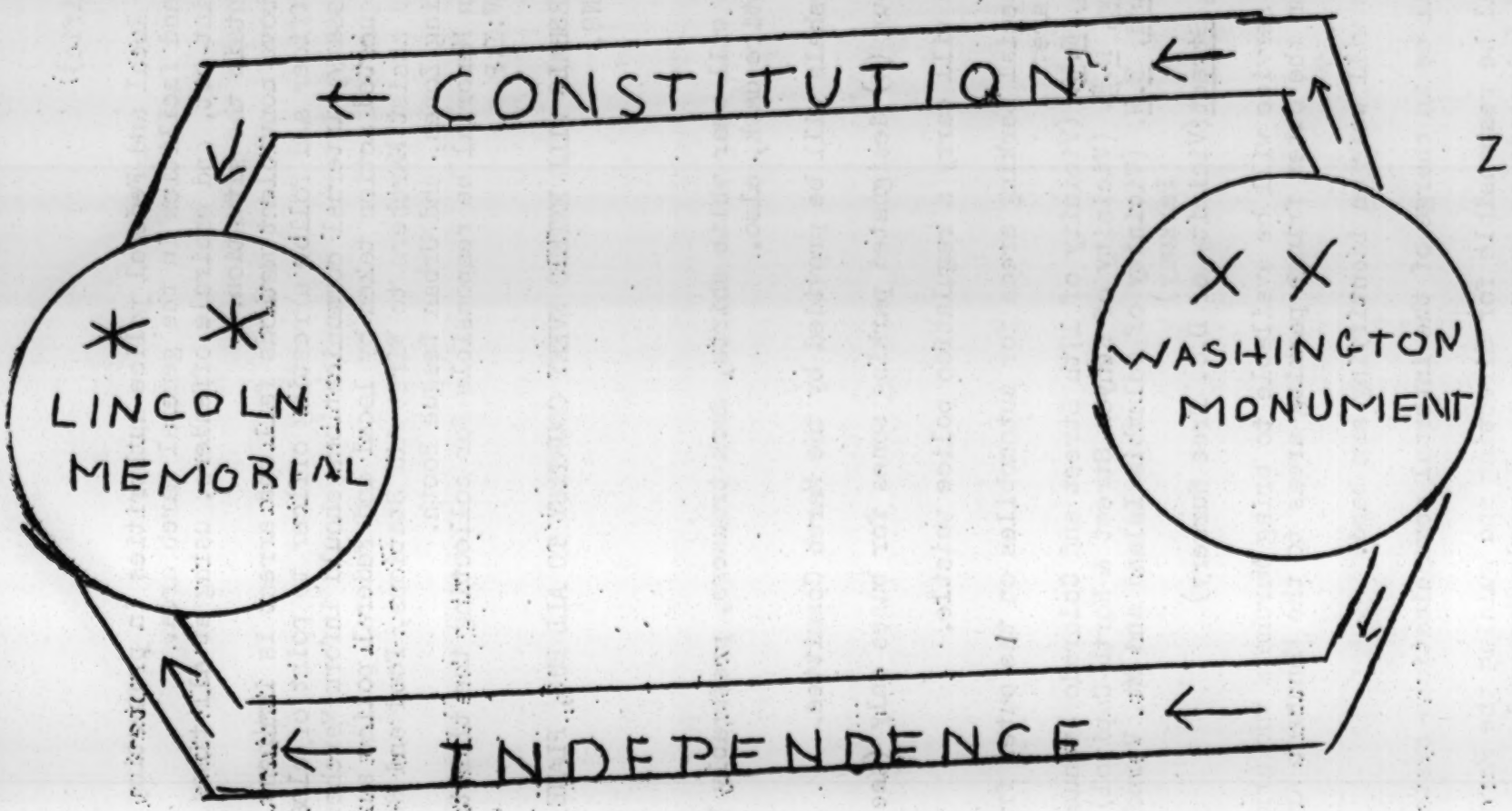
CAPTAINS:

Every bus, plane, and train must have a Captain. Here are the duties of a Captain

1. He must have an accurate list of the passangers under his charge--including their names and addresses. He must check this list at every discharge and boarding point.

BUS PARKING
ZONE 3

ZONE 1



BUS PARKING
ZONE 2

ZONE 4

BUSES AND TRAINS WILL START ARRIVING AT 6:00 A. M.

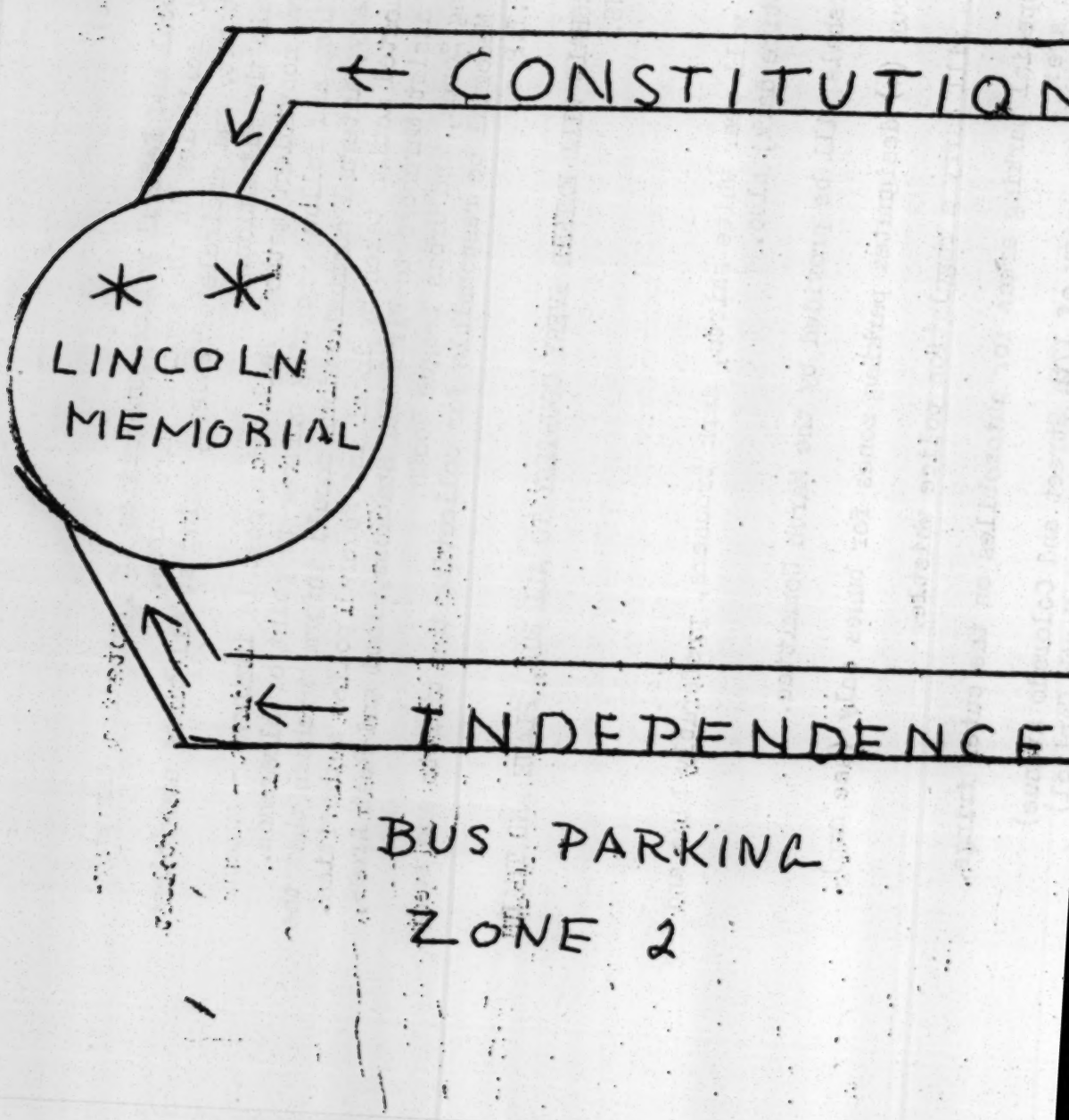
XX ENTERTAINMENT STARTS AT 10:00 A. M. - APPROXIMATELY

XX MARCH STARTS AT WASHINGTON MONUMENT AT 12:00 NOON OR EARLIER
IN 2 COLUMNS TO LINCOLN MEMORIAL

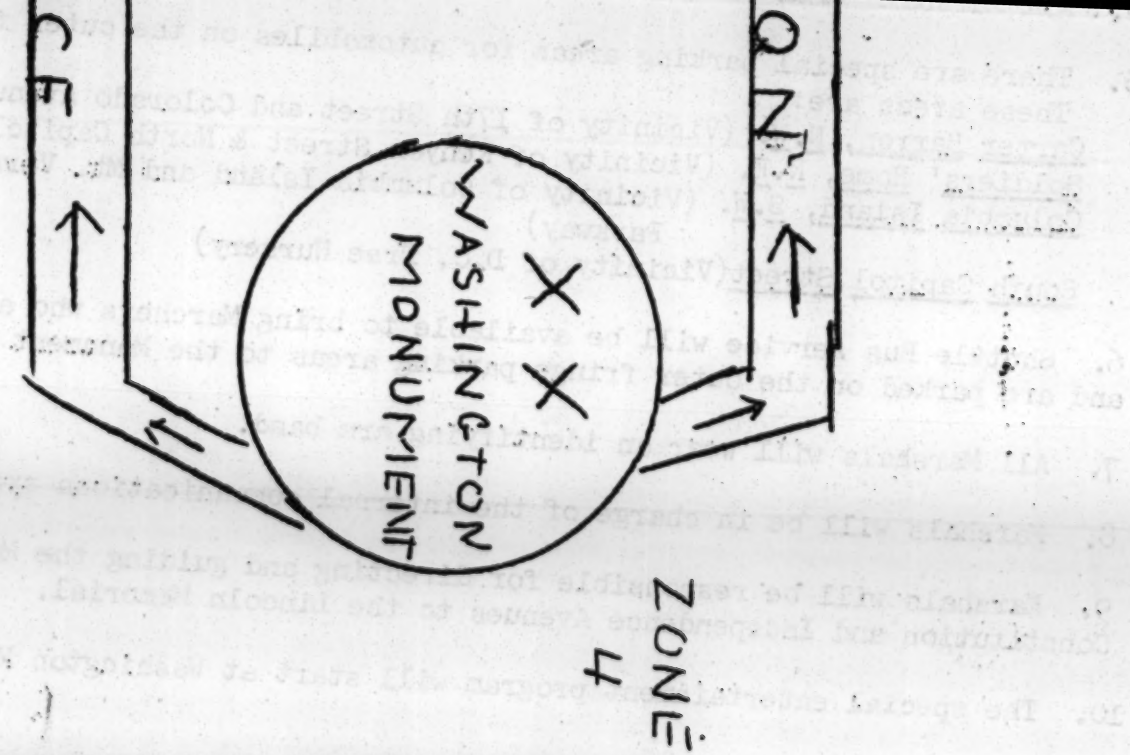
** PROGRAM STARTS AT LINCOLN MEMORIAL AT 2:00 P. M.

BUS PARKING
ZONE 3

ZONE 1



BUS PARKING
ZONE 2



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XX MARCH STARTS AT WASHINGTON MONUMENT AT 12:00 NOON OR EARLIER IN 2 COLUMNS TO LINCOLN MEMORIAL

** PROGRAM STARTS AT LINCOLN MEMORIAL AT 2:00 P. M.

2. He must read the Marshals' Manual thoroughly, and brief his passengers while en route to Washington.

3. He will stress the importance of complete cooperation between his group and the Marshals.

4. He must be prepared to answer any questions raised by members of his group on the role of the Marshals in the March.

5. En route to Washington, he must read to his passengers the March schedule and regulations contained in Organising Manual #2.

6. He must make sure that there are First Aid supplies on his bus, and pay special attention to the final Organising Manual's instructions on food and health.

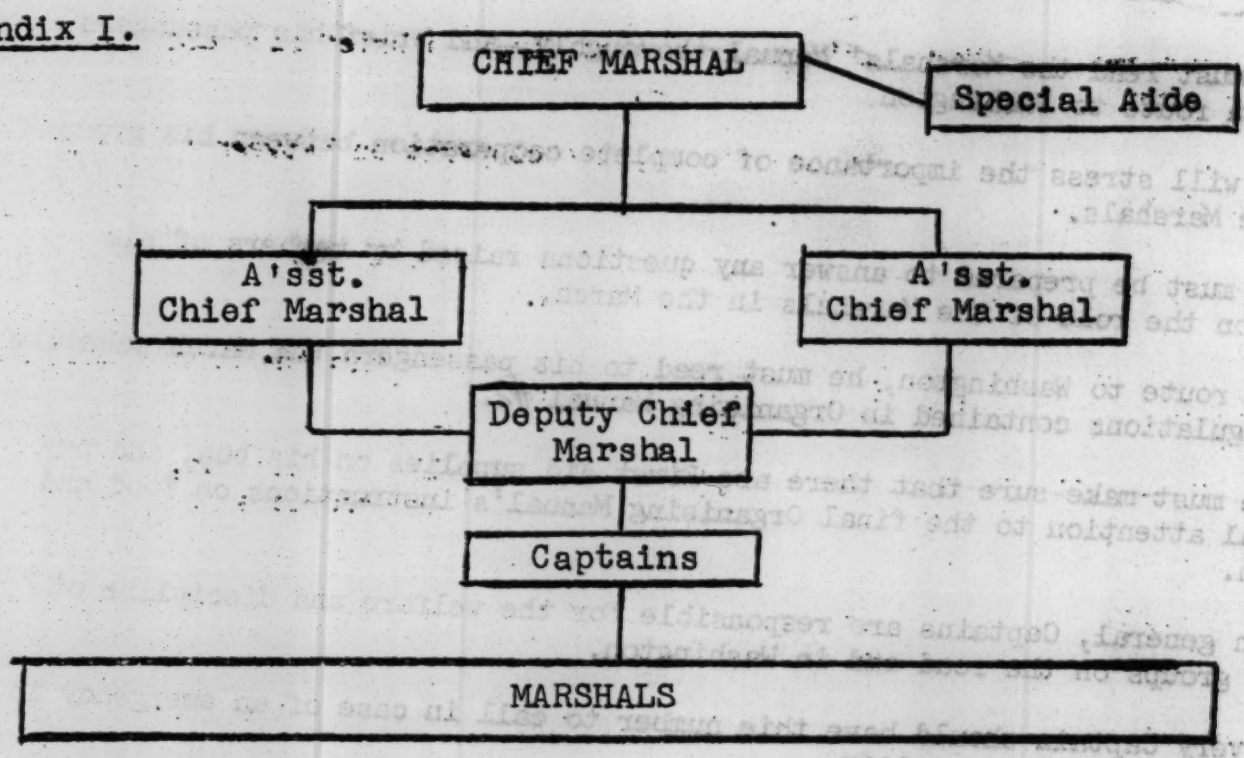
7. In general, Captains are responsible for the welfare and discipline of their groups on the road and in Washington.

8. Every Captain should have thie number to call in case of an emergency in Washington: REpublic 7 0367.

PLEASE NOTE: To a great extent, the overall success of the March will depend upon complete understanding and cooperation between the Bus Captains and Marshal .

REMINDER: Mr. William H. Johnson, Jr., has been designated Chief Marshal and can be reached at Marshals' Headquarters, located at 14th Street and Constitution Ave.

Appendix I.



Chief Marshal: William H. Johnson, Jr.
Special Aide: Harry L. Wheeler
Assistant Chief Marshalls: Calvin W. Allen, Julius Hobson
Deputy Chief Marshals: Affiliated Organization Presidents, and selected technicians

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Appendix II.

WASHINGTON D.C. POLICE COMMANDERS AND AREAS

Commanding Officer	Command
Dep. Chief Wallrodt	Washington Monument Lincoln Memorial Sound System Sylvan Theatre
Dep. Chief Embrey	Area North of Constitution Ave.
Dep. Chief Johnson	Area East of 14th St.
Dep. Chief Heflin	Capitol
Dep. Chief Rosmusen	Union Station
Insp. Casuey (assisting Dep. Chief Wallrodt)	Sylvan Theatre
Insp. Fuss (Assisting Dep. Chief Embry)	No. Lincoln Memorial Area
Insp. Lange (U.S. Park Police) (assisting Dep. Chief Wallrodt)	Lincoln Memorial

File
March on Wash.

August 28, 1963

Miss Marion O. Jones
Executive Director
New York Committee for Stranded Domestics
209 West 125th Street, Suite 103
New York 27, New York

Dear Miss Jones:

Thank you very much for your letter of August 26th addressed to Mr. James Farmer. As you may have heard, Mr. Farmer is presently in jail in Louisiana, but I shall see that your letter is brought to his attention as soon as he returns to New York.

Sincerely yours,

Glenda Lubelsky,
Secretary to the
National Director

GL: AS

AUG 2 7 1963

NEW YORK COMMITTEE FOR STRANDED DOMESTICS

209 WEST 125th STREET, SUITE 103 • NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

Telephone: RI 9-5600

Atty. MARION O. JONES
Executive Director and
Chairman of Legislation and Reform

MRS. PHILIP M. H. SAVORY
Chairman of Advisory Committee

AARON O. WELLS, M.D.
Medical Director

JESSIE M. COLLINS
Executive Secretary

REV. CHARLES L. WARREN
Chairman,
Religious Education Committee

JOHN NAILOR
Chairman,
Educational Committee

THOMAS HOCUTT
Chairman,
Health & Welfare Committee

ROBERT DOWNS
Chairman,
Social & Recreation Committee

ANN JOHNSON
Supervisor Child Care Program

VIRGINIA WELLS
Supervisor Training Program

EMMA MEARS
Supervisor Training Program

NATHANIEL SCOTT
Chairman, Public Relations

ROBERT JONES
Special Counselling on
Employment Agencies

JOHN B. PHARR, JR.
Program Director and
Administrative Assistant

ATTY. MILTON F. TINGLING
Chairman of Legal Committee

ELLA DIXON
Secretary

August 26, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

We are participating in the March On Washington.

After the March may I have an appointment with you to discuss the possibility of combining our efforts in getting a minimum wage for domestic workers.

It is necessary to bring the plight of domestic workers to the forefront through organization, training and legislaton in order that we may raise the dignity and create a minimum wage for domestic workers throughout the nation.

Yours truly,

Marion O. Jones

Marion O. Jones
Executive Director

MOJ:cw

NYC Committee Set Up To Aid Domestic Workers

The New York Committee to Aid Stranded Domestic Workers was set up by Atty. Marion Jones who is its executive director with offices at 209 W. 125 St., New York City.

The program has expanded since its founding in June, 1962 to include, in addition to aiding domestics who were stranded in New York City, efforts toward legislation for $1.25 per hour; a five day week; a training school for domestics; disability insurance; recreational centers; inclusion of federal and state legislation to protect these workers; shorter work hours per day and raising the status of the domestic worker.

Committee Members

The Committee also plans to collect back wages for domestics; upgrading domestics to other occupations; a training manuel and general education programs.

Other members of Atty. Jones' Committee include Dr. Aaron O. Wells, Mrs. Jessie M. Collins, Rev. Charles Warren, John Nailor; Thomas Hocutt, Thomas Downs, Ann Johnson, Mrs. Virginia Wells, Mrs. Emma Mears, Nathaniel Scott, Robert Jones, John B. Pharr, Jr., Atty. Milton Tingling and Miss Ella Dixon.

Many Complaints

Typical of many girls who come to the offices of the Committee is that of Alice who wrote a friend back home.

"I came here through the . . . Employment Agency. I was assigned to work as a domestic in a home in Ellenville."

"The agency that brought me here told me that I was to get $40.00 per week. After I got here, I was told by this woman that she pays $25.00 a week and that I owe her $48.000 for the job plus my fare up here and it will be four weeks before I will get a week's salary."

Barefooted Children

"My daughter Mamie is going to graduate in June and I came up here to try to work to help buy her things and now I am in an awful fix. It is altogether different after I got here.

"I could not get fare back home. I left three children barefooted, besides other bills. Here I work from 8 to 8 p.m. Now I want to leave here and look for something else, but I can't. My luggage is being held by my employer."

Domestics Misinformed

Alice's letter to a friend back home is just one of the many thousands of similar letters that are being sent yearly by domestics stranded throughout the State of New York on false promises, misleading advertising, and unscrupulous employment agency operators in suburban communities throughout the State, Mr. Jones stated.

"Although the 1958 Employment Agency Law gave specific protective provisions for women brought to New York for domestic work, requiring the agencies to write the women of the nature of the work, their duties, wages, and fees they will have to pay, this is not being carried out in this State. Moreover, the problem of domestic employment is not just a New York State problem, but a national one," he added.

Terms Defined

"What is a domestic worker? What is a recruited domestic worker and what is a stranded domestic worker", Mr. Jones was asked.

"The domestic worker that lives and works local in her city or town we call a domestic worker. A recruited domestic worker is one who is induced to leave her home state to work in another state. A stranded domestic worker is one who may be in either of the above categories but because of conditions beyond her control is left without funds, shelter or transportation to return to her home state; or to obtain protection locally. That is why we say this problem is not only a local problem; but a national one too and requires federal legislation," he explained.

44% of Negro Women

"The 1960 federal census reported that approximately 44 per cent of the Negro women employed in the nation were employed as domestics. At sometime or other, just about every Negro family in the nation has had a member working in domestic employment.

"While labor unions are arguing for a 40 hour week, and in many cases for a 35 hour and less, domestic workers are struggling on often as much as 72 hours a week, with no unemployment insurance or minimum wage, under slave-like conditions, with no one to turn to for help. Quite often they toil long, arduous hours in the homes of labor leaders and government officials who argue for labor's rights," he further pointed out.

No Security

"Today in many communities the job of the domestic worker is like that of an 18th century slave, where many live and

work is human misery, are overcharged and misrepresented, with no real enforcement of a minimum wage, regulations governing compensation, social security, regular hours or any unemployment insurance.

"It was as a result of my working with the N.A.A.C.P. and Dr. Hilda Fortune and Dr. Jean Noble of the Urban League that the New York Committee to Aid Stranded Domestics was organized.

15,000 Come to N.Y.

"Daily complaints came to the offices of the Urban League and to me as former Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Stranded Domestics. Also I received information from government agencies, of the widespread abuses heaped on the estimated 15,000 domestics who migrate to New York each year who are forced to work under slave-like conditions, including excessive charging of fees, withholding luggage and personal belongings, refusing to provide food and lodging placing of eight to ten girls in a room, paying weekly wages of $5.00 and offering plaid stamps for human misery," he stated.

3 Point Program

"We have begun a three-fold program to lift the status and dignity of domestics through improved legislation, stronger enforcement of existing state regulations by the State Labor Department, and opening a training school to give help to stranded domestics, better training so they can command higher wages, and training for different jobs other than domestics. Our program also includes possible seeking of federal manpower retraining funds.

UI-NAACP Aid

As part of our present immediate program, we are working with Dr. Hilda Fortune and Dr. Jean Noble of the Urban League and Herbert Hill of the N.A.A.C.P. and other community groups, we are appealing for complete support from all phases of the community for support of Senator Thomas La Verne's bill, Print 1560, Introductory No. 1540, which will insure unemployment insurance benefits to domestic employees who earn $400.000 or more in any one quarter, to help prevent them from being further taken advantage of by unscrupulous persons and agencies." Mr. Jones emphasized.

Control Needed

"We are also urging support from all interested groups and persons of Governor Rockefeller's bill which would provide for uniform state control of private employment agencies, and greatly help in protecting the out-of-state recruited domestic.

The New York Commitee to Aid Stranded Domestics urges you to send memos, letters and telegrams now to your elected State Senators and Assemblymen to demand passage of these important pieces of legialaton.

Public Asked To Help

Your full support now will go a long way in helping to end this 20th Century slavery still going on right here in our own New York State.

What are the New York Laws with reference to employment agencies? What are the rights of domestic workers? What are the problems which involve the community with 45 per cent of the Negro women being domestic workers? These and other questions will be discussed in this column next week.

If you have any questions write to the Committee to Aid Stranded Domestics.

THE TIME IS NOW

A CALL

TO AMERICANS, BLACK AND WHITE TO JOIN THE

MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM

August 28, 1963

America faces a crisis. Millions of citizens are unemployed. Millions are denied freedom. The twin evils of discrimination and economic deprivation plague the nation. They rob all people, Negro and white, of dignity, self-respect and freedom. They impose a special burden upon the Negro who is denied the right to vote, refused access to public accommodations, forced to accept inferior education and relegated to sub-standard ghetto housing.

One hundred years after the Emancipation Proclamation, the American Negro still bears the brunt of economic exploitation, the indignity of second-class citizenship, and the ignominy of slave wages.

The rate of Negro unemployment is almost three times higher than that of white workers, breeding misery, frustration and degradation in every community - North and ~~the~~ South.

Discrimination in education and in apprenticeship training cripples Negroes, Puerto Ricans and other minorities, rendering them helpless in our mechanized and industrial society. Shunted to relief, charity or to living by their wits, the jobless are driven to despair, to crime, to hatred and to violence. Yet, despite this crisis Southern Democrats and reactionary Republicans are still working to defeat any effective civil rights legislation before the Congress.

They fight against the rights of all workers and minority groups, because they are the sworn enemies of freedom and justice. They proclaim states rights in order to destroy ~~for the purpose of destroying~~ human rights. The Southern Democrats came to power by disenfranchising the Negro people. They know that as long as black workers are voteless, exploited, depressed and underpaid the fight of white workers for decent wages and working conditions will fail ~~be frustrated~~. They know that semi-

slavery for one means semi-slavery for all.

We oppose these forces. We appeal for unity to destroy this century-long hoax.

We call upon all Americans, regardless of race or creed, to join the March on Washington for Freedom.

- to demand that Congress pass a civil rights bill that will restore the constitutional rights now denied the Negro people

- to oppose any watering down, or compromise on civil rights legislation by either political party;

- to offer a great witness to the basic moral principles of human equality and brotherhood.

We call upon all Americans, regardless of race or creed also to March on Washington for Jobs.

In their historic non-violent revolt for freedom, the Negro people are demanding the right to decent jobs. They recognize that their struggle is inextricably linked with the struggle for decent jobs for all Americans.

Finally, they know that there is no way for Negroes to win and hold jobs unless the problems of automation, a stagnant economy and discrimination are solved by the Federal government establishing a massive workers program to train and employ all Americans at meaningful and dignified labor at decent wage rates.

- to restore economic freedom to all in this nation;
- to blot out once and for all the scourge of racial discrimination.

We call on you and all organizations -- churches, fraternal societies, labor unions, civic groups, youth groups, and professional associations -- to accelerate the dynamic, non-violent thrust of the civil rights revolution by joining the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

THE TIME IS NOW!

Wednesday
August 28, 1963

SEP 20 1963

9/30

10 am

MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM
170 West 130 Street
New York 27, New York
FIlmore 8-1900

Founding Chairmen
Mathew Ahmann
Eugene Carson Blake
James Farmer
Martin Luther King
John Lewis
Joachim Prinz
A. Philip Randolph
Walter Reuther
Roy Wilkins
Whitney Young

Administrative Committee
Cleveland Robinson
Chairman
Courtland Cox
Ann Arnold Hedgeman
Rev. Thomas Kilgore, Jr.
Rev. George Lawrence
James McCain
Gloster Current
Guichard Parris
Irwin Suall

Director
A. Philip Randolph

Deputy Director
Bayard Rustin

Coordinators
Norman Hill
L. Joseph Overton

Southern Administrators
Dr. Aaron Henry
Worth Long
Att. Floyd McKissick
Rev. Wyatt Walker

September 18, 1963

MEMORANDUM

TO: MATTHEW AHMANN
EUGENE CARSON BLAKE
JAMES FARMER ✓
MARTIN LUTHER KING
JOHN LEWIS
JOACHIM PRINZ
WALTER REUTHER
ROY WILKINS
WHITNEY YOUNG

FROM: A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJ: Meeting of the "Big Ten" -
Monday September 30, 1963

Recent developments have made it imperative that we get together and discuss plans for further action and program in this civil rights struggle, I am calling a meeting on Monday, September 30, in the offices of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights - 704 Seventeenth Street N.W. Washington, D. C. - at 10 A. M.

I sincerely hope your schedule will permit your attendance. For your convenience, I am enclosing a reply card. Thank you - and I look forward to seeing you on the 30th.

File MOW

September 27, 1963

MEMORANDUM

TO: The Chairmen of the March on Washington

FROM: Bayard Rustin, Deputy Director

SUBJECT: The future of the March on Washington movement

That the August 28th March on Washington was an historic success needs no further elaboration. What needs to be underlined is that only the unity of the civil rights organizations and their white allies could have produced that spectacular success. No one organization or narrow coalition of organizations could have done the job.

Moreover, the moral impact of the March has given an unforeseeable weight to a new entity commonly called "the big ten" When they speak as a group today they represent not merely this or that organization but, in the broadest sense, the vast majority of decent Americans. In another sense, they are the living repudiation of the canard that Negroes are incapable of uniting themselves and, hence, incapable of uniting with others. Here our movement has scored a victory over a demoralizing stereotype which must not be reversed.

The segregationists response to our show of strength and unity, is, predictably, an intensification of violent resistance — as witnessed by events in Birmingham, Selma and Shreveport. As a result of their actions 63 and others that may be expected to follow — there can only be an intensification of conflict in local areas throughout the country, North and South. Certainly there will be an acceleration of activities by our forces. The popular response to our four-day appeal for a National Day of Mourning indicates the presence of strong visceral sentiments ready for quick mobilization.

In the context of this sketchy analysis, the necessity of maintaing the March on Washington movement — and the coalition of forces it represents — is compelling. On the negative side, dissolution of the movement can injure morale at a critical stage in the civil rights revolution. On the positive side, continuation of the movement can provide us with the moral and material strength to meet the current counter offensive.

Related to these rather general considerations, are several more specific reasons for continuing the March on Washington:

1) In the critical period ahead, with its new tensions, objective factors are likely to strain relations among the civil rights organizations at many points. Already the Birmingham crisis has produced a myriad of plans and strategies which vary greatly in efficacy and mutual compatibility. In the absence of repeated discussion, it is

certain that criticism will be construed as hostility, and false "radical v. conservative" dichotomies will be encouraged. That diverse tactical and strategic views exist among us is a source of our creativity. Yet there needs to be an agency that prevents diversity from becoming disunity, that embraces a variety of viewpoints, that counteracts tendencies toward splintering. Because of the mutual trust and confidence it has established, the March on Washington appears best suited to this role.

2) If there is a need to maintain a structural cohesion among the established civil rights organizations, there is also a need to channel into meaningful activities many spontaneous currents that have no commitment to any of the established organizations, but identify with "the movement" or "the cause" Undoubtedly, many such people participated in the March and look to us for the next step.

3) The very diversity of the civil rights organizations has created problems for non-civil rights organizations, including the four represented among our chairmen. For there is no way in which they can give total, rounded support to the civil rights movement except as they give it to a unified movement.

4) A unique aspect of the March on Washington was that it focused on the indivisibility of the "jobs and "freedom" slogan -- that it projected a far-reaching economic program for all Americans as a prerequisite for genuine freedom. Largely on the basis of that program the march succeeded in forging new links of an alliance with the important segments of the labor movement, as represented by Chairman Reuther. If the civil rights movement is to grapple realistically with the problem of jobs for Negroes that alliance must be strengthened and deepened along the lines mapped out by the 10 demands of the March.

5) Finally, the March on Washington is publicly committed to undertake action against the anticipated Senate filibuster. It is also my view that we have some responsibility, though as yet undefined, toward the quarter million Americans who made the pledge at the Lincoln Memorial.

In listing these arguments on behalf of maintaining the March on Washington, I do not want to gloss over some of the problems involved. However, they are, in my view, not insoluble. For example:

1(Continuing the coalition would not imply any restrictions on the autonomy of local chapters of theeivil rights organizations which have their own constitutional relations with their national offices. It is by strengthening relations among the national organizations that the influence of the March on Washington, considered as consensus of these organizations, would be maximized on the local level.

2) Continuation of the coalition should not disrupt or impede the day-to-day functioning and operations of the established organizations. On the contrary, if successfully administered, the March on Washington could take on a number of tasks which the established organizations are unprepared to carry out. While a formula to express this concern will have to emerge from fuller discussions then space permits here, I am confident that the representative character of the March structure makes it unlikely that activities would be promoted that encroach upon staked out areas of concentration.

Again, if successfully conceived and organized, the March on Washington movement would be able to increase mass participation in, and commitment o. the civil rights struggle in such a way as to facilitate membership recruitment and fund-raising by the established organizations.

3) The March on Washington should cooperate in the closest way with the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and look to it for guidance in legislative matters. Fruitful coolaboration between the two could lead to greater unity of tactics and help educate large numbers of civil rights activists who are insufficiently informed of developments on the Congressional battlefront.

4) Besides servicing the sponsoring organizations of the March, we ought to provide assistance to legitimate civil rights groups add ad hoc movements which are not yet an integral part of the March on Washington movement. While our assistance not be explicitly contingent on their becoming such, our view should be toward increasing the impact, effectiveness and cohesiveness of the united movement. I have indicated elsewhere in this memorandum, I believe that such groups and movements are likely to appear, in the days ahead, with increasing frequency, and thefuture of the civil rights struggle depends in some measure in our ability to absorb them into the mainstream of this struggle.

OCT 8 1963

JUBILEE

168 East 91st Street / New York 28
EN 9-7550

October 3, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
C.O.R.E.
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Enclosed is a copy of the October JUBILEE. It contains an article on the March on Washington by Ned O'Gorman that will be of special interest to you.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

John Reynolds

r/
Enc.

2-101

OCT 7 1963

THE COUNCIL
OF
THE CITY OF NEW YORK
CITY HALL

F-4

Morchon Wash

October 3, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
President - Core
38 Park Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer,

Enclosed please find a copy of a resolution passed by The Council of The City of New York on September 10, 1963. The same is self-explantory.

Very truly yours,

City Clerk
Clerk of The Council

HK/jrw
encl. 1

THE COUNCIL

Res. No. 644

Resolution Commending the Leaders of the Civil Rights March on Washington and the Participants for Their Decorum and Discipline in the Conduct of the March and the Program at Lincoln Memorial.

By Mr. Corso—

Whereas, On August 28, 1963 an estimated 200,000 Americans marched on Washington, D. C. to gather and demonstrate before the Lincoln Memorial for a full and speedy program of civil rights and equal job opportunities, and

Whereas, This assemblage was the greatest gathering for such a purpose ever witnessed in Washington, D. C., and

Whereas, Despite the huge number of participants, the demonstration was carried out with extraordinary discipline, quiet dignity, and unusual decorum, and

Whereas, Such demonstration, as accomplished, is a tribute to the responsibility of the leaders of the march and to its participants as well, and

Whereas, The orderly march and demonstration at Lincoln Memorial, for the purpose of demanding equality in all aspects of American life, embodied in concept and conduct the noblest tradition of our democracy; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Council of the City of New York commends the leaders of the Civil Rights March on Washington and the participants in the march and demonstration at Lincoln Memorial for their decorum and discipline in the conduct of their entire program; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the following persons: Mathew Ahmann, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Martin Luther King, Jr., John Lewis, James Farmer, Rabbi Joachim Prinz, A. Philip Randolph, Walter P. Reuther, Roy Wilkins, and Whitney M. Young, Jr.

The City of New York,
Office of the City Clerk, } ss.:

I hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of a Resolution passed by The Council of The City of New York on **SEPTEMBER 10, 1963** on file in this office.

.....
City Clerk, Clerk of the Council.

THE COUNCIL

MOW

THIS ALBUM HAS BEEN DESIGNATED ON OCTOBER 9th, 1963

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● BY THE "BIG TEN" ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

Mathew Ahmann
Dr. Eugene Carson Blake
James Farmer
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
John Lewis
Dr. Joachim Prinz
A. Philip Randolph
Walter P. Reuther
Roy Wilkins
Whitney M. Young, Jr.
AND THEIR ORGANIZATIONS

AS THE OFFICIAL MARCH ON WASHINGTON ALBUM

PRODUCED BY WRVR, THE NON-COMMERCIAL FM STATION OF THE RIVERSIDE CHURCH OF NEW YORK
Coordinated and Edited by Maely Daniele Dufty

This is the only officially endorsed recording which contains the speeches of all ten Leaders of the March, the Pledge, as spoken by A. Philip Randolph—affirmed by a quarter-million voices—and a special introduction by Bayard Rustin, Deputy Director of the March. Enclosed, with each album, is a handsomely printed Pledge on parchment-paper, suitable for framing.

The official album is the full historic document of the March on Washington, faithfully preserving its spirit of strength, dignity and hope for the Brotherhood of Man.

"THE OFFICIAL MARCH ON WASHINGTON ALBUM" was designated by the "Big Ten" as a major fund-raising vehicle for organizations, church groups, unions and individuals who want to participate in the Civil Rights programs of any of the "Big Ten" sponsoring organizations of the March, their affiliates or the March on Washington Headquarters in New York.

"THE OFFICIAL MARCH ON WASHINGTON ALBUM" sells for $3.00 prepaid, postage included and tax exempt. All proceeds of this album go directly, and in total, to the organization designated by the purchaser of the album. It is obtainable in bulk or individual orders through any of the "Big Ten" organizations, the March on Washington Headquarters, 170 West 130th St., NYC 10027, or directly from Station WRVR, the non-commercial FM station of the Riverside Church, 490 Riverside Dr., NYC 10027. Direct orders to WRVR must designate organization to which proceeds are to be mailed. All business operations are being handled with the assistance of the Accounting and Business offices of the Riverside Church.

Please mail to me _____ copies of the "OFFICIAL MARCH ON WASHINGTON ALBUM" containing the speeches of the "Big Ten" and a copy of the Lincoln Memorial Pledge.

Enclosed please find _____ in the amount of $ _____
(Check) (Cash) (Money Order)

Please credit the proceeds of the purchase of this "OFFICIAL MARCH ON WASHINGTON ALBUM" to the following organization:

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

_____
Organization National Office Local Branch

Please mail to:

Name _____

Address _____
(No. and Street) (City) (State) (Zip No.)

29 October 1963

Mr. H. Johnson
357 Ninth Street
Brooklyn 15, New York

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Mr. Farmer has asked me to reply to your letter of August the 23rd. You probably know that he was incarcerated in Louisiana at the time of your letter and the March on Washington.

He and Mrs. Farmer are grateful for the dedication of your song to them and their two children. I'm sorry that he simply does not have the time to acknowledge personally all of the many kind letters which he receives. For your information I am enclosing our most recent pamphlet, "All About CORE."

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey

Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:lp

YMCA OF GREATER NEW YORK AUG 26 1963

Prospect Park Branch

357 NINTH STREET • BROOKLYN 15, NEW YORK

Telephone: SOuth 8-7100

Acknowledged

8/23/63

Dear Mr. Farmer,

We met at the Puerto-Rican Leadership Conference on 72nd St. a year ago. We were both early, spoke together briefly.

I joined CORE in 1944, admire it's way highly, and you. I learned of your having Abby & Jami from F.O.R. Fellowship magazine article.

I hope you like this song — the only one I've ever written down. It tumbled out after reading 2/3 of

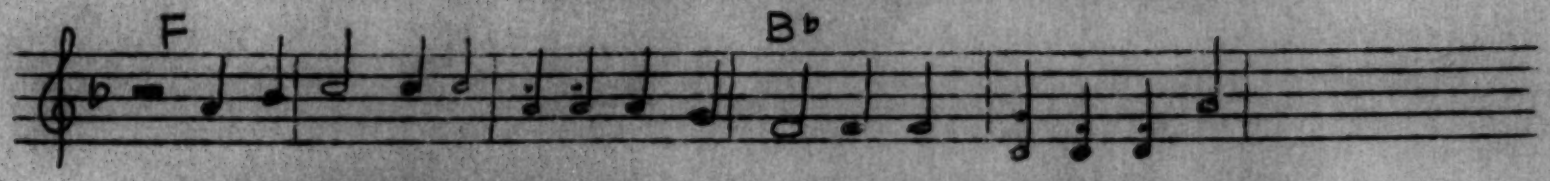
L. Lomax's "Negro Revolt,"
and I thought I'd dedicate
it to you. On second
thought, I figured it
should have been Lomax, whose
book stirred me — or Dr.
King, for whose deeds I just
had such strong feelings
of admiration, such that brought
tears streaming down my face.
But then I knew it was
the lives or many men, and women, that
moved me — and my first
impulse was okay.

I'm sure though you're
happy I changed it to be in
the names of your daughters & wife.

H. Johnston

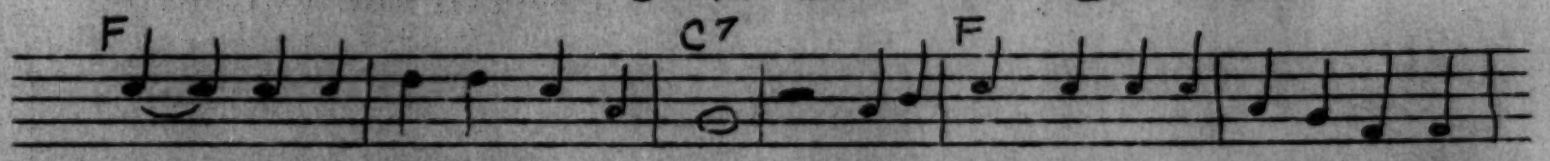
I'll do more worthwhile things yet — though
I'll not be able to do ½ what you've done!

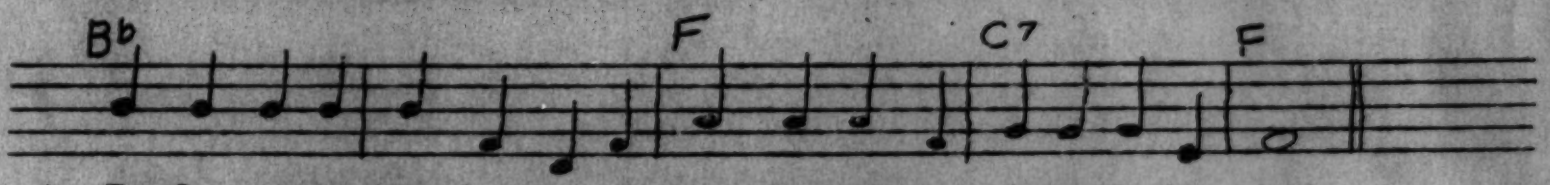
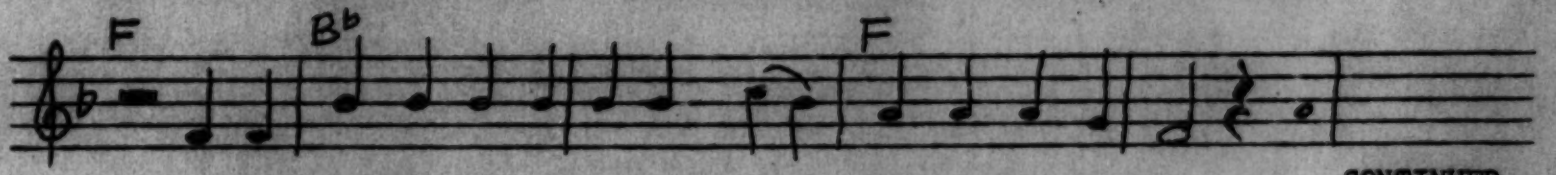
WE ARE MARCHING TO WASHINGTON * AUGUST 1963



1. We are marching to Washington, we're marching to Washinton, we're
2. We are march------ing------, we're march------ing, we're

THIRD & FOURTH VERSES BEGIN BELOW (ON 4TH STANZA)



1. march--ing to Washington to- day. We are bound to win a victory for
2. march--ing to Washington to- day. We are bound to win a victory for
3. be a land where all the brave are free. So—— we must not forget that it was
4. brave and win the battle of the day. We are bound to win a victory for

1. Equal oppor- tun- i- ty, we're bound to win a victory to- day!
2. Freedom and for Dignity, we're bound to win a victory to- day!
3. won despite some fret—— Oh, be brave and win the battle of the day.
4. all of -- humanity ----- we're bound to win a victory to- day!

3. Oh, this country it was founded for love of liber-- ty, to CONTINUED IN SECOND STANZA.
4. Oh, be brave ———————— Yes be brave ——— Be

If this song were worth anything in terms of cash, I would want it to go to the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and I would dedicate the song to the 2 and 4 year old daughters of James Farmer and His wife, and to all the other children of brave men and women who fight without violence, in the struggles to keep the pledge that this nation be one in which there is LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL.

A YMCA SECRETARY OF GREATER NEW YORK YMCA

November 19, 1963

Dr. Leonidas H. Berry
412 East 47th Street
Chicago 53, Illinois

Dear Dr. Berry:

I am replying to your June letter to Mr. Farmer. We regret that your letter went unanswered until now. I am sure you are aware of how busy this office has been.

The March on Washington Committee placed limitations on what could be on the signs carried by various organizations. While CORE was unable to use your suggestions on our signs in Washington, we certainly agree that this kind of educational campaign is extremely important. Increasingly we are doing what we can to educate the entire population to the fact that equal rights are a matter of earned right.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:lp

JUN 17 1963

TELEPHONE KENWOOD 6-1517

LEONIDAS H. BERRY, M. D., F. A. C. P.
412 EAST FORTY-SEVENTH STREET
CHICAGO 53

June 13, 1963

Mr. James A. Farmer
Executive Director
Congress Of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

First let me congratulate you on thefine job that you and the National staff are doing. Next, I would like to offer a suggestion.

It would seem to me that the time has come when we must fight to dispel the image that Negroes want equality of opportunity as a "charitable and moral" concession of White people. There seems to me a danger of over em;hasis of the "moral" obligation of Whites. There are million of Whites and Negroes who do not know the extent to which Negroes have earned the rights which they seek. Therefore, may I humbly suggest the following for the demostration leaders who may appear in Washington the next week and elsewhere. Let the posters which they carry present such statements as:

"Two and a half million Negroes fought in the Civil War to <u>earn</u> their own emancipation."

"Black Crispus Attucks was the first to die in the Boston massacre for American freedom."

"Negroes earned the right of first class citizenship with their blood in all American wars."

"Five thousand Negroes fought with George Washington for American freedom."

"Our blood, sweat and tears are in five centuries of American soil."

"Who are Americans? Black men came to America with the earliest of explorers."

"Teach all children the whole truth of American history; the rights of all would be respected."

Such posters would be photographed and have wide distribution through all the news media. I trust that you get the thought of what I am trying to express and that you will see fit to implement this approach. With very best wishes, I am,

Very truly yours,

Leonidas H. Berry

LHB:tm

Leonidas H. Berry, M. D.

P. S. Iam a financial supporter.

Church

November 22, 1963

Mr. Myron A. Hoyt
Stated Clerk
410 East Idaho Street
Rapid City, South Dakota 57705

Dear Mr. Hoyt:

In behalf of CORE I want to express our appreciation for your commendation of the Congress of Racial Equality and the March on Washington. As I know you are aware the Presbyterian Church played a major role in the March, and especially recently, has been providing much needed leadership in the field of civil rights.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:lp

Mr. Marlon B

November 22, 1963

Mr. Farmer

SEP 30 1963

OFFICE OF THE STATED CLERK

SYNOD OF SOUTH DAKOTA

OF THE

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

410 East Idaho Street
Rapid City, South Dakota
57705

Sept. 26, 1963

Congress on Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

The Synod of South Dakota of the United Presbyterian Church, in session assembled at Aberdeen, South Dakota, September 19, 1963, instructed me to communicate with you commending your organization for the magnificent display of America's better nature in the Washington March.,

Very truly yours,
Myron A. Hoyt,
Myron A. Hoyt, Stated Clerk.

M.O.W.

2 December 1963

Mr. Henry J. Richardson, Jr.
Attorney at Law
38 North Pennsylvania Street
Ober Building Suite 417
Indianapolis 4, Indiana

Dear Mr. Richardson:

I'm terribly sorry that Mr. Farmer was unable to reply to your letter before the March on Washington. He very much appreciated your comments and asked me to express his gratitude for the role which you have played over the years working toward making America truly the land of the free.

Many of us would have preferred to have the March coincide with the expected filabuster but problems of organization and co-ordination made that impossible. I am sure that you will agree with me that the March, as executed, lived up to the high standards outlined in your letter.

All of us at CORE have been shocked with the tragic death of President Kennedy. We look hopefully to the Johnson administration for the vigorous completion of the civil rights bill begun by our late president. CORE has promised its support to Mr. Johnson in securing this end.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:lp

LAW OFFICES
RICHARDSON, LEWIS AND ALLEN
38 NORTH PENNSYLVANIA STREET
OBER BUILDING SUITE 417
INDIANAPOLIS 4, INDIANA

HENRY J. RICHARDSON, JR.
L. ALDRIDGE LEWIS, JR.
NOLA A. ALLEN

PHONE
MELROSE 2-9595

JULY 23, 1963

MR. JAMES L. FARMER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK

DEAR MR. FARMER:

YOUR FORTHRIGHT AND COURAGEOUS LEADERSHIP OF A NEW ERA AND A NEW DAY IN AMERICA FOR NEGROES IS NOT ONLY HISTORY MAKING BUT DIVINELY INSPIRED AS A MATTER OF DESTINY. THE WIDE-SPREAD WHEELS OF SOCIAL REFORM ARE GRINDING AND CANNOT BE HALTED WITHOUT BURNING A BEARING, BUT THEY MUST BE KEPT WELL-OILED AND WELL-BALANCED; IN THIS NEW AGE OF DIRECT, POSITIVE AND NON-VIOLENT ACTION, THE DYE IS CAST AND THE MARCH IS ON TO REMOLD AND DIRECT THE COURSE OF HISTORY FOR GENERATIONS TO COME.

I HAVE BEEN TURNING OVER IN MY MIND THE JOINT EFFORTS OF A MARCH ON THE NATIONAL CAPITOL AND DRAWING BACK OVER FORTY YEARS OF PUBLIC LIFE IN THE FIELD OF SOCIAL REFORM, DIRECT ACTION AND LEGISLATIVE PRESSURE, I HAVE COME TO ONE CONCLUSION: AT NO TIME IN HISTORY HAS ANY SUCCESSFUL LEGISLATION BEEN PASSED ON THE STATE OR NATIONAL LEVEL FROM LARGE GROUPS OF MOB POTENTIAL PRESSURING LEGISLATIVE BODIES IN SESSION. IT WAS TRIED IN INDIANA WITH 5,000 STRONG ON FEBRUARY 11, 1935, WHEN I TOOK THE FLOOR OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND MADE MY FAMOUS CIVIL RIGHTS SPEECH WHICH FAILED BY 11 VOTES, PART OF WHICH I LOST BECAUSE OF THE POTENTIAL MOB PRESSURE FROM THE GROUP THAT HAD MARCHED ON THE STATE CAPITOL. I THINK BACK ALSO OF COX'S ARMY MARCH ON WASHINGTON WHICH CAUSED CONGRESS TO ALTER ITS PASSIVE POSITION OF RELIEF.

IN VIEW OF FOUR POSITIVE ACTION GROUPS IN AMERICA AND IN KEEPING WITH THE RECENT NEWS RELEASE OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY STAMPING HIS APPROVAL OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL BENEFITS THAT MAY BE DERIVED FROM THE MARCH, MAY I SUGGEST THE FOLLOWING:

1. IF THE SOUTHERN SENATORS PULL OFF A PROLONGED FILIBUSTER, AMERICA WILL BE WILLING TO MARCH, FOR THE SOUTH

has never ceased to filibuster when there was no march. I would, however, give them plenty of time to act and after days of filibustering, some kind of march would be in order. The main thing is to get the conservative Republicans in the North, where the Negro vote is light--to act, and this will have to be done by white people.

2. That the march take place in an orderly way down Pennsylvania Avenue around the Capitol and end up in front of the White House with some pre-arranged speech from the President and Lyndon Johnson to the group.

3. That the placards and signs carried be positive and direct though non-insulting and non-inflamatory.

4. That the crowd be disciplined to the point of orderliness, non-drinking and non-caravaning of automobile horns.

5. That a Press Conference be held with TV coverage of a positive, democratic and Christian approach.

6. That the crowd be disciplined to the point that, after the march, they disperse and not enter the halls of the National Capitol with no individual or cell pressures but conferences, if they must be, with planned, blueprinted leadership of both parties and the leaders of the protest group.

My fifteen cents thinking may not mean much, but it cannot be said that it comes from a compromiser or moderate leader as my record in Indiana speaks the truth. I marched and protested in Indiana against the Klan when it was publicly stated that I was to be tarred and feathered and hand bills were distributed throughout the state by the Klan threatening my life. It was necessary for me to carry a pistol on the floor of the Indiana Legislature when as a member I spoke on civil rights. If you will recall, in 1936, I was arrested in Birmingham for protesting my rights and secured an official apology from the then acting, Governor Knight of Alabama--being the same man who prosecuted the Scottsboro boys. My judgment, which I consider seasoned, comes from years of experience and lay psychology in dealing individually and at grips with many of these problems in the South during the 1930's and in Indiana, collectively, which redirected and remolded our state history.

Our movement under your leadership will succeed to an objective and constructive end if handled and disciplined under the rules of propriety and intelligent, coordinated

LEADERSHIP. I SEND THIS LETTER TO YOU AS A CHAMPION AND LEADER OF COURAGE AND INTEGRITY WHO IS UNSELFISHLY THROUGH DEDICATION AND CONCERN REWRITING THE HISTORY OF AMERICA AND LEADING THE WAY FOR THE GLORIOUS FUTURE OF TWENTY-FIVE MILLION AMERICAN NEGRO CITIZENS. I AM

RESPECTFULLY YOURS,

HENRY J. RICHARDSON, JR.

HJR/JM

fu - MOW

DEC 13 1963

December 11, 1963

To the Editor of the New York Times:

Your editorial of December 3rd ("Too Much Delay on Civil Rights") tends to counterpose my views on the future strategy of the civil rights movement to those of Mr. Roy Wilkins. Mr. Moeller's accurate but incomplete report of my interview and speech at the Washington Conference of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has a similar effect.

The fact is, I welcome Mr. Wilkins's announcement that the NAACP will seek to "purge" (is that word his or yours?) all members of Congress who oppose civil rights legislation. This reversal of traditional NAACP policy promises an intensification of political action by Negroes and a renewed, much-needed assault on the coalition of Southern Democrats and conservative Republicans that controls vital Congressional functions.

The disproportionate power of this coalition not only frustrates civil rights legislation; it subverts the representative-democratic character of Congress and impedes enactment of necessary social welfare legislation for all Americans. Obviously, therefore, an assault on this coalition should not divide the Negro from his liberal friends, but should reinforce their natural alliance, based on common interests.

In urging the civil rights movement to "broaden its social objectives," I was not proposing abandonment of direct action, mass demonstrations, or other forms of non-violent social dislocation pending overall social reform. Indeed, should our movement lose its cutting edge, the prospects for many liberal causes would grow dim.

I do contend, however, that radical tactics, to be more than symbolic, must flow from radical analysis--i.e., analysis which goes to the roots of problems. It is not concession to gradualism to insist on a long-range perspective on the structural obstacles to equality in employment, schools, and housing.

How, for example, do we secure fair employment in the midst of growing technological unemployment? If existing employment opportunities were intergrated, even on the basis of "preferential treatment," how many Negroes would benefit? How do we integrate Northern schools when Northern housing patterns are increasingly segregated?

Alone, the Negro lacks the political and economic power to break through tokenism in these areas. Self-interest, if not idealism, dictates that he join with other dispossessed groups in demanding basic social and economic reforms.

The March on Washington was a step in this direction. In calling for a massive federal works program, higher minimum wages, and extension of the Fair Labor Standards Act--as well as a federal FEPC--Negroes joined liberal, labor, and religious groups to address the needs of all Americans segregated from the "affluent society."

Further, the March demonstrated that cooperation among a wide variety of groups was effective only when each transcended narrow organizational interests and concerned itself with deficiencies of the total society.

Clearly, then, I am not advocating absorption of the Negro's struggle into liberalism-as-usual. Our allies will be useless if they are not prepared to combine basic problems of automation and a structural unemployment. We expect them to emulate the audacity of the Birmingham children by advancing bolder concepts of social welfare, urban reconstruction, and economic planning.

We expect them to recognize, with Gunnar Myrdal, that "the chief policy means of spurring economic progress will have to be huge reforms that are in the interest of social justice." Finally, we expect our allies to act upon that recognition with the passion they would feel if the Negro unemployment rate and the white unemployment rate were transposed.

It is unlikely that the necessary reforms can be implemented under our present political alignments. Even if President Johnson succeeds in temporarily outlawing this dangerously apathetic Congress, the unprincipled coalitions that comprise both parties will ultimately dictate a limping, piecemeal approach to civil rights. Therefore, the Negro must demand of his white allies that civil rights and social reform have priority over party loyalties.

Perhaps the time has come for the thousands of Americans who marched on Washington to march on the Democratic and Republican party conventions, demanding that positions of power be denied opponents of the parties' civil rights planks. Out of such marches might well come a potent political expression of the alliance I have urged--an alliance for the democratization of our political, economic, and social institutions. The salvation of the Negro lies ultimately in such basic change.

Sincerely,

BM/kl

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

fr MOW

January 7, 1964

Miss Deborah P. Wolfe
National President
Zeta Phi Beta Sorority, Inc.
62 South Union Avenue
Cranford, New Jersey

Dear Miss Wolfe:

I appreciated very greatly your kind words written following the March on Washington. CORE appreciates your support in working toward an open society.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:lp

Zeta Phi Beta Sorority, Inc.

GRAND BASILEUS
Deborah C. Partridge Wolfe
62 South Union Avenue
Cranford, New Jersey

SEP 19 1963

Emma J. Dewberry
Executive Secretary
National Headquarters
1734 New Hampshire Ave., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

CHAIRMAN OF EXECUTIVE BOARD
Maggie B. Daniel
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

OFFICE OF GRAND BASILEUS

September 17, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

The members of Zeta Phi Beta Sorority, who joined in with the 200,000 marchers on the memorable August 28th, congratulate you on the manner in which this demonstration for freedom was conducted. The 20,000 members of Zeta Phi Beta Sorority, Incorporated have always been dedicated to the great American Dream and were happy to share in this opportunity to make democracy work.

We look forward to continued relations with you in future activities as we achieve our goal of first class citizenship.

Sincerely yours,

Deborah P. Wolfe

Deborah P. Wolfe
National President

DPW:ejd:rwn

4-4 M.O.W.

January 7, 1964

The Honorable Cornelius E. Gallagher
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gallagher:

On behalf of Mr. Farmer let me thank you for your kind letter of September 9. I wish to add that we are terribly sorry for the delay in writing you. Unfortunately, this office is sometimes so overworked that we get quite far behind in our correspondence.

CORE feels that the March on Washington was of real significance for the nation. However, it was as you indicate just a beginning. The real job now is to get the Civil Rights Bill passed in the strongest possible form. It is of particular urgency that the public accommodations and FEPC sections be included. The passage of a strong bill would be the most fitting memorial to the late President Kennedy.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon E. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GEC:lp

CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER
13TH DISTRICT, NEW JERSEY

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY
SUBCOMMITTEE ON FAR EAST AND PACIFIC

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS
SUBCOMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES
SUBCOMMITTEE ON LEGAL AND MONETARY AFFAIRS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

SEP 20 1963

September 9, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

The recent March on Washington was one of the most magnificent public assemblies in our nation's history. In all its orderliness and good spirit, it evidenced the participant's deep sense of civic responsibility and love of country.

The ceremonies at the Lincoln Memorial, which I was priviledged to attend, had a deep spiritual quality and were, indeed, an inspiration to all present and to the millions of Americans who saw and heard the speakers on television and radio.

While some may question to what degree, if any, the cause of Civil Rights may have been advanced by the March, I am convinced that it did have a tremendous impact upon the nation. I am confident you have, by the spirit and manner in which you expressed your feelings, gained added public support for your just cause.

I agree that this is a new beginning and all men may look forward to brighter days when all men being created equal will be so treated.

The organizers and leaders of the March on Washington are to be commended for the thoughtful and efficient planning for the assembly and congratulated for the successful manner in which it was carried out.

Sincerely,

CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER, M.C.

CEG/peh

Lib
March on Wash

1/4/64

December 31st, 1964

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York City

Re: Expenses - Salute to
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Dear Brother Randolph:

As I reported to you during our telephone conversation a few days ago, the expenses for the "Salute to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr." on December 17th, 1964, at the 369th Regiment Armory amounted to $4,813.30. (An itemized list is enclosed.)

As agreed at the meeting of Community Organizations at your headquarters on November 25th, 1964, no funds were solicited at the affair itself. I think this was a very wise decision because to interrupt so fine a program to collect funds would have marred its beauty. Instead, we had agreed at Mr. Jackie Robinson's suggestion, that he would undertake to raise funds from the business community to defray the expenses.

So far, the results of such fund raising efforts have been disappointing. The amount turned in to me to date is $1,460.00. Of this amount, it is my understanding that Commissioner George Fowler was responsible for raising $600.00, and Mr. Kenneth Sherwood of Fleetwood Furniture for three or four hundred dollars. I understand efforts are still being made to raise additional funds, but I doubt very much whether the amount now necessary, which is about $2,550.00, will be realized.

In the meantime, I was faced with the necessity of making immediate payment (before the affair took place) on certain items. Namely, $1,248.00 for the Chair Rental; $150.00 for setting them up; $625.00 for the Armory; $284.30 for the

COPY

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President

placards; $100.00 for postage and $100.00 for miscellaneous items, a total of $2,307.30. This amount I had to borrow, laying out some from my own pocket, and as I said earlier, I have only been reimbursed to the extent of $1,460.00.

It should be noted that all expenses were kept to a minimum. No salaries were involved. All clerical work was done by my secretary and other members of our clerical staff. Local 1199, Local 144, Local 237 and District 65 supplied me with a couple of organizers with cars, and we got other volunteers in the community to do the leg work. District 65 provided one sound truck and HARYOU-ACT provided one.

It is my suggestion, therefore, that the deficit approximately $2,550.00, be paid from the "March On Washington" funds, and to this end I seek your authority. Since those to whom monies are now owed, are pressing for payment, I would very much appreciate an early response.

With best wishes for a happy and peaceful New Year.

Fraternally,

Cleveland Robinson
Coordinator

CR/bo

c.c. Roy Wilkins
Whitney Young
James Farmer

COPY

ITEMIZED LIST OF EXPENSES
FOR
SALUTE TO DR.MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Chair Rental	$1248.00	(Academy Chair)
	150.00	(Setting up chairs)
Armory	625.00	
Piano	90.00	(Transportation)
Prompt Sign	284.30	(Placards)
LaSalle Letter	1100.00	(leaflets)
Liberal	60.00	(Stationery)
Nagle Decorators	60.00	
Film Vue	25.00	(adv. for Apollo Theatre)
Postage	100.00	
Telephone Bill	75.00	(125th St. Headquarters)
Miscl.	100.00	(telegrams,calls, carfare)
Buttons	27.00	For Committee members)
Presentation	69.00	("Praying Hands" for Dr. King)
	$4013.30	

file - March on Washington

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
International President

MILTON P. WEBSTER
1st International Vice-President
3947 Drexel Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois 60653

BENNIE SMITH
2nd International Vice-President
1308 Broadway, Room 305
Detroit, Michigan 48226

Train, Chair Car, Coach Porters and Attendants
AN INTERNATIONAL UNION
Affiliated with the AFL-CIO/CLC

217 WEST 125th STREET - Room 301
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10027

MOnument 2-5080 - 1

WILLIAM H. BOWE
Acting International Secy.-Treas.

C. L. DELLUMS
3rd International Vice-President
1716 Seventh Street
Oakland, California 94620

T. D. McNEAL
4th International Vice-President
2906a North Union Boulevard
St. Louis, Missouri 63115

B. F. McLAURIN
Eastern Zone Supervisor

January 7, 1965

Mr. Cleveland Robinson, Coordinator
Salute to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
District 65, AFL-CIO
13 Astor Place
New York, N. Y.

Dear Brother Robinson:

Thank you for your letter of December 31, 1964 concerning the expenses of the "Salute to Dr. Martin Luther King."

I note your suggestion that the deficit of two thousand, five hundred and fifty dollars be paid from the March on Washington funds. May I say that I am in complete accord with this suggestion.

Let me take this opportunity to commend you for the brilliant job you did in making the "Salute to Dr. Martin Luther King" a memorable success. Harlem will never forget this event for which you deserve unstinting praise and credit.

With best wishes for a Happy and Successful New Year for you and your family, I am

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

cc: Roy Wilkins
Whitney Young
James Farmer

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
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Wiley CORE

NJ023 (55)SYA026
DEA015 DE LLK003 LLZ1 LLZ1 NL PD WUX ZXM DETROIT MICH 12 1965 MAR 13 AM 1 24
JAMES FARMER NATIONAL DIRECTOR CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 PARK ROW NYK
CIVILIZED PEOPLE ALLIOVER THE WORLD HAVE BEEN APPALLED AT THE BRUTAL AND TYRANNICAL USE OF POLICE POWER IN ALABAMA TO DENY NEGRO AMERICANS THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS TO REGISTER TO VOTE AND PEACEABLY TO ASSEMBLE TO SEEK REDRESS OF THEIR GRIEVANCES.

ALL OF US WERE SHOCKED AT THE SENSELESS MURDER OF REV. JAMES J. REEB IN SELMA THIS WEEK, WHICH IS BUT ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF WHAT CAN OCCUR WHEN MEN'S MINDS ARE TWISTED BY HATRED AND BIGOTRY.

HIS MARTYRDOM MUST NEVER BE FORGOTTEN. HIS TRAGIC DEATH MUST SERVE AS A CONSTANT REMINDER THAT THE PRICE A PEOPLE MUST PAY FOR FREEDOM IS ALWAYS HIGH BUT THAT WHEN THE FORCES OF

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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003/2 C

1965 MAR 13 AM 1 24

HATRED AND TYRANNY TAKE OVER THE CONDUCT OF OUR PUBLIC AFFAIRS, DECENT, DEDICATED MEN AND WOMEN MAY HAVE TO PAY THAT PRICE WITH THEIR LIVES.

THOSE OF US WHO FORMED THE NATIONAL COALITION OF CONSCIENCE TO WORK FOR ENACTMENT OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION IN THE 88TH CONGRESS AND TO MOBILIZE THE HISTORIC MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM HAVE A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY TO DO EVERYTHING HUMANLY POSSIBLE TO THE END THAT SUCH NEEDLESS TRAGEDIES NEVER AGAIN OCCUR.

MOREOVER, WE SHARE A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY AS DR. REEB'S BROTHERS IN FREEDOM TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO BRING AID AND COMFORT TO HIS STRICKEN FAMILY AND TO STRENGTHEN OUR EFFORTS TO CARRY ON THE WORK FOR WHICH HE GAVE HIS LIFE SO THAT EVERY AMERICAN, REGARDLESS OF RACE, CREED OR COLOR, MAY REGISTER

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WESTERN UNION
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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

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DELLK003/3

1965 MAR 13 AM 1 24

AND VOTE AND ENJOY THE FULL BLESSINGS OF CITIZENSHIP.

THEREFORE, I PROPOSE THAT THOSE OF US WHO FORMED THE NATIONAL COALITION OF CONSCIENCE MEET IN THE STATLER-HILTON HOTEL IN WASHINGTON, D.C. AT 10 A.M. WEDNESDAY, MARCH 17, 1965, TO CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING ACTIONS:

1) TO ESTABLISH A NATIONAL JAMES J. REEB MEMORIAL FUND TO HELP HIS FAMILY THROUGH THIS TRYING AND DIFFICULT PERIOD AND PARTICULARLY TO INSURE FULL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR HIS FOUR CHILDREN. IF SUCH A FUND IS ESTABLISHED, UAW WOULD BE WILLING TO MAKE AN INITIAL TOKEN CONTRIBUTION OF $10,000;

2) TO WORK OUT PLANS TO INSURE MAXIMUM COOPERATION BETWEEN ALL GROUPS THAT MAKE UP THE NATIONAL COALITION OF CONSCIENCE SO THAT TOGETHER WE CAN ACHIEVE A UNITED EFFORT TO BRING ABOUT

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

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DELLK003/4

1965 MAR 13 AM 1 24

ENACTMENT OF ADEQUATE AND EFFECTIVE FEDERAL REGISTRATION AND VOTING LEGISLATIGN;

3) TO PROVIDE MAXIMUM SUPPORT TO STRENGTHEN THE STRUGGLES BEING CARRIED ON IN SELMA AND MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA AND OTHER AREAS, TO INSURE THE FULL CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF REGISTRATION AND VOTING OF ALL AMERICANS;

4) TO MEET WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS TO CONSIDER JOINTLY WHAT POSITIVE ACTION CAN BE TAKEN AT THE WASHINGTON LEVEL TO

A) SECURE PASSAGE OF EFFECTIVE FEDERAL REGISTRATION AND VOTING LEGISLATION AND

B) DISCUSS PLANS OF MOBILIZING MAXIMUM SUPPORT THROUGHOUT THE NATION INVOLVING CHURCH, CIVIL RIGHTS, LABOR, FRATERNAL AND OTHER GROUPS AND TO BRING THAT SUPPORT TO BEAR ON THE LEGISLATIVE

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM
W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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DELLK003/5

1965 MAR 13 AM 1 24

PROCESS INCLUDING CONSIDERATION OF THE DESIRABILITY OF A SECOND FREEDOM MARCH ON WASHINGTON;

5) TO DISCUSS WAYS AND MEANS TO SECURE ADEQUATE FINANCIAL RESOURCES NEEDED TOSUSTAIN THE CONTINUING STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE EQUAL RIGHTS AND OPPORTUNITY AND FULL CITIZENSHIP FOR ALL AMERICANS, AND

6) TO CONSIDER JOINING FORCES TO BLOCK THE EFFORT OF THOSE WHO SEEK TO REPEAL THE HISTORIC DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT AS IT RELATES TO REAPPORTIONMENT.

IT WAS OUR JOINT ACTION THAT MADE POSSIBLE THE SUCCESS OF THE HISTORIC MARCH ON WASHINGTON ON AUGUST 28, 1963. THAT EFFORT DEMONSTRATED WHAT CONSTRUCTIVE RESULTS CAN BE ACHIEVED WHEN MEN OF GOOD WILL WHO SHARE A COMMON COMMITMENT JOIN TOGETHER. IN THIS SITUATION, I KNOW YOU SHARE THE BELIEF THAT THE SAME

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

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DELLK003/E

1965 MAR 13 AM 1 24

COMMON EFFORT MUST BE MADE.

I DO HOPE YOU WILL BE ABLE TO JOIN IN THIS MEETING AND I AWAIT YOUR REPLY

WALTER P REUTHER PRESIDENT INTERNATIONAL UNION, UAW.

Glaiman -
Powell -
Pollard -

B- 63286

NEWS from UAW

For Release:

Sunday Papers, March 14, 1965

Wiley CORE

RECEIVED
MAR 16 1965
UAW FAIR PRACTICES DEPT.

REUTHER URGES CONSCIENCE COALITION

MEETING; CALLS FOR REEB MEMORIAL FUND,

NEW EFFORTS TO SOLVE RIGHTS CRISES

The following telegram was sent today by UAW President Walter P. Reuther to the other leaders of the August 28, 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. These were Mathew Ahmann, Executive Chairman of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice; Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, Vice Chairman of the Commission on Race Relations of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America; James Farmer, National Director, Congress of Racial Equality; Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; John Lewis, Chairman, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; Rabbi Joachim Prinz, Chairman of the American Jewish Congress; A. Phillip Randolph, President, Negro American Labor Council; Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Whitney Young, Jr., Executive Director, National Urban League.

"Civilized people all over the world have been appalled at the brutal and tyrannical use of police power in Alabama to deny Negro Americans their constitutional rights to register to vote and peaceably assemble to seek redress of their grievances.

"All of us were shocked at the senseless murder of Rev. James J. Reeb in Selma this week, which is but another example of what can occur when men's minds are twisted by hatred and bigotry.

"His martyrdom must never be forgotten. His tragic death must serve as a constant reminder that the price a people must pay for freedom is always high but that when the forces of hatred and tyranny take over the conduct of our public affairs, decent, dedicated men and women may have to pay that price with their lives.

"Those of us who formed the National Coalition of Conscience to work for enactment of civil rights legislation in the 88th Congress and to mobilize the

-more-

historic March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom have a special responsibility to do everything humanly possible to the end that such needless tragedies never again occur.

"Moreover, we share a special responsibility as Dr. Reeb's brothers in freedom to do everything possible to bring aid and comfort to his stricken family and to strengthen our efforts to carry on the work for which he gave his life so that every American, regardless of race, creed or color, may register and vote and enjoy the full blessings of citizenship.

"Therefore, I propose that those of us who formed the National Coalition of Conscience meet in the Statler-Hilton Hotel in Washington, D.C. at 10 a.m. Wednesday, March 17, 1965, to consider the following actions:

1) to establish a National James J. Reeb Memorial Fund to help his family through this trying and difficult period and particularly to insure full educational opportunities for his four children. If such a fund is established, UAW would be willing to make an initial token contribution of $10,000.

2) to work out plans to insure maximum cooperation between all groups that make up the National Coalition of Conscience so that together we can achieve a united effort to bring about enactment of adequate and effective Federal registration and voting legislation;

3) to provide maximum support to strengthen the struggles being carried on in Selma and Montgomery, Alabama and other areas, to insure the full constitutional rights of registration and voting of all Americans.

4) to meet with representatives of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights to consider jointly what positive action can be taken at the

Washington level to

a) secure passage of effective Federal registration and voting legislation and

b) discuss plans of mobilizing maximum support throughout the nation involving church, civil rights, labor, fraternal and other groups and to bring that support to bear on the legislative process including consideration of the desirability of a second Freedom March on Washington

5) to discuss ways and means to secure adequate financial resources needed to sustain the continuing struggle to achieve equal rights and opportunity and full citizenship for all Americans.

6) to consider joining forces to block the effort of those who seek to repeal the historic decision of the Supreme Court as it relates to re-apportionment.

It was our joint action that made possible the success of the historic March on Washington on August 28, 1963. That effort demonstrated what constructive results can be achieved when men of good will who share a common commitment join together. In this situation, I know you share the belief that the same common effort must be made.

I do hope you will be able to join in this meeting and I await your reply."

WALTER P. REUTHER
President
International Union, UAW

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Committee to
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RIST

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
October 2, 1964

To: Contact List

From: Marvin Rich, Director, Community Relations

Re: Fund Raising

Fund raising should be a reflection of program and of publicity. If your program meets the needs of the community and you adequately publicize it, it should be possible to secure the necessary budget. In any case, the first step in fund raising for a chapter orfor the national office is to prepare a budget of anticipated program and administrative expenses for the year. The budget should be based on current activities but anticipate growth in program. It should be a plan, not a rigid rule. Without a budget, you have no targets to shoot at. Neither do you have specific projects to talk up. Unfortunately, many people will give to a project who won't give to pay rent, salaries or general expenses.

Timing is important. Your budget tells you how much you need each month. You have to plan how and when to get it. It's not wise to throw three fund-raising events in three successive months. Nor is it wise to have an affair a week after another chapter or organization in the same town. Also, the summer is a good time for some types of parties and a poor time for others. You have to compete with vacations (people are out of town and they spend more than they expect) during the summer. But other organizations stop fund-raising then, so the field is less crowded. Timing implies planning on a year-round basis, but it doesn't mean that you ignore the possibilities presented by special events and programs. Most of our chapters responded to the crisis in Mississippi very quickly and well.

Use your own resources first. If you don't collect dues from you own members you can't very well expect outsiders to carry the load. The pledge system can be used so that some, who can afford it, pay more than others. But all should contribute money as well as time and energy.

Element of appeal. Each appeal, whether by letter, talk or any other way should carry three elements. These are: the need, the urgency, and the level of giving you expect. To get money, you have to convince people that you program fills an important need. Describe that need in specific terms. You also have to convince people that the need is urgent, that they should contribute now. If there is no urgency, the contribution will be delayed and perhaps forgotten. You must establish a level of giving. Do you expect everyone to give a quarter, a dollar, or onethousand dollars? You have to tell them, perhaps subtly, but you have to tell them.

Benefits and special events. One of the most important things to consider about benefits is the ratio of income to expense. If you sell all of the tickets at the set price (you won't--someone always manages to get in for free) how much will you gross? Then what are the expenses for hall, performers, printing, advertising, incidentals (this one is always higher than you expect). Can you make enough to justify the expense? How much of the contributor's dollar will go to overhead and how much to the field program? In national, we believe it wrong to put on a program unless expenses run less than a third. You can't always figure it that fine but we try. And we've been pretty successful. Jackie Robinson just gave a jazz concert for the Chaney-Goodman-Schwerner Memorial Center. It cost less than $500 to raise $25,000. Why? Because we were able to get almost everything donated. The way to make money is usually to avoid spending it for fund raising. Timing of benefits is important. Don't conflict with any other group that may support your affair. If you need a celebrity, you have to get them in advance. Singers and comedians are best. You don't have to pay a lot of travel expenses. It takes at least six weeks to plan and promote a simple benefit. If you are inexperienced it takes longer. Plan it carefully. One final note - figure out your objective and stick to it. If you want to make money, make money. If you want to promote your chapter, promote your chapter. But don't decide after it's all over that "We didn't make any money, but we got good publicity." That's an alibi.

CORE - 38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038

TO: CORE Contact List

FROM: James Farmer, National Director

RE: Political Action

The elections of 1964 have given us new influence. It is now up to us to use this positon wisely and effectively. Certainly our opponents will attempt to regroup their forces and to snatch victory from defeat. We cannot permit this. We in CORE must move quickly and affirmatively to formulate programs, secure support and see that pledges made in the heat of the campaign are kept.

Goldwater has been defeated and so have northern reactionaries such as Ben Jensen of Iowa, George Meader and Augustus Johansen of Michigan, John Pillion of New York, and Louis Wyman of New Hampshire. Some had represented their Congressional districts for decades. Their replacements will be more friendly to the cause of civil rights. In the South, such Democratic reactionaries as Huddleston of Birmingham and Arthur Winstead of Mississippi's Fourth Congressional District (that's the District for which CORE bears responsibility) were defeated.

Thus, at the Congressional level there is every reason to be pleased and to believe that we have increased prospects of support for our program.

The civil rights vote resulted in the victory of Johnson in Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Florida. It also brought about victory for John Volpe, the Republican candidate for Governor, in Massachusetts. Archibald Hill, - chairman of the Oklahoma City chapter of CORE, was elected to the state legislature. However, there were important defeats as well. California and Akron adopted referenda ending fair housing laws. The California proposition was so extreme that it will probably fall in the courts but it is extremely disturbing to know that three million people voted for such a law. I have discussed the impact of this referendum with President Johnson. Already the Federal Government has moved to shut off funds for housing proposals in California until this proposal is modified.

What Should We Do?

In many states the state legislatures will meet shortly. In a number they will meet this week in special sessions. CORE chapters should get together and formulate their legislative programs quickly. Legislation carried over from last session should be examined for a possible CORE position. Consult known liberal legislators and organizations for information. These programs should then be presented to the legislative leaders and publicized and promoted. Among the important demands should be legislative reapportionment to secure the principal of "one man-one vote." The Supreme Court has ruled in our favor but now it's a question of implementation. We cannot be caught napping. In a number of cases there will be attempts to push reapportionment through quickly before more liberal legislatures can be seated. These should be vigorously opposed.

Parents and Taxpayers groups and others of their ilk will continue to press in state legilatures for laws which will seriously impede the already small and tardy efforts to achieve school integration. It is very important that we make our views known to legislative leaders first and then to the community. We must also continue to develop the muscle to back up our lobbying; we must continue to register tens of thousands of Negroes, Puerto-Ricans and Mexican-Americans.

Support should also be developed for the following minimum demands at the national level:

1) Expulsion of Albert Watson (South Carolina) and John Bell Williams (Mississippi) from the Democratic caucus. These Democratic Congressmen supported Goldwater.
2) The Federal government must take effective action to protect our people in Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama.
3) The tax laws should not be modified to provide lump sum grants to the states. Such a plan would decisively weaken the impact of Title VI of th the Civil Rights Law. This is the Title which would forbid the Federal Government from financing programs which are discriminatory.

######

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York City
CO 7 6270

To: Contact List

From: James Farmer

Re: Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party Challenge

We are urging all chapters and friends to convince their local Congressional Representative to support the "Ryan Fairness Resolution" in support of the Miss. Freedom Democratic Party's Congressional Challenge. The resolution will be presented on the opening day of Congress Jan 4, 1965. The text follows:

> "Be it resolved that pending the final decision of the House in the contest and challenges to the seats from Mississippi no persons claiming those seats shall be allowed to take the oath until the contest and challenges are decided by the House, in accordance with the procedures established in Title II, United States Code, Section 201, et seq."

We are also asking that chapters and friends urge everyone to send the following telegram immediately to Speaker of the House McCormack:

> "Urge your recognition and support of resolution against the swearing in of Mississippi delegation until complete investigationof situation by Congress."

Yours in Freedom,

James Farmer
National Director

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row New York, N.Y. 10038

TO: Contact List

FROM: James Farmer, National director

SUBJ: Mississippi Project

Enclosed are two important items that require careful attention:

1. A financial statement cover ing CORE's Mississippi Bank account for the period from July 1 through September 25. You will note that the statement does not include money sent directly to COFO, or program planning, legal and administrative expenses assumed directly by the national and southern offices. Nor does it include money spent by the CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund on its federal programs project nor money raised by them for the Chaney-Goodman-Schwerener Memorial Center in Meridian.

2. A list of newly hired members of the CORE Task Force and their responsibilities. All of these were placed on the payroll after September 25. We are proud that we have been able to secure such an able contingent to assist us.

You will note that for July, August and September income and expense just about balanced. The direct salary cost, even at $25 per week, the expansion comes to $22,100 per year. Further, it has been our experience that salary is only 30% of actual field expenses. These two statements indicate that we are now spending at the rate of $200,000 per year in Mississippi.
Thus, it is obvious that CORE chapters must continue to support the Mississippi project. In fact this support must be greatly expanded; three chapters -- Bergen County, Cleveland, and Northwest N.Y. -- have provided more than half the income from chapters. Other chapters must assume more of the responsibility.

The national office will continue to raise money through benefits and various projects. However, it cannot divert money from operating funds. Other commitments in the South include:

1.) Expansion of staff and program in the Southern Office
2.) Expansion of the Louisiana Task Force
3.) Expansion of the Northern Florida staff
4.) $85,000 expansion of our legal staff in the south

These are direct costs only and do not include the indirect costs of administration, court costs, etc. Thus, it is evident that we must all work together.

CORE chapters should send money to: CORE Mississippi Freedom Fund
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Send application for the task force to: Richard Haley,
Southern Director
2211 Dryades St., New Orleans, La.

Do not send individuals to Mississippi who have not been approved by our Southern staff.

Food and clothing should be sent directly to:

CORE Community Center
838 Lutz Street
Canton, Mississippi

CORE Community Center
2505½ Fifth Street
Meridian, Mississippi

CORE -- Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 10038

Mississippi CORE Staff

Paid Mississippi CORE staff as of September 21, 1964

1. David Dennis	Jackson	CORE Field Secretary & ass't Proj. Dir. COFO
2. Dick Jewett	Jackson	CORE Field Secretary
3. Lois Chaffee	Jackson	State Community Center Director
4. George Raymond	Canton	Project Director
5. Annie Devine	Canton	Political Program Director
6. Joe Lee Watts	Canton	Political Programs
7. C. O. Chinn	Canton	In Jail
8. Theodis Hewitt	Leake Co.	Project Director
9. James Collier	Philadelphia	Project Director
10.Preston Ponder	Meridian	Project Co-Director
11.Matteo Suarez	Meridian	Project Co-Director
12.Alma Bosley	Jackson	Field Worker
13.Eric Weinberger	Meridian	Director, Community Center
14.Elaine Weinberger	Meridian	Community Center

Task Force members added to staff after Sept. 21

1. Eric Morton	Jackson	St. Welfare Distribution Director
2. Elizabeth Fusco	Jackson	St. Director of Freedom Schools
3. Chris Rainone	Clark Co.	Political Programs
4. Karen Duncan	Madison Co.	Political Programs
5. Mary Ann Shupenko	Madison Co.	Officer Manager
6. Houston Howard	Rankin Co.	Field Organizer
7. Randy Glenn	Keake Co.	Field Organizer
8. Jennie Franklin	Clarke Co.	Field Organizer and Freedom Schools
9. Jo Ann Ooiman	Madison Co.	Freedom Schools
10.Gladys Freeman	Rankin Co.	Field Organizer
11.Marjorie Henderson	Meridian	Freedom Schools
12.Joe Morse	Meridian	Political Programs
13.Sandra Watts	Meridian	Office Manager
14.George Smith	Philadelphia	Field Organizer
15.Richard Tinsley	Philadelphia	Field Organizer
16.Alan Schiffman	Philadelphia	Freedom Schools
17.Martha Wright	Madison Co.	Director, Community Center

The 17 people added to the Task Force may be adopted by an individual, CORE Chapter or other group. Others who will later be added to staff may also be adopted.

The Adopt A Worker Program means that the individual CORE Task Force member will send letters (honestly, some write more than others), photos, and periodic reports to their sponsor. The cost is $1,300 per year which provides basic subsistence for the worker.

Correspondence about the program should be sent to: Richard Haley
CORE, Southern Director
2211 Dryades Street
New Orleans, La.

October 9, 1964

CORE - Congress of Racial Equali
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y.10038

MISSISSIPPI PROJECT
Financial Statement July 1 thru Sept. 25, 1964

Income	
West Coast	$10,368.42
CORE Chapters	13,987.69
Organizations	3,182.00
Rallies and Benefits (non CORE)	4,416.15
Miscellaneous	1,392.25
*TOTAL INCOME	$33,346.51
EXPENSE	
Community Centers	$ 2,270.00
Mrs. Chaney-Funeral, personal	1,710.16
Convention Challenge	3,698.35
Program	4,640.21
Staff Salary	8,869.29
Staff Expenses	1,525.00
Car Expenses	6,691.80
Fund Raising	2,465.00
Fines	500.00
**TOTAL EXPENSE	$29,404.81
BALANCE AS OF SEPTEMBER 25, 1964.....	$ 3,941.70

* Does not include money sent directly to COFO

**Does not include program planning, legal expenses and administrative expenses assumed by the CORE Southern Office or by the National Office.

Note: The above does not reflect funds raised by the CORE-SEDF for the Chaney-Goodman-Schwerner Community Center. Nor does it include funds spent in Mississippi by CORE-SEDF directly, or costs borne directly by chapters in collecting and shipping food and clothing to welfare centers.

Special Report - F R E E S O U T H E R N T H E A T E R

For Further Information:
Communications Section
MISSISSIPPI PROJECT
1017 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi
(601) 352-9605, 9788

The chemistry of forces that has created the Freedom movement in Mississippi has also produced some unprecedented projects not normally associated with civil rights activity. Foremost of these projects is the Free Southern Theatre, a permanent professional repertory company that will tour Mississippi, playing also in Memphis and New Orleans, performing in theaters, churches, in the fields and in the streets. The administrative headquarters of the theater will be in New Orleans.

As well as touring with its own productions, the Free Southern Theater plans a unique program of community involvement with theater through a program of workshops and community productions. The workshops will serve not only to educate the audience of the theater but will serve also to strengthen the relationship of the Free Southern Theater to its audience, and will stimulate the growth of indigenous community theater.

The Free Southern Theater is as much a product of "the movement" as voter registration, community centers, or the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. It is the conception of two young staff members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, men who had made a commitment to the theater before they came South to work in the movement and met each other. John O'Neal is a graduate of Southern Illinois University; Gil Moses, 22 years old, is from Cleveland by way of off-Broadway theater in New York. O'Neal and Moses met in Mississippi, where the Free Southern Theater was born. Now associated with them as the third producing director of the Theater is Richard Schechner, editor of the Tulane Drama Review.

The Free Southern Theater is committed to the promotion of "the growth and self-knowledge of a new Southern audience of Negroes and whites", and to the addition of a cultural and educational dimension to the Southern freedom movement. For those people associated with it, the Theater intends to provide a forum in which the Negro playwright can deal honestly with his own experience, express himself in what may prove to be "a new idiom, a new genre, a theatrical form as unique as blues, jazz, or gospel."

In its first summer of operation, the Theater has been touring the state with its production of "In White America", the prize-winning drama that opened in New York last winter. The company has given this production for church congregations, civil rights workers, school children, and has played under almost every concievable sort of conditions. The directors plan for their next tour, to begin in Mid-November, a repertory, including plays of authors such as Ossie Davis, Berthold Brecht, James Baldwin, and new playwrights like Douglas Turner and Ann K. Flagg. On the production tour they expect to spend a week to ten days in each

Mississippi community they visit. The workshop program will have members of the company stationed in communities for longer periods to work more closely with the interested local people.

The summer production, "In White America", played in many Mississippi communities, including McComb, Hattiesburg, Gulfport, Biloxi, Meridian, Canton, Jackson, Tougaloo, Vicksburg, Mileston, Clarksdale, Ruleville, Indianola, Greenwood, and Greenville. There was also one performance in New Orleans.

Many celbrated actors and directors have recently become associated with the Free Southern Theater, either as sponsors or as technical advisors. These include Ruby Dee, Lorraine Hansberry, Geraldine Page, Sindey Poitier, Kim Stanley, Steve Allen, and about twenty-five other performers equally distinguished. Paul Sills, director of the famous Second City company in Chicago, has offered to come to Mississippi with several Second City actors to establish an a ting workshop and assist the Free Southern Theater company with improvisations.

Special Report: MEDICAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

For further information:
Communications Section
COFO
1017 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi
(601) 352-9605

The Medical Committee for Human Rights was established in response to a request from COFO in New York City on June 27, 1964. At that time it consisted of a small group of prominent doctors from New York. Since early July, that office has served as an administrative center to channel doctors from all over the country who wish to come to Mississippi. As of the first of September, a total of 98 medical personnel have come to the state for short periods on a rotating team basis - 57 doctors, 18 registered nurses, 5 social workers, and 18 additional personnel (Jackson office staff, drivers, etc.).

Because the medical staff is not licensed to practice in the state, its work consists primarily of advice or moral support. In the latter category, one of the most important goals has been to achieve a "medical presence in behalf of the civil rights movement" in Mississippi. Through their mere "presence," the doctors influence local white doctors, reminding them of their responsibilities as fellow practitioners of the Hippocratic Oath. In addition, Mississippi's 57 Negro physicians - the total number in the state, according to the MCHR - have been contacted by the MCHR and have offered assistance in the care of COFO workers.

The MCHR is also interested in the establishment of an efficient public health program in Mississippi, to include the improvement of: (1) immunization services, including diphtheria, anti-toxin, and typhoid; (2) child care, both prenatal and post-natal; (3) personal health, including sanitation, plumbing, sexual education - particularly concerning venereal disease - and family planning and contraception (this is particularly difficult because of the deep religious feelings of some people); (4) surveys - two currently in preparation concern the lack of nutrition of Mississippians and of the COFO workers themselves; (5) more importantly, the health of the COFO workers in general. The MCHR feels that the COFO staff and volunteers are its "main concern," as Dr. Robert Axelrod of Detroit has stated, and that "the only resource COFO has is its people."

Doctors function in various other ways in local projects. For example, on September 1st, the Canton COFO office reported that the presence of an MCHR doctor, as a sympathetic professional person, gave some reassurance to seven Negro students who attempted to enroll in a previously white school, when he accompanied them to the school. Another did the same thing in Clarksdale.

The MCHR has established itself in seven communities in Mississippi: Canton, Clarksdale, Greenwood, Hattiesburg, Meridian, Jackson, and McComb. Its personnel work on a rotating team basis for about a week at a time, at which time a new medical staff arrives from the North and the previous group leaves. The physicians in the state represent many fields of specialization; in the week of August 31, there were two psychiatrists, two pediatricians, an intern, a dermatologist, an orthopedic surgeon, a cardiologist, and three registered nurses. About this same number is present in the state each week. They also make trips into the rural districts in the vicinity of the seven main areas, such as the smaller towns of Batesville, Philadelphia, Laurel, Ruleville, etc.

MEDICAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, continued

Each individual doctor arranges with the MCHR in New York as to when he should arrive in Mississippi, and each takes leave from his practice (it is not a vacation - as Dr. Axelrod said, "Who wants to take his vacation in Mississippi?") and pays his own way. The full and part-time employees of the New York office are also financed by contributions from individial doctors.

So far the MCHR has been generally very well received in COFO projects in Mississippi, according to the Jackson COFO office. The most serious problems are the lack of drugs, i.e., vitamins, salt tablets, aspirin, etc., and the difficulty of arranging adequate care for indigent Mississippi citizens.

In the future, the Medical Committee for Human Rights hopes to build "a good community health program" involving such areas as sanitation, immunization, sex education, etc. There is also a need for a program whereby medical emergencies can be taken care of among those who cannot afford such facilities as ambulances. The MCHR is developing facilities for a Rest and Recreation program to accomodate physically overworked and mentally strained COFO workers whohave been in the field for extensive periods of time without adequate food, hygiene, or rest. The MCHR is also considering the establishment of a comprehensive health insurance plan for COFO workers, and the National Medical Association is attempting to find a way for the doctors of the MCHR to obtain reciprocal privileges in order to practice medicine in Mississippi.

The MCHR is committed to continue its work in Mississippi as long as COFO exists in the state - as Dr. Axelrod has stated, "As long as there is COFO, there will be doctors." A thorough physical examination rendered to about 245 staff and volunteers and a Tougaloo College conferance for those who will remain in the state this winter will serve as a guide to future medical aid for COFO workers and is further evidence of the committee's determination. Many doctors throughout the nation have been informed of its work, so that the nature of the MCHR's role in the civil rights movement in Mississippi is spreading, and "several hundred" more doctors have applied to the New York office to come to Mississippi.

ACTING OFFICERS: Jerome Tobis, MD
Aron Wells, MD

CO-CHAIRMEN: Leslie Falk, MD
Elliott Hurwitt, MD

NAACP Urban League SCLC SNCC CORE

1. Budget

Membership

Total budget of Civil Rights organizations.

Total budget of OEO

Total budget of HEW

2. An appeal letter to be sent to all Congressmen and Senators—and their replies will be studied.

3. We can prove that less than 1/10 of 1% of whites believe that black people should have power, as a method to secure their civil rights.
(e.g. figures from #1, necessity to risk life and job to simply exercise the right to vote)

4. We can prove that while whites may believe that black people should be integrated, they only allow integration to take place at the discretion of white people and at the pace set by white people. We call this "liberal paternalism." (e.g. Supreme Court decision of 1954 - % of black children in integrated schools in 1966. Defeat of the completely diluted Housing Section of the Civil Rights Bill of 1966)

5. The figures above prove that less than 1/10 of 1%of the United States population (183,000,000) belong to any civil rights organization. The total membership, including whites and blacks, even allowing for duplication is only .

6. The House Un-American Activities Committee has announced its intention to investigate the Civil Rights movement. We suggest that HUAC—whose very existence we strongly disapprove—might more logically investigate the un-American extreme racism which permeates the entire fabric of this nation, including the halls of Congress itself.

7. The main problem in education today is clear—90% of the U.S. population is white and that 90% has to be taught that peace will only prevail when the black 10% shares in the power of this country.

8. Labor has completely failed to support the aspirations of black people. While deriving money and strength from the organization of blacks, more than whites, in the last 20 years—labor has continued to use blacks to develop political power for whites, for example, to gain control in the Democratic party. Therefore, we charge that labor is acting in alliance and coalition with the reactionary and racist forces in this nation.

9. (We should write an article on the following.) When Congress stripped Powell of his chairmanship, it denied 22,000,000 black citizens political power which had taken 50 years to develop. When Congress denied Powell his seat, it denied 431,330 black citizens their constitutional right to representation in the House of Representatives.

10. We also accuse Mayor Lindsay of failing to speak out in behalf of the citizens of the 18th Congressional District, New York City. Lindsay has been more concerned this week with the issue of "topless waitresses" than with the denial of 431,330 New Yorker's right to representation.

NAACP Urban League SCLC SNCC CORE

1. Budget

Membership

Total budget of Civil Rights organizations.

Total budget of OEO $ 1.4 billion
Total budget of HEW $ 7.6 billion
Cost of Vietnam War 30 billion
'66 HUD - 772 million
Civil Rts. Comm. + Fair Employment comm. together - 4 million

2. An appeal letter to be sent to all Congressmen and Senators—and their replies will be studied.

3. We can prove that less than 1/10 of 1% of whites believe that black people should have power, as a method to secure their civil rights. Powell example
(e.g. figures from #1, necessity to risk life and job to simply exercise the right to vote)

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Unemployment! - White - 3.5% Black - 8%
INFANT MORTALITY-(DEATH RATE PER 1000-1963)22.3% WHITE, 41.7% NON WHITE. OF 41.7%, 25.9% ARE BLACK MALES DEAD BEFORE 1 YR

ANALYSIS OF THE CRIME RATE RISE IN 1965 PROVES THAT THE RISE IN WHITE AREAS IS HIGHER THAN IN GHETTO AREAS.

CITIES UNDER 50,000.....7% RISE

SUBURBS.....8% RISE

RURAL AREAS.....3% RISE

*CITIES OVER 250,000.....4% RISE

YET OVER 85% OF PEOPLE IN NATION'S PRISONS ARE BLACKS.

1964 Presidential Election

Non-white votes - 94% Democratic
6% Republican

1960 68% D.
32% R.

1956 61% D.
39% R.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS IN FIGHT FOR $1.50 MINIMUM WAGE

Prepared by Constantine Sedares

August, 1961----------Mayor Wagner, in a letter to a resident of New York City who had inquired why the Mayor had not supported the bill for a $1.50 minimum hourly wage in New York City which had been submitted in the City Council by the late Stanley Isaacs, said that he had been advised by the City's Corporation Counsel that New York City could not enact such legislation since the state had pre-empted the area.

January, 1962----------Citizens Committee for a $1.50 Minimum Hourly Wage in New York City formed; A. Philip Randolph, chairman.

A number of rallies, picket line demonstrations and other activities by the committee built up public pressure on the issue of a city minimum wage of $1.50 an hour. The proposal had originally been raised by the Teamsters Union Joint Council 16 and the City Club of New York in 1959.

April, 1962----------Mayor Wagner appoints a study commission to investigate the need and feasibility of a city minimum wage.

By a 4 to 3 majority, the report of the committee called for the $1.50 minimum wage in two steps.

October 22, 1962----------The Mayor signed into law the bill which called for a $1.25 minimum hourly wage effective November 22, 1962 and $1.50 minimum effective November 22, 1963.

November, 1962----------Lawsuit filed by the Laundry Operators Association and the Restaurant League of New York (Vincent Sardi, president) alleging that the city law was unconstitutional and that the city had no authority to enact minimum wage legislation because the state had pre-empted the field.

March 1, 1963----------The highest state court, divided 4-3, affirmed lower court rulings declaring the city minimum wage law invalid.

Mayor Wagner, despite the urging of the citizens committee and many other groups, refused to take the issue to the U. S. Supreme Court, "on advice of the corporation counsel."

March, 1963----------Citizens Committee converted to statewide basis.

Chronology of Events in Fight for 1.50 min. Wage

JAN 28 1964

prepared by Constantine Sedares

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April, 1962-------Mayor Wagner appoints a study commission to investigate the need and feasibility of a city minimum wage.

~~Although the committee was stacked to produce a negative report on the $1.50 proposal, one of the business members supported the proposal and,~~ by a 4 to 3 majority, the report of the committee called for the $1.50 minimum wage in two steps.

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November, 1962---- Lawsuit filed by the Laundry Operators Association and the Restaurant League of New York (Vincent Sardi, president) alleging that the city law was unconstitutional and that the city had no authority to enact minimum wage legislation because the state had pre-empted the field.

A restraining order was obtained, barring the city from enforcing the minimum wage law.

March 1, 1963-----The highest state court, divided 4-3, affirmed lower court rulings declaring the city minimum wage law invalid.

Mayor Wagner, despite the urging of the citizens committee and many other groups, refused to take the issue to the U.S. Supreme Court, on advice of the corporation counsel. ~~Apparently, the 4-3 division of the State Court of Appeals raised the clear and present danger that the U.S. Supreme Court might find that the city law is valid.~~

March, 1963-------Citizens Committee converted to statewide basis.

The rest you know.

10/29/63

CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR A $1.50 MINIMUM HOURLY WAGE IN NEW YORK STATE

327 Lexington Avenue • New York 16, N. Y. • LExington 2-2634

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NAACP

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98

OCT 9 1963

October 8, 1963

Dear Friend:

As the opening of the 1964 session of the State Legislature approaches, it is essential that we re-activate our campaign for a statewide minimum wage of $1.50 an hour as quickly as possible so that the machinery of the campaign is fully operative early enough to be effective.

I am therefore asking a small group of leaders in this campaign to meet later this month for the purpose of making plans for the new phase of this effort. I urge you to set aside time in your busy schedule to participate in this important planning session so that we might have the benefit of your counsel.

The meeting will be at the offices of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 217 West 125th Street, Manhattan, at 2 P.M. on Tuesday, October 29, 1963. — MO3-5900

I am looking forward to seeing you there.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph

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Rev. U. B. Whitfield
President, Baptist Ministers Conference of Greater N.Y., Inc.

Roy Wilkins
Executive Secretary, NAACP

Whitney Young
Executive Director
National Urban League

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December, 1963

Dear Friend:

It is a tragic fact that, in our state, the economic capital of the "affluent society," more than one million workers receive wages of less than $1.50 an hour. The consequent mass poverty is a problem of enormous dimensions, affecting all racial and ethnic groups.

It is clear, however, that Negroes and Spanish-speaking persons constitute an increasingly larger segment of this growing "under class" in our state—men, women and children who are ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed and who lack the educational and cultural opportunities necessary to their full development as useful and responsible citizens of our state and of the Nation. Thus, for minority groups, the problem of mass poverty and deprivation caused by substandard wages is one of especially critical nature.

It is of vital importance, therefore, that the Governor and the Legislature act—during the 1964 session of the Legislature—to alleviate this major social, economic and moral problem afflicting the people of our state. We believe that in the establishment of a statewide minimum wage of $1.50 an hour would be a realistic first step in the right direction.

The Governor is scheduled to deliver his annual message to the Legislature on January 8, 1964. He has been asked to include the establishment of a statewide minimum wage of $1.50 an hour among his legislative proposals. We hope he will do so.

Hoping, however, is not enough. We must act and act now. We must let the Governor know that the socially responsible religious, labor and community leaders of this state support this urgently needed legislation.

WRITE TO GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER—NOW! Urge him to include in his message to the Legislature a proposal for a statewide minimum wage of $1.50 an hour, covering workers both in interstate and intrastate commerce, including such groups as domestics and farm workers. Urge him to include in his proposal specific authorization for municipalities to enact local laws establishing higher minimum wages than that set by the state.

Time is of the essence. It is important that **your** letter reaches Governor Rockefeller before he delivers his message to the Legislature. Please WRITE NOW! **Your voice counts.**

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph

Write to: Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, Executive Chamber, State Capitol, Albany, N. Y.

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DEC 4 1963

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Executive Secretary
NAACP

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December 3, 1963

Mr. Richard Haley
Associate National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dick:

This is to acknowledge, with many thanks, CORE's contribution on December 2nd of an additional $200.00 to the work of this committee. Your past and continued support has been important to the operation.

Needless to say, if I detected the mood correctly at the last meeting when I raised the question of funds, our financial situation will be no better in the renewed drive than it was earlier this year.

Thanks again.

Sincerely yours,

Gus Sedares

P.S. See you at noon.

December 2, 1963

Mr. Constantine Sedares
Citizens Committee for $1.50
Minimum Wage in New York State
327 Lexington Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Gus:

At a meeting several weeks ago, I indicated that CORE would probably make a contribution to get things going. The enclosed check for $200 is tardy, but I hope it will serve the purpose.

Sincerely,

Richard Haley,
Associate National Director

RH: AS
Enc.

December 11, 1963

Mr. Constantine Sedares
Citizens Committee for $1.50 Minimum
Wage in New York City
327 Lexington Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Gus:

I am extremely sorry I was not able to pursuade Farmer to attend the Monday meeting with Governor Rockefeller. Perhaps I was not passionate enough to be convincing. I can only hope that , in spite of disappointments, the meeting proved successful.

Please continue to keep us informed of developments. Fast or slow, effective or pointless, right or wrong, we will continue.

Sincerely,

Richard Haley,
Associate National Director

RH: AS

December 18, 1963

Honorable Nelson D. Rockefeller
Governor of the State of New York
State Executive Office Building
Albany 1, N.Y.

Dear Governor Rockefeller:

I should like to take this opportunity respectfully to urge that the $1.50 minimum wage be included among the legislative proposals which you submit to the Legislature in your annual message.

I will not go into the rationale for such a minimum wage, for I know that you are thoroughly familiar with these. I do think, however, that it is entirely proper for our State of New York to take the lead in this matter: leadership in such areas has been traditional in New York. Other states and the Federal government might well follow with such affirmative action.

It goes without saying that the beneficiaries of such an action on your part would be the poor of our State, of which minority peoples are an inordinately large proportion.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

cc: Mr. Sodares
Mr. Haley

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DEC 13 1963

December 12, 1963

Mr. Richard Haley
Associate National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Dick:

Last Monday we presented to Governor Rockefeller the same facts and the same arguments which we presented to him on April 2nd of this year. On April 2nd, he attempted to rebut our points; last Monday he treated them as divine revelations of some sorts, providing "new insight" into the matter, etc.

From this, we deduce that he is more receptive to our requests, based on whatever political factors contrain him in his decision making.

He made it abundantly clear that he was viewing it primarily as a problem of minority groups, which is the manner in which we presented our views. Now we must emphasize the point.

I met with Phil Randolph yesterday to review the situation and to move on the leadership conference we had decided on in October. Phil asked me to contact Farmer, Wilkins and Whitney Young and to ask them to send letters to Governor Rockefeller urging him to include the $1.50 minimum wage among the legislative proposals he submits to the Legislature in his annual message, which is scheduled for delivery January 8th. No doubt his staff is already working on a draft. Would you please ask Farmer to send such a note to the Governor as soon as possible. Thanks.

The leadership conference is scheduled for Friday afternnon, January 3rd, at 2:30. We haven't arranged a location yet, but will have it in a few days.

When Phil returns from Washington, we will be sending a note to Farmer asking him to speak at this conference. Again, if you could in advance discuss it with him so that he sets aside the time in his schedule, it would be helpful.

Please call me when you have a chance so that I can give a more detailed account of the meeting with the Governor.

Sincerely,

Gus Sedares

P.S. Please send me a copy of the letter Farmer sends to the Governor. Thanks.

1/3

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Rev. U. B. Whitfield
President, Baptist Ministers Conference of Greater N.Y., Inc.

Roy Wilkins
Executive Secretary, NAACP

Whitney Young
Executive Director
National Urban League

*organization listed for identification purposes only

December 20, 1963

Dear Friend:

As the opening of the 1964 session of the Legislature approaches, it is essential that we resume--with new vigor--the campaign for a statewide minimum wage of $1.50 an hour.

Time is short. We must move into action quickly and effectively. We hope, therefore, that you will be able to join us in a Leadership Conference on January 3rd to discuss and act on plans for action in this campaign. The specifics of the meeting are:

Date: Friday, January 3, 1964

Time: 2:30 P.M.

Place: Freedom House
20 West 40th Street
Manhattan

Please try to fit this very important meeting into your busy schedule. Your aid and counsel in this effort is vital to its success.

Kindly let us know if you will be able to attend by returning the enclosed card. Thank you.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph

Halen

DEC 2 3 1963

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December 20, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Jim:

We have received a report that the Governor intends to propose to the Legislature that a commission be set up to "study" the need for improvement of the state minimum wage. If our experience of the past is any guide, this means that the Governor wants to give the impression that he is doing something, while not committing the overt act of actually improving the minimum.

We are taking all possible steps to convey to the Governor a sense of urgency for action. Among these is a conference of key religious, civil rights, labor and community leaders which will be held at Freedom House, 20 W. 40th St., on Friday afternoon, January 3rd, at 2:30 P.M.

The press will be invited to attend so that our view is publicized as widely as possible and so that our demand for action is again conveyed to the Governor.

We hope, therefore, that you will be able to address this meeting and to emphasize our demand for action. Please let me know if you will be able to be there so that we can proceed with preparation accordingly.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

CORE_- Congressof Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
CO 7 6270 Dec. 26, 1963

TO: NEW YORK STATE CONTACT LIST
FROM: NORMAN HILL/ Program Dept

RE: $1.50 MINIUM WAGE

For great numbers of Negro and Spanish-speaking workers, American society is anything but affluent. Unemployment and poverty have for too long been an everyday fact of life in the minority community.

If we can obtain a statewide minium wage of $1.50 an hour as an impor - tant first step to begin to alleviate the problem of poverty in New York state, it is clear that the full weight and influence of the civil rights movement must be brought to bear on Governor Rockefeller and the state legislature. We urge you to read the enclosed material carefully and ACT NOW to obtain a $1.50 minium hourly wage in New York state.

#########

citizens committee
FOR A $1.50 MINIMUM HOURLY WAGE
In New York City

PETITION

to: Mayor Robert F. Wagner and the Members of the City Council

We, the undersigned, urge the enactment into law, without further delay, of the bill to provide for a $1.50 minimum hourly wage in New York City.

This action is necessary in order to bring relief to hundreds of thousands of our fellow New Yorkers who today are victims of sweatshop exploitation. Their poverty and suffering is the concern and responsibility of all of us.

Sub-standard wages and high costs for welfare and other services of city government go together. The enactment of law providing for a $1.50 minimum hourly wage will reduce this subsidy we now pay to low-wage, sweatshop operations and will release these funds to meet the pressing social needs of our city.

A reasonable minimum hourly wage of $1.50 will not only help the exploited workers and their families, but will greatly benefit our community in general.

	NAME	ADDRESS	BOROUGH
1.			
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13.			
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15.			
16.			

Petition circulated by: _____

Address: _____

Borough: _____

Organization: _____

When completed, *mail to:*

Citizens Committee
For A $1.50 Minimum Hourly Wage
In New York City

327 Lexington Ave., New York 16, N. Y.
Telephone No. LE 2-2634

Haley 17

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January 9, 1964

JAN 10 1964

Dear Friend:

As you know, Governor Rockefeller, rather than proposing immediate action to establish a statewide minimum wage of $1.50 an hour, called for the setting up of a special committee to "study" the possibility of raising the state minimum wage.

If our experience of the past is any guide, the proposal for another "study" committee is merely a device to excuse the failure of action.

It is essential, therefore, that we meet to put into motion a concerted drive to impress upon the Governor and each member of the Legislature that we will not accept a "study" committee as a substitute for concrete, meaningful action on this vital issue. Time is short and we must move quickly.

We have scheduled a meeting for Friday afternoon, January 17, 1964, at 2 P.M. at the offices of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 217 West 125th Street, Manhattan, to discuss and put into motion specific proposals for action.

Please make every effort to attend this very important meeting.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph

TELEPHONE:
WATKINS 4-6306

FEB 4 1964

Nº 6503

BEMBO TYPOGRAPHERS CORP.

188 WEST FOURTH STREET
NEW YORK 14, N. Y.

Date January 15, 1964

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327 Lexington Ave
New York 16, N.Y.

Our Order No.

Your Order No.

TERMS: NET CASH

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5000 Leaflets (What Your Organization Can Do?) 8½x11 folded		60 —
5000 Letterheads, Memos		50
5000 Letterheads + Letters		60
		205 —
	S.T.	8 20
Total Metal Weight		213 20

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FOR RESALE

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MEMORANDUM

TO: CORE Chapters In New York State January 22, 1964

FROM: Richard Haley SUBJECT: $1.50 Minimum Wage Bill

Action for human rights in the North may be likened to an equal sided triangle. These three sides would be public education, housing and employment. There is already much activity in the direction of the first two; this memo has to do with stepped-up activity on the third side of the triangle--employment.

A. Phillip Randolph announced several weeks ago, the resumption of the campaign for a $1.50 minimum wage in the State of New York, or at the very least, legislative provision to permit New York City to enact such a law without fear of its being nullified by the courts. At his request, CORE, with numerous other organizations, sent a telegram to Governor Rockefeller requesting that he give this proposal a prominent place in his message to the legislature. Governor Rockefeller, however, asked that a study commission be set up by the legislature to investigate this proposal.

Proponents of the $1.50 minimum wage categorically reject the idea that there is need for any further study of this issue. There are a few straws in the wind that indicate there is greater hope now than ever before that we can win this point. Our weapon is the same as many times before--arousing sufficient public concern to impress the legislators. So, on Sunday, February 9th, the Committee for $1.50 Minimum Wage plans to bring together as many of the public as possible with as many legislators as possible, to listen to our statement of position. The meeting place has not yet been selected; you will receive word of this very shortly. We ask each CORE group to do the following: (1) After you have received notification of the meeting place selected, get out a mailing on this meeting to (a) active CORE members, (b) associate CORE members, (c) other liberal organizations with which you may be acquainted; (2) Announce the February 9th meeting at each meeting of your local chapter. Emphasize the need for full chapter attendance at the meeting. Try to get a list of names of those who will attend; (3) appoint a telephone committee to follow up the mailings (please keep track of the number of pieces of mail you sent out on this meeting. We would like to be able to make a check on this. Perhaps the employment committee would take over this function.)

The Minimum Wage Committee also plans a large meeting and visit to the legislators in Albany, at about the third week in February. This is also a very important project; you will hear more of it in coming weeks. For the present, let us concentrate as much effort as we can on the meeting of February 9th. This year, there is a real chance that we can achieve this progressive step; let us not fail.

JAN 27 1964

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Very Rev. Msgr. James A. Healy
Chairman, City of Buffalo Board of Community Relations

Rev. Richard A. Hildebrand

Rabbi Isidor B. Hoffman

Paul Jennings
Executive Secretary
District 3, IUE

Rev. Robert Ross Johnson

Harry S. Jordan
President
Niagara County, AFL-CIO

James L. Kane
President, Buffalo AFL-CIO

David Livingston
President, District 65, RWDSU

Rev. O'Neil Mackey
President
AME Ministers Alliance

Juan Mas
President
Federation of Spanish Societies

Rev. C. Leonard Miller

Dr. Eugene T. Reed
President, New York State Conference of NAACP Branches

I. D. Robbins
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James P. Ryan
President
N.Y. Chapter, ACTU

George Santiago
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Howard Squadron
Chairman, Metropolitan Council
American Jewish Congress

Gilberto Gerena Valentin
President, Congress of Puerto Rican Municipalities

Rev. U. B. Whitfield
President, Baptist Ministers Conference of Greater N.Y., Inc.

Roy Wilkins
Executive Secretary, NAACP

Whitney Young
Executive Director
National Urban League

*organization listed for identification purposes only

January 24, 1964

Dear Friend:

Recent developments indicate that there exists the realistic possibility of obtaining action, during the 1964 session of the Legislature, to establish a statewide minimum wage of $1.50 an hour.

Much depends on what each of us does to demonstrate to our public officialsthat such legislation has broad-based community support.

As one means of expressing this community support, there will be a public rally held on February 9th to which all legislators from the New York City area will be invited. The specifics are as follows:

Date: SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 9th

Time: 3 P.M.

Place: SALEM METHODIST CHURCH
129th Street and 7th Avenue
Manhattan

Needless to say, the effectiveness of the rally and the impression it makes on the legislators will depend, to a large extent, on the attendance at the rally. It is imperative, therefore, that each of us assumes responsibility to insure a good turnout.

Enclosed is a form with some suggestions as to how YOU can help. Please follow up on these---and any other means---to encourage attendance at the rally.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph

JAN 27 1964

WHAT YOU CAN DO TO PROMOTE THE FEBRUARY 9th RALLY

IN SUPPORT OF A STATEWIDE MINIMUM WAGE OF $1.50 AN HOUR

1. Attend the rally yourself.

2. Send out a SPECIAL MAILING to all members of your organization or church, urging them to attend the rally and to encourage their relatives and friends to attend.

3. Place notices of the rally, urging attendance, in a prominent place on all bulletin boards in your church, shop or office. Distribute such notices to shop stewards for posting in their places of employment.

4. Place a notice of the rally, urging attendance, in your newspaper, newsletter or church bulletin.

5. Announce the rally, urging attendance, at all membership and committee meetings of your organization and at all church services and other functions.

6. Appoint a committee to follow up on the special mailing with telephone calls, and to otherwise promote attendance at the rally through such means as neighborhood leaflet distributions, etc.

7. If your organization is composed of member organizations, send a special mailing to each group, urging it to follow up on the suggestions listed above.

Time is short. We must move quickly to mobilize for the rally. Your active support is essential to its success. Please act on the suggestions listed above.

The specifics of the rally are:

Date: Sunday, February 9th

Time: 3 P.M.

Place: SALEM METHODIST CHURCH
129 th Street and 7th Avenue
Manhattan

(125th Street stop of "D" Train (6th Avenue), "A" Train (8th Avenue), 7th Avenue IRT and Lexington Avenue IRT)

For information, contact: Constantine Sedares at Le 2-2493, Le 2-2006 or Le 2-2634

MEMORANDUM

TO: James Farmer

January 24, 1964

FROM: Richard Haley

RE: $1.50 Mimimum Wage Bill

The leadership committee of the State Republican Party seems to have the present alignment in regard to the minimum wage bill. Carlino and Lefkowitz favor at least enabling legislation for freedom of action in New York City. Nelson (Lieutenant Governor) and Mahoney are against any progressive legislation whatsoever. The Governor is riding the fence. Hank Pailey, Assistant to Carlino, urged Gus Sedares to soft pedal any strong anti-Rockefeller demonstrations for the next week and a-half. By that time, the committee will have come to a decision. Gus plans to speak further to Norman Hill on whether to continue tentative plans they have discussed for a West Coast demonstration.

Gus is very hopeful that you will be able to speak at the public meeting at Salem Church, here in New York City, on Sunday, February 9th..Gus is working for a big turn-out of the public and legislators. We are working with him for a big turn-out of CORE people. You know my naivete about politics; even so, the situation looks much brighter to me than last year. I hope very much you can be one of the speakers at this meeting.

CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR A $1.50 MINIMUM HOURLY WAGE IN NEW YORK STATE

327 Lexington Avenue • New York 16, N. Y. • LExington 2-2634

CHAIRMAN
A. Philip Randolph

TREASURER
Cleveland Robinson

COORDINATOR
Constantine Sedares

SPONSORS (partial listing)*

Rev. C. Aspansa-Johnson
President, Interdenominational Ministers Alliance of Greater N.Y.

Rev. Frank Churchill
President, AME Zion Ministers Alliance

Charles Cogen
President, United Federation of Teachers

Rev. G. G. Crumpley

James Farmer
National Director, CORE

Monserrate Flores
President, United Organizations of the Bronx

Rev. Milton Galamison

Martin Gerber
Director, Region 9, UAW

Maximino Gonzales
President, Council of Puerto Rican-Hispanic Organizations of Greater New York

Rev. Donald Harrington

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Rev. U. B. Whitfield
President, Baptist Ministers Conference of Greater N.Y., Inc.

Roy Wilkins
Executive Secretary, NAACP

Whitney Young
Executive Director
National Urban League

*organization listed for identification purposes only

JAN 28 1964

January 27, 1964

Dear Dick:

Enclosed is a brief outline of the development of the citizens committee and the $1.50 minimum wage issue in New York City.

The state committee was an expansion of the city committee.

Sincerely,

Gus

Gus Sedares

Sorry I failed to have it ready on Monday, as I said I would.

February 3, 1964

Bembo Typographers
188 West 4th Street
New York 14, New York

Gentlemen:

Enclosed please find check for $213.20 to cover cost of printing for Citizens Committee for the $1.50 Minimum Wage.

Sincerely,

Richard Haley,
Associate National Director

RH: AS
Enc.

CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR A $1.50 MINIMUM HOURLY WAGE IN NEW YORK STATE

327 Lexington Avenue • New York 16, N. Y. • LExington 2-2634

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Executive Director
National Urban League

*organization listed for identification purposes only

Minimum wage

February 4, 1964

FEB 5

Dear Friend:

The February 9th rally in support of the establishment of a statewide minimum wage of $1.50 an hour is just a few days off.

I hope, therefore, that you will make an extra effort to urge people to attend the rally. Needless to say, the effectiveness of the rally will depend, to a large extent, on the attendance.

What can you do ?

If possible, send out a special mailing to the members of your organization, urging attendance at the rally.

Announce the rally, urging attendance, at all meetings of your organization or at church services and functions.

Attend the rally yourself.

These are just a few suggestions which I urge you to act upon. I am certain that you have many other additional means of mobilizing the members of your organization or congregation.

Thank you very much for your assistance in this important struggle for a decent minimum wage.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

B.S. Wiley College 1938 (Marshall Tex.)
B.D. Howard University, 1941

⟷

John Dewey Award, 1962
American Veterans Committee
(Bill of Rights Award)
Merit Award of Elks.

Numerous other organizational awards.

1. B. of D. ACLU
2. B. of D. ADA
3. Exec Bd American Committee
4. B of Boys Boys Athletic League
5. W.O.W. (Chairman) + Org 9)
6. Call Committee Am Neg. leaders Com on Africa
7. C.O.R.E.

Join The War Against Poverty!

Demand An End To The Exploitation Of Our People

PUBLIC RALLY

FOR A $1.50 MINIMUM HOURLY WAGE in NEW YORK STATE–NOW!

SUNDAY, FEB. 9—3 P.M.

SALEM METHODIST CHURCH

129th Street and 7th Avenue, Manhattan

125th Street Station—(6th, 7th, 8th & Lexington Avenue Lines)

HEAR:

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
Director, March on Washington

ALEXANDER J. ALLEN
Executive Director
Urban League of Greater New York

JAMES FARMER
National Director, CORE

REV. RICHARD A. HILDEBRAND
President, New York Branch, NAACP

DR. EUGENE T. REED
President, New York State
Conference of NAACP Branches

I. D. ROBBINS
President, City Club of New York

CLEVELAND ROBINSON
Secretary-Treasurer,
District 65, RWDSU

GILBERTO GERENA VALENTIN
President, Puerto Rican Parade

Rally Committee: **JESSE GRAY**, Director, Community Council on Housing; **REV. HUNSON GREEN**, Acting Pastor, Friendship Baptist Church; **REV. DAVID LICORISH**, Associate Minister, Abyssinian Baptist Church; **FATHER WILLIAM MCPEAK**, St. Aloysius RC Church; **REV. LEONARD E. TERRELL**, Pastor, Union Baptist Church; **REV. M. L. WILSON**, Pastor, Convent Avenue Baptist Church.

Sponsored by:

CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR A $1.50 MINIMUM HOURLY WAGE IN NEW YORK STATE

A. Philip Randolph, Chairman **Constantine Sedares, Coordinator**

For information, CALL: LE 2-2493, LE 2-2006 or LE 2-2634

MEMORANDUM

TO: New York Area Chapters

FROM: Richard Haley

February 5, 1964

RE: $1.50 Minimum Wage Bill

We must have a big turn-out at the mass rally for the $1.50 Minimum Wage. This will be held at Salem Methodist Church, on the corner of 129th Street & 7th Avenue, Sunday, February 9th at 3:00 P.M. We are keenly aware that time is short--far too short for the thorough preparation required by such an important issue.

Again, let me emphasize that time is short; we have no choice but to ride rough-shod over problems, disadvantages, opposition and apathy. This is a time for CORE to show its strength. There are 18 chapters in the New York area. Let each chapter guarantee 75 people in attendance. No less; 75. This will provide a CORE audience of 1350. We can ask the rest of New York to finish the job of filling the church--capacity, 1600.

That is not all. Have you announced this rally at membership meetings. Will you man a sound truck in Harlem, Friday and Saturday, the 7th and 8th? Will you provide ten people to distribute leaflets on these same days? Have you sent a SPECIAL MAILING to associate members, friends of CORE and other organizations? Will you see that the minister of your church announces this meeting?

These are not simple things that can be done--these must be done. In civil rights, as in any other challenge, "You got to put your mind where your mouth is."

WHAT YOU CAN DO TO PROMOTE THE FEBRUARY 9th RALLY

IN SUPPORT OF A STATEWIDE MINIMUM WAGE OF $1.50 AN HOUR

1. Attend the rally yourself.

2. Send out a SPECIAL MAILING to all members of your organization or church, urging them to attend the rally and to encourage their relatives and friends to attend.

3. Place notices of the rally, urging attendance, in a prominent place on all bulletin boards in your church, shop or office. Distribute such notices to shop stewards for posting in their places of employment.

4. Place a notice of the rally, urging attendance, in your newspaper, newsletter or church bulletin.

5. Announce the rally, urging attendance, at all membership and committee meetings of your organization and at all church services and other functions.

6. Appoint a committee to follow up on the special mailing with telephone calls, and to otherwise promote attendance at the rally through such means as neighborhood leaflet distributions, etc.

7. If your organization is composed of member organizations, send a special mailing to each group, urging it to follow up on the suggestions listed above.

Time is short. We must move quickly to mobilize for the rally. Your active support is essential to its success. Please act on the suggestions listed above.

The specifics of the rally are:

Date: Sunday, February 9th

Time: 3 P.M.

Place: SALEM METHODIST CHURCH
129 th Street and 7th Avenue
Manhattan

(125th Street stop of "D" Train (6th Avenue), "A" Train (8th Avenue), 7th Avenue IRT and Lexington Avenue IRT)

For information, contact: Constantine Sedares at Le 2-2493, Le 2-2006 or Le 2-2634

1. Attend the rally tonight.

2. Send out a SPECIAL MAILING to all members of your organization or church,
   urging them to attend the rally and to encourage their relatives and friends
   to attend.

3. Place notices of the rally, urging attendance, in a prominent place on all
   bulletin boards in your church, and in a prominent place on all
   mimeographed tax postings in their branch of employment.

4. Place a notice of the rally, urging attendance, in your newspaper, newsletter
   or church bulletin.

5. Arrange the rally, urging attendance, at all meetings held by committees
   of your organization and at all church services and other functions.

6. Appoint a committee of following up on the special mailing with telephone calls
   and to otherwise promote attendance at the rally (through such means as
   telephotoed locality advertisements, etc.

7. If your organization is composed of members organizations, send a special

IN CITRONT OF A STATEWIDE MINIMUM WAGE OF $1.25 AN HOUR

YOU CAN DO TO PROMOTE THE PERSONAL DAY RALLY

7. If your organization is composed of member organizations, send a special mailing to each group, urging it to follow up on the suggestions listed above.

Time is short. We must move quickly to mobilize for the rally.
Your active support is essential to its success. Please act on the suggestions listed above.

The specifics of the rally are:

Date: Sunday, February 9th

Time: 3 P.M.

Place: SALEM METHODIST CHURCH
129 th Street and 7th Avenue
Manhattan

(125th Street stop of "D" Train (8th Avenue),
"A" Train (8th Avenue), 7th Avenue IRT and
Lexington Avenue IRT)

For information, contact: Constantine Sedaris at Le 2-2493, Le 2-2006 or Le 2-2534

Sally Ellis
211 E 8th
Apt 3

2

MIN. WAGE

February 10, 1964

Mr. Constantine Sedares
Citizens Committee for a $1.50
Minimum Wage
327 Lexington Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Gus:

This is a written verification of National CORE's having paid the bill of $213.20 to Bambo Typographers, for the Citizens Committee for a $1.50 Minimum Wage.

Please advise me by letter or phone of [redacted] we can help in preparation for the March 10th demonstration in Albany. I enclose the names and telephone numbers of key persons in metropolitan area chapters. I hope you will find them useful. You should know that practically the entire National Office staff will be in New Orleans from February 13th through 19th.

Sincerely,

Richard Haley,
Associate National Director

RH: AS
Enc.

minimum wage

INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT

815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006 • EXecutive 3-5581

WALTER P. REUTHER
PRESIDENT

JAMES B. CAREY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

June 7, 1965

Mr. George Wiley
National CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Wiley:

Jack Beidler mentioned that you would be interested in some material that might be useful for minimum wage testimony. Tom Kahn, in his pamphlet "The Economics of Equality", a copy of which is enclosed, has several excellent sections relating to income and occupations of non-whites that I think you will find extremely useful.

Call NY Office Commerce Dept

You might also find of use two basic documents of the Census Bureau: Consumer Income, Income of Families and Persons in the United States: 1963, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 43, September 19, 1964; and the supplement to that report, Consumer Income, Average Family Income Up 5 Percent in 1964, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 44, May 17, 1965.

We do not have extra copies of these available, but I am sure you can obtain a copy from the New York Office of the Commerce Department.

Sincerely yours,

W. Ginsburg

Woodrow Ginsburg
Director of Research

WG:fs
Enclosure

VICE PRESIDENTS: I. W. ABEL • JOSEPH A. BEIRNE • GEORGE BURDON • JOSEPH CURRAN • KARL F. FELLER • MAX GREENBERG
A. F. HARTUNG • ALBERT J. HAYES • RALPH HELSTEIN • O. A. KNIGHT • WALTER L. MITCHELL • PAUL L. PHILLIPS
WILLIAM POLLOCK • FRANK ROSENBLUM • LOUIS STULBERG • ARNOLD ZANDER

file
min. wage

June 10, 1965

The Hon. James Roosevelt
General Sub-Committee on Labor
House Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Roosevelt:

Mr. Farmer would like to testify at the hearings being held on the minimum wage now through July 9th. Would it be possible to schedule his appearance before the Sub-Committee for the week of June 21st? Please let me know at your earliest convenience when Mr. Farmer can be scheduled.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

Minimum Wage

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038
September 28, 1965

TO: Chapter Chairmen
FROM: George A. Wiley, Associate National Director
RE: CALL TO ACTION IN SUPPORT OF MINIMUM WAGE BILL NOW PEND_ ING BEFORE CONGRESS

A growing criticism of the civil rights movement has been its failure to deliver tangible improvements in the living conditions of Negroes, particularly in the ghettoes of the North. The majority of the Negroes in the United States live in poverty. Though unemployment among Negroes is inconscionably high, an often overlooked fact is that the majority of poor people have jobs. They simply do not earn enough money to live on. THE PRESENT MINIMUM WAGE LAW EXEMPTS THOSE INDUSTRIES WHERE THE MAJORITY OF NEGROES IS EMPLOYED, IN PARTICULAR, HOSPITALS, LAUNDRIES AND DRY CLEANING ESTABLISHMENTS, RESTAURANTS AND FOOD SERVICE ESTABLISHMENTS, AGRICULTURE AND AGRICULTURAL PROCESSING, HOTELS AND SMALL LOGGING INDUSTRIES. This is in part because those business interests have lobbied vigorously against having themselves covered and civil rights groups have not orgznized an effective enough lobby to preserve the interests of Negroes.

FOR THE AbOVE REASONS, I URGE THAT CORE TAKE THE INITIATIVE IN THE FIGHT TO EXTEND MINIMUM WAGE PROTECTION TO THESE INDUSTRIES WHERE MOST NEGROES WORK.

Adam Clayton Powell's committe has drafted a fairly decent bill. It would extend coverage to nearly eight million workers not presently covered by the minimum wage laws. It would, over a period of several years, raise the minimum wage for non-agricultural workers to $1.75 per hour and for agricultural workers to $1.25 per hour. (Additional information on the proposed bill, HR-10518, is enclosed. The blue sheet is a brief summary of the bill. The magazine reprint was written before the bill was drafted and describes proposals which are less liberal than actually contained in HR-10518. It contains much useful background information, however).

A civil rights delegation saw House Speaker McCormack on Thursday, September 23rd. McCormack indicated that he favored the bill and would discharge it from the House Rules commettee on October 11th, 1965 if Congress is still in session at that time. It is important that the bill not be put over until January because the closer one gets to the '66 elections the less possibility there is that Congress will pass something that might offend business interests. The bill may not get to the Senate this session, but the Senate looks like less of a problem than the House.

There is probably enough liberal strength in the House to pass a bill in some form. We must fight to keep the parts affecting

Negroes most directly from being amemded out of the bill, as has happened in the past.

Suggestions for action: This issue presents a unique opportunity to combine two major elements of CORE's new direction. It is a political issue that lends itself particularly well to involving Negroes in every community in the country. 1) Wires and letters to Congressmen asking them to support the bill in its present form and without any weakening amendements are of course obvious, 2) getting together people who are directly affected by the provisions of the bill, explaining the bill to them and seeking their participation in lobbying for the bill's passage, 3) organizing delegations of these people to meet with the Congressman from your district to urge his support of the bill. Similar meetings could be held with the officials of the major political parties, influential citizens and civic and fraternal groups to urge their support of the bill. I would even suggest that groups regard themselves as being in negotiation with either the Congressmen or the major political force in power and if they refuse to agree to support the bill, consider direct action against them. 4) Alerting the Negro community to the importance of the issue and the developments as they go along. This of course can be done through traditional methods of leafleting, street meetings, speaking in churches, rallies, and so on. 5) Sending people to Washington to lobby directly for the bill, beginning Monday, October 11th. This should be coordinated with the Field Secretary in your region and with the National Office, 6) enlisting the support of the trade unions in your areas. All of the unions should be vigorously supporting this and should be willing to provide considerable resources in support of the program. This is an excellent chance to find out which unions in your area can be counted on to fight for economic issues that are of great importance to Negroes, as well as to their general constituency.

Please report on any action you will be taking on this issue. Also send the name of the political contact in your group if it is different from the chapter chairman. We will try to keep you posted on developments and changes in the tactical situation, as they unfold.

AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS

1965 FACT SHEET NO. 4
(Revised)

The AFL-CIO supports improvements in the Fair Labor Standards Act as set forth in H.R. 10518, the bill reported by the House Committee on Education and Labor on August 25, 1965.

H.R. 10518 raises the minimum wage gradually to $1.75 an hour in 1968 and extends coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act to 7.9 million additional workers.

Enactment of this bill would be a tremendous step forward toward the wage-hour objectives of the AFL-CIO. It would help assure a decent minimum standard of living to America's working people and it would make a major contribution to the elimination of poverty.

Therefore, H.R. 10518 should have the support of AFL-CIO affiliated organizations.

Coverage

At present, some 10½ million non-supervisory wage and salary earners who should be covered are excluded from FLSA protections by unduly narrow coverage definitions and by special exemptions. Excluded workers are among the most poorly paid in the nation and must endure the worst working conditions.

H.R. 10518 would extend minimum wage protections to 7.9 million workers in the following categories of employment:

Category of employment	Number of employees covered by minimum wage under H.R. 10518	Cumulative total of employees covered by FLSA plus H.R. 10518
	[In thousands]	
Retailing:		
Food service	100	100
Auto and farm implement dealers	630	630
All other	1,280	3,866
Total	2,010	4,596
Restaurants	525	532
Hotels and motels	275	275
Motion picture theaters	80	80
Hospitals and nursing homes	1,353	1,353
Miscellaneous services	100	399
Laundries	505	523
Agriculture	1,300	1,300
Small transit systems	10	10
Agricultural processing in area of production	90	90
Small telephone exchanges	3	3
Taxicabs (other than drivers)	16	16
Small logging operations	87	87
Cotton ginning	34	34
Construction	581	2,994
All other industries	960	25,230
Total	7,929	37,522

Enterprise Coverage

H.R. 10518 changes the Fair Labor Standards Act definition of an "enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce" to include an enterprise which has employees engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce and which has an annual gross volume of sales of $500,000 or more beginning January 1, 1966, until December 31, 1967; and an annual gross volume of sales of $250,000 or more thereafter. There is no dollar volume test for laundries, drycleaning, or construction enterprises. "Mom and pop" establishments remain excluded as do individual retail and service establishments with annual sales of less than $150,000.

$1.75 Minimum Wage

H.R. 10518 would be a substantial step forward toward the AFL-CIO objective of assuring low-paid job-holders a standard of living above the poverty level.

The bill would raise the minimum hourly wage to $1.75 in 1968 for workers now covered by FLSA and to $1.75 in 1970 for workers newly covered. Here is the step-up schedule for increasing the minimum hourly wage under H.R. 10518:

For 29.6 million presently covered employees:

(1) Beginning July 1, 1966 ..... $1.40
(2) Beginning July 1, 1967 ..... $1.60
(3) Beginning July 1, 1968 ..... $1.75

For 6.6 million newly covered employees (nonfarm):

(1) Beginning January 1, 1966 ..... $1.00
(2) Beginning July 1, 1966 ..... $1.15
(3) Beginning July 1, 1967 ..... $1.25

(4) Beginning July 1, 1968 .....$1.40
(5) Beginning July 1, 1969 .....$1.60
(6) Beginning July 1, 1970 .....$1.70

For "tipped employees," the wage paid by an employer shall be deemed to be increased by the amount of tips received by or attributed to such employee, but not by more than 50 percent of the applicable minimum wage rate.

For 1.2 million agricultural employees:

(1) Beginning July 1, 1966 .....$1.15
(2) Beginning July 1, 1968 .....$1.25

Overtime

H.R. 10518 would extend overtime protection to many workers in the following categories of employment:

- Retailing
- Construction
- Laundering and drycleaning
- Nonresort hotels and motels
- Transit
- Automobile, truck and farm implement dealerships (excluding salesmen and mechanics)
- Restaurants and food service establishments
- Motion picture theaters
- Agricultural processing
- Logging
- Gasoline service stations

These newly covered workers would get overtime protection starting July 1, 1967. For these workers, overtime pay—time-and-a-half pay—would be required after

44 hours in any workweek after July 1, 1967
42 hours in any workweek after July 1, 1968
40 hours in any workweek after July 1, 1969

AFL-CIO Wage-Hour Goals

H.R. 10518 is a significant step forward toward the AFL-CIO wage-hour goals. The bill deserves the support of AFL-CIO affiliated organizations.

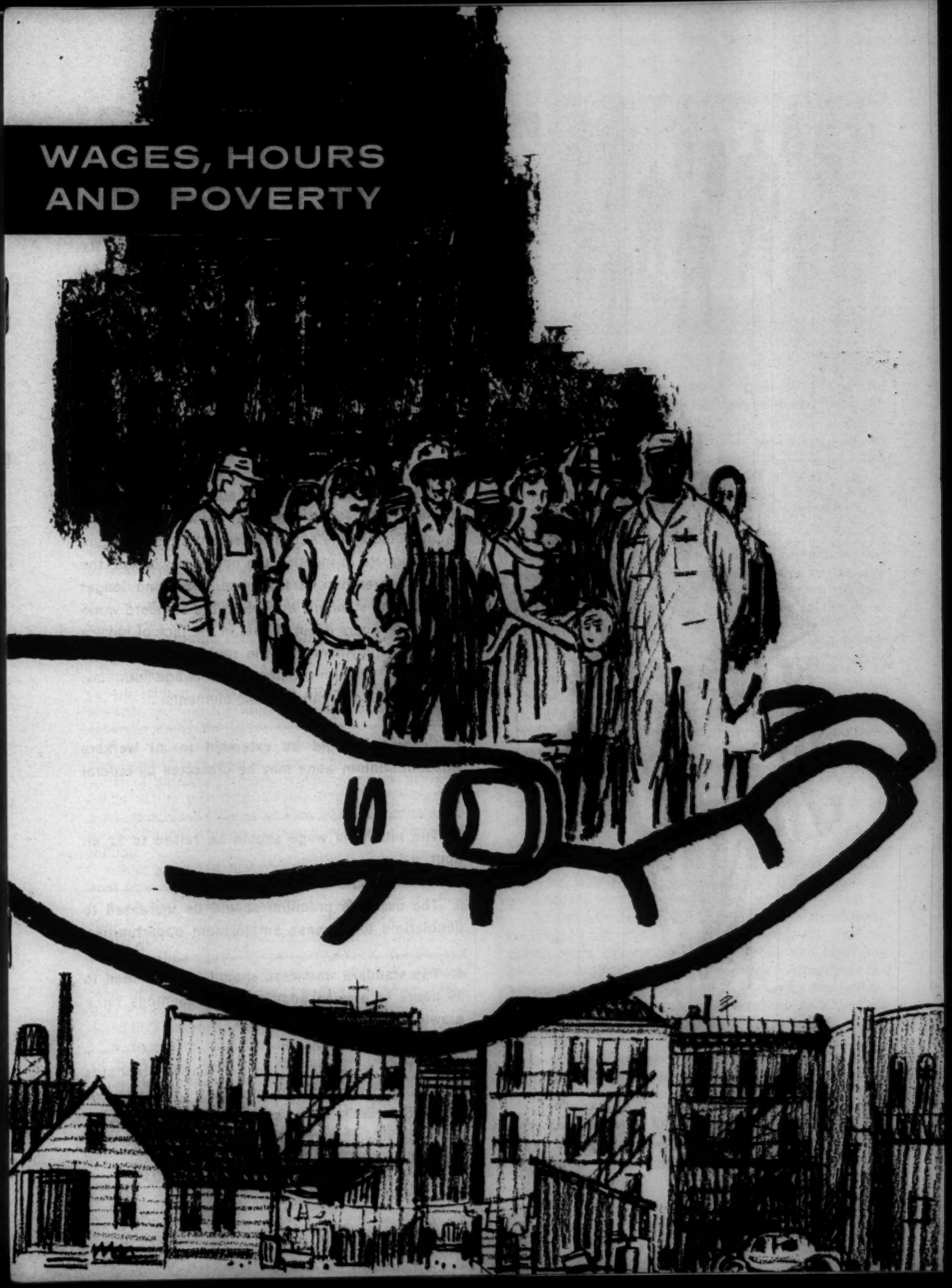
Opponents of wage-hour improvements are trying to convince members of Congress that H.R. 10518 will injure business and cut back job opportunities. This is not true. A 1965 U.S. Labor Department study shows that "the economy adjusted easily to the increase in the minimum wage" under the 1961 Fair Labor Standards Act amendments, and that "employment in these newly covered segments did in fact go up."

It is vitally important that Congressmen learn immediately that there is strong support in their home districts for the 1965 wage-hour bill, H.R. 10518, as approved by the House Education and Labor Committee.

Urge your Congressman to vote for the wage-hour bill approved by the House Labor Committee, and to oppose weakening amendments.

For additional copies of this fact sheet, write to the AFL-CIO Department of Legislation, 815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006.

WAGES, HOURS AND POVERTY



More than 30 years ago, one of the first New Deal programs to meet the problems of unemployment and poverty of the 1930s was to establish a floor under wages and a ceiling over hours. ● The National Industrial Recovery Act first contained such protection for workers. When it was declared unconstitutional, Congress enacted in 1938 the Fair Labor Standards Act to help meet these objectives. ● In the years since the enactment of FLSA, the minimum wage has been raised three times and coverage of the Act was extended once. In 1949, the minimum wage was raised from 40 cents to 75 cents; in 1955, it was set at $1; in 1961, it was increased in stages to $1.25 and coverage was extended to an additional 3.6 million workers. ● Today, millions of workers remain unprotected by the Act. The present $1.25 minimum is inadequate in meeting the needs of workers; the overtime premium of time and a half no longer protects the standard workweek; the standard workweek of 40 hours is out of date in the face of today's high unemployment and the rapidly-growing labor force. ● Modernization of the wage-hour law means revisions in all its basic elements:

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1. Coverage should be extended to all workers whose minimum wage may be protected by federal law.

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2. The minimum wage should be raised to $2 an hour.

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3. The overtime premium should be increased to doubletime to increase employment opportunities.

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4. The standard workweek should be shortened to 35 hours to provide additional job openings for a growing labor force.

These four revisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act are all necessary and important. This issue of The Federationist discusses each specific proposal and why its adoption is in the best interests of the nation.

Prepared by Department of Research
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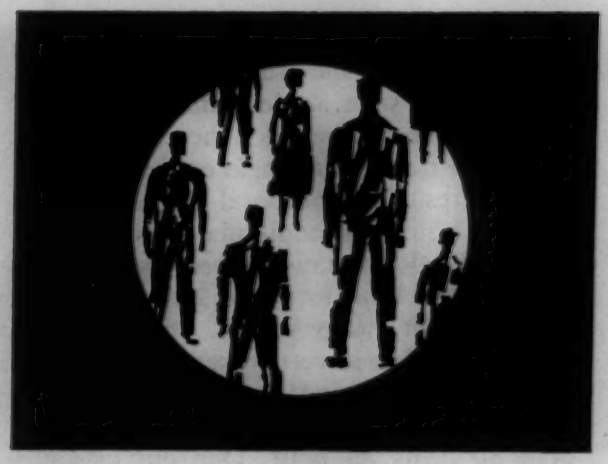
July 1965

END POVERTY
Modernize Wage-Hour Law

Wage-Hour Protection For The Exploited



Of the 47.3 million workers holding non-supervisory jobs in private industry, only 29.6 million are covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act. The other 17.7 million are denied federal minimum wage protection.

Of these 17.7 million, nearly 2 million are farm workers in dire need of special legislation to provide them with an adequate federal minimum wage. Another 2.5 million are domestics also sorely in need of wage protection, but the issue is tied to the problem of federal jurisdiction and a decent wage floor for them probably depends on state action.

The other 13 million workers are in industries that clearly fall under the interstate commerce provisions of the Constitution and, therefore, come under federal jurisdiction.

President Johnson's proposals to extend protection to 4.6 million more workers are an important step towards meeting the objective of the widest possible coverage under the law.

If FLSA coverage were extended to all workers in chain enterprises doing a quarter of a million dollars worth of business or more, regardless of the gross receipts of the particular establishment in which they work, minimum wage protection would cover an additional 800,000 workers, bringing the total to about 5.4 million.

About a third of those workers who would be covered now earn less than $1.25 an hour:

- Of the 1.5 million additional workers in retailing who would be protected by the President's proposal, nearly 500,000, or 30 percent, are paid less than $1.25 an hour while nearly 50 percent of them receive less than $1.50 an hour, according to the U.S. Department of Labor. A large percentage of the nearly 600,000 additional workers who would be covered by the $250,000 enterprise test earn less than $1.50 an hour.
- In eating and drinking places, about 123,000 of the 425,000 workers who would be covered by the President's proposal, or about 29 percent, are paid less than $1.25 an hour. Nearly 50 percent are paid under $1.50 an hour. A large percentage of the nearly 200,000 additional workers who would be covered by the $250,000 enterprise test earn less than $1.50 an hour.
- In hotels and motels, where 225,000 workers would receive FLSA protection, about 99,000, or 36 percent, are paid under $1.25 an hour and over 50 percent are paid under $1.50.
- In laundries, where 175,000 workers would be covered, over 40 percent earn less than $1.25 an hour and 65 percent are paid under $1.50 an hour.
- Of the three-quarters of a million hospital workers who would be covered, about 34 percent earn under $1.25.

In the absence of minimum wage protection, the wages of these workers at the bottom end of the nation's wage scale remain stationary or creep up belatedly over the years at only a fraction of the pace of general wage advances.

Manufacturing production workers averaged $2.53 an hour in 1964. This is 75 cents higher than 10 years ago and 42 cents higher than in 1958.

Non-covered industries such as retail trade, laundries and hotels have lagged behind this pace. Average hourly earnings in retail trade were $1.87, an increase of only 58 cents in the past 10 years. In laundries, the average hourly earnings of non-supervisory workers were $1.44 — only 27 cents more than in 1958. In hotels, average hourly earnings rose merely 23 cents in the period from 1958 to 1964.

Retail Trade

Out of 6 million retail workers, 2.5 million are now provided with FLSA protection while 3.5 million are excluded.

The President's proposal is an important step for increasing FLSA protection of retail employes. The removal of the exemption for automobile and farm implement dealers and of food service employes removes unwarranted exclusions. Lowering the enterprise tests from gross sales of $1 million to $250,000 is also an important improvement in extending FLSA coverage.

In addition to lowering the gross sales test of a company to $250,000, the $250,000 per establishment test should be repealed. If a company does $250,000 or more business in a year, all its stores should be covered. Under the Administration's proposal, two stores of the same chain could be treated differently. If one store of Company X has sales

of $250,000 or more, it would be covered; the other store of the same company may not be covered if its sales are less than $250,000. This situation could be eliminated if the establishment test were deleted in favor of a single enterprise test.

The President's proposal would bring FLSA coverage to 1.5 million additional retail workers. An additional 600,000 retail workers would be covered—bringing the total to about 2.1 million—by applying the $250,000 enterprise test.

The situation in certain segments of the industry is particularly shocking. One out of seven workers in women's ready-to-wear stores in the South earns less than 80 cents an hour. One out of eight employes of apparel and accessory stores in the South earns less than 80 cents an hour.

Employes of automobile dealers are excluded from FLSA and a significant number earn low wages. Six percent were paid less than $1 and 17 percent were paid less than $1.25 an hour in June 1962.

A Labor Department study of the impact of the 1961 amendments shows that employers adjusted easily to the extension of minimum wages to the retail industry. The continuing exemption of large numbers of workers causes unfair competition for covered employers and harmfully low wages for the unprotected.

EXPANDING WAGE-HOUR COVERAGE

	Presently Uncovered	Administration Proposals: To be Covered	AFL-CIO Proposals: To be Covered
		(in thousands)	
Retail trade	3,567	1,500	2,100
Hotels	549	275	275
Restaurants	1,753	425	625
Laundry	505	175	175
Hospitals & nursing homes	—	890	890
Motion picture theatres	114	75	75
Local transit	15	10	10
Construction	581	250	250
Other industries (mfg., trade, finance, etc.)	1,701	650	650
Agricultural processing	90	90	90
Cotton ginning	34	34	34
Small logging	87	87	87
Taxi	122	100	100
Outside salesmen	1,757		
Miscellaneous services	1,528(a)		
Fisheries	20		
Small newspaper	16		
Small telephone	3		
Total	13,268	4,561	5,361
Agriculture	1,859(b)		
Domestics	2,504(c)		
Total	4,399		

(a) Some coverage in nursing homes.
(b) Need special legislation for federal minimum wage.
(c) Minimum wage coverage complicated by Federal jurisdiction; probably depends on State action.

Overtime protection also is needed by non-covered retail workers. The June 1962 survey of the Labor Department showed that 1.5 million of the unprotected retail employes were working over 40 hours per week. The effects of a statutory 40-hour standard in retail trade could result in as many as 125,000 additional fulltime jobs.

Restaurants

There are 1,753,000 restaurant workers not protected by FLSA. The President's proposal would extend coverage to 425,000 of these workers in large establishments with sales of $250,000 or more. Use of the $250,000 per enterprise test would extend protection to nearly 200,000 additional restaurant workers, bringing the total to over 600,000.

Last year, in passing the Civil Rights Act, Congress specifically recognized that restaurants affect interstate commerce. The Act covers "any restaurant, cafeteria, lunchroom, lunch counter, soda fountain or other facility principally engaged in selling food for consumption on the premises, including, but not limited to, any such facility located on the premises of any retail establishment or any gasoline station." The only limitation on the coverage of such establishments is the test of whether "it serves or offers to serve interstate travelers or a substantial portion of the food it serves, or gasoline or other products which it sells, has moved in commerce."

The Supreme Court, in a series of civil rights cases last December, upheld the power of Congress to regulate such activities. The Court held that "Congress acted well within its power to protect and foster commerce in extending the coverage of Title 2 only to those restaurants offering to serve interstate travelers or serving food, a substantial portion of which has moved in interstate commerce."

Surveys by the U.S. Department of Labor show that 65 percent of all restaurant workers were paid less

Black Star photo

America's most exploited workers are found in hospitals, restaurants, laundries, behind retail counters and in hotels. They serve and, in effect, subsidize the better-off. They badly need wage-hour protection.

than $1.25 an hour in June 1963.

Nearly a fifth of all restaurant employes are already guaranteed a minimum wage of $1.15 or more an hour by state minimum wage laws. Thus it is clear the industry can adjust to a minimum wage level when one is set.

One-third of all restaurant employes are now working 48 hours or more each week. If a statutory 40-hour week were established for restaurant workers, as many as 60,000 full-time jobs could be made available.

Hotels and Motels

There are 549,000 workers in the hotel and motel industry. The President's proposal of extending coverage to hotels and motels with sales of $250,000 would extend the Act's protection to about one-half of the workers—275,000. The $250,000 per enterprise test should be applied, but the number of additional employes who would be covered is not substantial.

Wage surveys made by the Labor Department show chambermaids in some cities earning less than 50 cents an hour in 1963. In New Orleans, the average hourly earnings of such workers had risen from 29 cents in July 1948 to only 50 cents in July 1961—an increase of 21 cents over a 13-year period. This compares with a 60-cent increase in the federal minimum wage over the same span.

Earning less than $1.25 in 1963 were 61 percent of the non-supervisory employes in hotels and motels. Approximately 20 percent of all hotel and motel employes are protected by state minimum wage rates of $1.15 or more—indicating the ability of the industry to adjust to minimum wage laws.

Long working hours also are a feature of the hotel and motel industry. Thirty percent of the employes work 48 hours or more a week. By extending the Fair Labor Standards Act to those workers, and establishing a standard workweek of 40 hours, as many as 15,000 additional full-time jobs could be created.

Laundries

Of the 523,000 laundry workers in the United States, only 18,000 are currently covered by FLSA. These are workers in laundries selling across state lines or selling primarily to manufacturing plants.

The President's proposal would extend coverage to an additional 175,000 laundry workers in large establishments with sales of $250,000 or more. The $250,000 per enterprise test should be applied in this industry, too, although the number of additional covered employes would be small.

Wages paid laundry workers are particularly oppressive. Fifty-three percent of the employes are paid less than $1.25, according to a June 1963 survey by the Labor Department. Of these workers, 40,000 earned less than 75 cents an hour. The 100 lowest-paid employes, according to the survey, were in establishments with annual sales of $250,000 or more. And these employes were paid less than 35 cents an hour!

Other Labor Department studies show that average hourly earnings for bundle wrappers in Memphis increased only 11 cents—from 47 cents to 58 cents—between 1951 and 1963. In this same period, the federal minimum wage rose 50 cents.

Eight states have minimum wage rates of at least $1.25 an hour—indicating the ability of the industry to adjust to minimum wage levels where they exist.

Overtime protection is needed by laundry workers. One-fifth of them work more than 44 hours a week and two-fifths work over 40 hours. The overtime worked is the equivalent of about 10,000 full-time jobs.

Hospitals

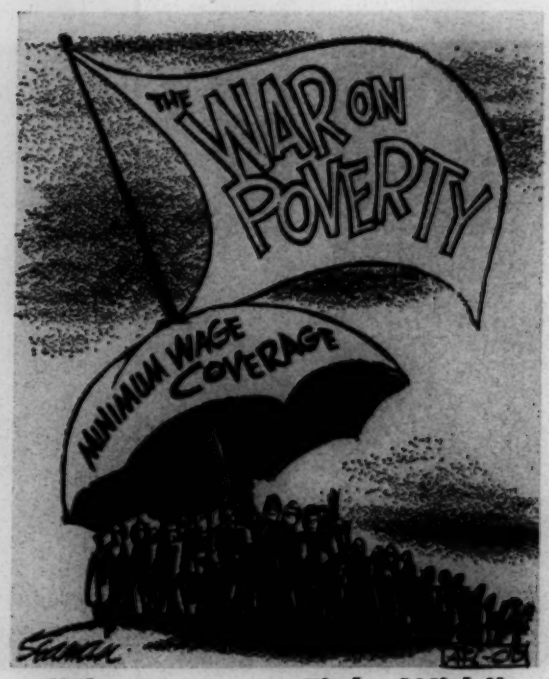
The President's proposal would extend FLSA protection to about 890,000 workers in non-governmental hospitals, nursing homes and homes for the aged. These workers who would be covered are in establishments with annual gross receipts of $250,000 or more.

According to the Labor Department, 29 percent of

all hospital workers earned less than $1.25 in June 1963. Some of these workers are engaged in the same type of work described above. Among the lowest-paid hospital workers are kitchen helpers, dishwashers, porters, maids and laundry workers. The earnings of some of these hospital employes are as low as those found in the surveys of restaurants, hotels and laundries.

Without minimum wage protection, there is little general movement in hospital wages. In Atlanta hospitals, for example, average wages of laundry and kitchen-type jobs increased 14 cents an hour or less in the period from September 1956 to June 1963. The average increase for these jobs was 7 cents. This is a 1-cent per year increase.

A review of state minimum wage laws shows that it is feasible to cover hospitals by minimum wage and hour legislation. Twenty-three states provide some coverage for non-governmental hospitals. In 10 of these states, a minimum of $1.25 an hour or more is required. However, only 31 percent of the employes of private hospitals are in such states.



"The Better to Fight With"

According to Labor Department surveys, 40 or fewer hours per week are the normal schedule in hospitals. Nevertheless, the full protection of FLSA should be extended to hospital workers, including the law's overtime provisions.

Motion Picture Theaters

The President's proposal would extend coverage to 75,000 of the 114,000 motion picture theater employes. A 1962 Bureau of Labor Statistics' survey of wages paid in the District of Columbia showed that 40 percent of the men employed in motion picture theaters were paid less than $1 an hour.

Taxis

Taxis are an important means of interstate commerce. But they have been exempted from FLSA, thus denying protection to 122,000 cab drivers.

The President's proposal would remove this unfair exemption and thus bring minimum wage and overtime protection to 100,000 cab drivers.

Small Logging

Logging workers presently are covered by FLSA, except that operations involving less than 13 employes are exempted. This is the only exemption in FLSA based on number of workers. The President's proposal would remove this exemption, thus extending the Act's protection to the 87,000 workers now excluded.

A Labor Department survey shows that, in 1963, 52 percent of the workers in small non-integrated logging establishments in the South earned less than $1.25. When the $1.25 minimum wage went into effect for the larger sawmill and planing mill workers who were covered, 73 percent of them in the South received wage increases to $1.25. The industry met this re-

To End Substandard Wages

Extending wage-hour coverage to retail trade showed that such new coverage was accomplished without adverse employment effects. The Labor Department study reports:

"Employment data obtained through the surveys suggest that the minimum wage requirements did not change employment in the retail trade industry significantly. In all covered retail stores, 2,422,000 workers were employed in June 1961 and 2,437,000 in June 1962. Nationwide, employment increases occurred in all lines of business except gasoline service stations, in which the proportion of employes earning less than $1.00 remained practically unchanged (6 percent in 1961; 5 percent in 1962), and the 'other' category which raised only 1 percent of its employes to the minimum rate. . . .

"However, there are indications . . . that there were some employment declines in covered retail trade in non-metropolitan areas of the South."[1]

"One of the main arguments that has been advanced against extending the Fair Labor Standards Act to additional low-wage industries is that it will curtail employment opportunities in these industries. Recent experience has indicated that the extension of coverage to low-wage industries has not in fact curtailed employment. Even more important, the idea that substandard wages should be retained in some occupations and industries to provide marginal jobs is in direct contradiction to our goal of eliminating poverty. . . ."[2]

[1] *"Report Submitted to the Congress in Accordance with the Requirements of Section 4(d) of the Fair Labor Standards Act," Jan. 1963, p. 28.*

[2] *"An Evaluation of the Minimum Wage and Maximum Hours Standards of the Fair Labor Standards Act," Jan. 1965, U.S. Dept. of Labor, p. xi.*

quirement and continued to prosper—showing that the industry can adjust to a minimum wage.

Overtime protection also is needed for workers in this industry. The survey showed that 15 percent of the employes worked more than 40 hours a week.

Agricultural Processing

Specific exemptions exclude 90,000 agricultural processing workers and 34,000 cotton ginning employes from FLSA protection. The President's proposal would remove these exemptions.

The great bulk of agricultural processing workers are already covered by FLSA, without any detrimental effects upon the economy. The exemption for agricultural processing workers is a hodgepodge. For example, a grain elevator that (a) is not located in a place of 2,500 or more population or within a mile of such places and (b) has not receive 95 percent of the grain from within 50 miles of the elevator, is exempt. However, for the storing of commodities other than grain and soybeans, a 20-mile test applies. For cotton ginning, a 10-mile test applies. A tobacco warehouse has to be within 50 miles of its source of tobacco to be exempt.

There is no reason for such special exemptions given to particular interest groups at the expense of workers who are thereby denied the protection of FLSA.

Construction and Other Industries

At present, 2.25 million workers in construction, manufacturing and other industries generally covered by FLSA are not afforded minimum wage and hour protection. There are two reasons for this large number of unprotected workers. First, certain jobs are not considered to fall under the definition "engaged in commerce," even though the enterprise as a whole falls within the interpretation. Second, the enterprise may not meet the million dollar or $350,000 sales test currently in the Act.

The President's proposal would establish a uniform $250,000 enterprise test, thus extending FLSA protection to about 250,000 construction workers and 660,000 workers in such other industries as manufacturing, trade, finance and local transit.

Mom and Pop Stores

The minimum wage law actually helps Mom and Pop stores since it means they are not competing with the low wages sometimes paid by large enterprises.

For example, Labor Department studies show there are some laundry workers in big establishments with sales of over $250,000 a year who are paid less than 35 cents an hour.

The minimum wage law protects Mom and Pop standards from being undercut by unscrupulous large concerns which may exploit their workers by paying unfair sub-minimum wages. The minimum wage law means that Mom and Pop can figure an hourly rate earned working in their own store at no less than the minimum wage. Other employers will not be able to undercut them.

The Failure of the States

In theory, workers unprotected by the federal wage-hour law ought to be covered by state law. But the fact is that state laws have not filled the gaps left by the limitations of federal coverage.

Seventeen states have no minimum wage laws at all. And, in the other 33 states, what passes for protection is often grossly inadequate either as to employment coverage or level of minimum wage required or both.

Some state laws, for example, cover only three or four industries. Equally serious is the failure to cover male adult workers. Men are covered by state minimum wage laws in only 21 states and Puerto Rico. Thus, men are without any state minimum wage protection in 29 states and the District of Columbia.

All told, because of the failure of many states to enact legislation at all, the failure of others to provide adequate occupational or industry coverage and the frequent failure to provide coverage for both sexes, less than 30 percent of workers not protected by the federal law have any kind of coverage under state laws.

In five states, no minimum rate is higher than 85 cents per hour. Under the Arkansas law, the minimum rate works out to only 16 cents an hour. In Arizona, current rates range from 47 cents to 55 cents per hour. Under an updated South Dakota law effective July 1964, the minimum wage is set at $17 to $20 per week.

Extension of Hours Protection

Certain groups of employes covered by the federal minimum wage are exempted from the law's maximum hours provision. These exemptions from the FLSA overtime pay requirement have no rational basis at the present time.

The President's proposal would remove the hours' exemption applying to 86,000 gasoline station workers and 103,000 local transit employes. These loopholes, written into the Act in 1961, need to be closed.

The proposal also would consolidate the overlapping exemptions pertaining to agricultural processing workers. Some 500,000 agricultural processing employes have been plagued with duplicating and overlapping overtime exemptions, all applying to the same industry. The Labor Department, in its study of the handling and processing of agricultural products, reported that the "differences in extent of the exemption period available for the various industries are not related to length of season or length of workweeks."

A Minimum Wage To Fight Poverty

To succeed in the war against poverty, the nation needs a $2 an hour minimum wage. The economy can adjust to a $2 minimum without serious effects. In the past, the economy has adjusted easily to increases in the minimum. With productivity and profits rising rapidly in a rich and affluent nation, an increase in the minimum wage to $2 an hour can be absorbed without difficulty—and with great benefit to millions of low-income families.

A $2 wage floor, along with extension of coverage, would be the greatest single step in the war on poverty. An immediate start should be made in 1965 toward assuring all workers covered by the federal wage-hour law a minimum wage of $2 an hour.

Statistics on poverty show that in more than half of all poor families, the family head has a job. Moreover, half of these employed family heads, representing almost 30 percent of all poor families, hold a full-time job for the entire year.

The poor families headed by a man fully employed throughout 1963 included 5.2 million children under age 18. Families headed by a fully employed woman worker had half a million children. Thus, two in five of all the children growing up in poverty were in families of workers with regular full-time jobs.

This is the most shameful aspect of the poverty problem—the working poor. For poor families headed by full-time, year-round workers—almost 30 percent of the total—a substantial increase in the minimum wage would mean the major lift out of poverty. The same is true of poor families headed by part-time workers; they total 20 percent of all poor families.

At $1.25 an hour, a worker earns an annual income of only $2,500 to $2,600 if he has a full-time, year-round job. Even a $2 an hour wage is not much above the poverty level for a family with two children. The Social Security Administration reports that a family of four needs an income of $3,130 per year to begin to move out of poverty. If a family has three children, $2 an hour is hardly enough to provide the $3,685 needed to progress beyond poverty. A family with four children needs $4,135 to rise out of poverty.

The result of poverty wages is an inadequate diet.

Poverty family budgets, on which the government's figures on poverty are based, involve food consumption that is admittedly for "temporary or emergency use." The Department of Agriculture's "economy" budget allows less than 70 cents a day per person for meals in a family of four—23 cents a meal!

A minimum wage must be set that allows a worker some dignity; a wage that shows his children it is worthwhile to work. The wage should be one which makes work attractive and a real alternative to crime, idleness and delinquency. Without a realistic minimum wage, these alternatives have little meaning.

A most important program to alleviate poverty, therefore, is to raise the inadequate wages of the working poor. If the conditions that breed poverty in this country are to be changed, poverty wages must be eliminated. These conditions will not change unless the federal minimum wage is raised.

An individual employer cannot unilaterally raise the minimum wages of his employes to $2 if it places him at a competitive disadvantage. But all employers could raise minimum wages at the same time to fulfill the requirements of a federal minimum wage statute.

A $2 minimum wage is not an adequate wage. It is merely a floor that could begin to lift many families out of poverty.

For a worker and his family to enjoy a modest and adequate standard of living, he needs at least $3.20 an hour, according to updated figures of the U.S. Department of Labor's City Worker's Family Budget. An updating of the government agency's 1959 figure to 1964 indicates that a city family of four needs an annual income of $6,418 to live in "modest but adequate" circumstances.

An increase in the minimum wage to $2 an hour would have a beneficial effect on the national economy, in addition to the socially desirable effect of assisting millions of families to move out of poverty.

Low-income families, who would receive the direct benefits of a rise in the minimum wage, spend all of their earnings quickly. The increased earnings would be spent rather than saved or hoarded.

This additional buying power and spending among the nation's lowest-income families would lift the demand for goods, services and jobs. And as these additional funds were circulated through the economy—re-spent and invested by merchants, distributors and manufacturers—the economy would receive a continuing and multiplying lift.

In a period of spreading automation, when the economy can produce an increasing abundance of goods, it is economically sound to provide additional, much-needed buying power to low-income families.

The Ease of Economic Adjustment

The economy can adjust easily to a $2 minimum wage. The real impact of the $2 minimum wage on unit costs is rather small. In manufacturing, for example, it would mean an increase of 7 percent in total wages and salaries paid to covered workers and about 5 percent of all wages and salaries, including salaries of executives and supervisors.

Statistics of the Labor Department show that productivity has been growing at a rate of 3.5 percent in the 1960s. Thus in a short period the entire cost effect could be offset by higher productivity.

Even if none of the cost were offset, the impact on total production costs—in distinction to wage costs—would be only about 2.5 percent, since wage and salary payments account for only half of the total value added in manufacturing.

Although the increase to $2 an hour is easily within the ability of the economy, there is congressional interest in approaching this goal by steps. For this reason, data is presented on the impact of a first-step $1.50 minimum and this change is compared to the recent increase to $1.25 that resulted from the 1961 amendments to FLSA.

Comparing the earnings in manufacturing (those earning less than $1.25, according to the Labor Department's pre-1961 survey, with the percentage earning less than $1.50 now), the same general picture prevails now as prevailed in 1961. Sixteen percent of factory workers earned less than $1.25 in the pre-1961 survey; in 1964, 18 percent earned less than $1.50. For the South, the percentages also are similar, 37 and 38 percent, respectively.

In manufacturing, in industry after industry, there

THE NEED FOR A HIGHER MINIMUM WAGE

Production Workers Earning Less Than $1.25 in 1958 & Less Than $1.50 in 1964

Industry	Percentage of Workers Below $1.25 in 1958	Percentage of Workers Below $1.50 in 1964
Food and kindred products	23.4%	21.8%
Tobacco manufactures	22.7	22.3
Textile mill products	36.0	38.9
Apparel and other finished products	44.2	44.4
Lumber and wood products	41.1	39.2
Furniture and fixtures	22.5	32.4
Paper and allied products	4.0	5.5
Printing, publishing and allied industries	11.8	14.3
Leather, and leather products	38.1	41.4
Stone, clay and glass products	7.5	12.0
Fabricated metal products (except ordnance, machinery, and transportation equipment)	4.7	9.7
Machinery (except electrical)	2.7	4.8
Miscellanous maufacturing industries	25.5	25.9
All Manufacturing	16.0%	18.0%

SOURCE: 1965—4(d) Report of Wage, Hour and Public Contracts Divisions, U.S. Department of Labor.

"Mr. Clean"

is a remarkable similarity between the percentage of workers who earned less than $1.25 before Congress adopted that figure as the minimum wage, compared with the percentage currently earning less than $1.50.

In the apparel industry, 44 percent of the workers earned less than $1.25 in 1958, (the survey year before the increase to $1.25). In 1964 in this same industry, 44 percent earned less than $1.50. In the lumber and wood products industry, the percent earning less than $1.50 in 1964 was less than the percent below $1.25 in 1958—39 percent versus 41 percent.

Industry adjusted easily to the increase from $1 to $1.25 and today it can adjust as well to a step-up in the minimum.

Further indications that industry adjustments would be fairly easy show up in a study of the increase in the hourly wage bill required to raise the minimum wage to $1.50 an hour. In most industries, the impact on the hourly wage bill is less than 3.5 percent—and a much smaller impact on total costs, excluding the cost-reducing effect of rising productivity.

The Labor Department has made estimates of the direct impact on the hourly wage bill of a $1.50 minimum in various industries. Only one of these industry sub-groups showed an impact of over 7 percent. This was one of the segments of the apparel industry —men's, youths' and boys' furnishings, work clothing, and allied garments—where there would be a 7.9 percent adjustment in the wage bill due to a $1.50 minimum. In other industry sub-groups, the direct impact varied from 0.1 per cent to 6.2 percent. The average increase in the hourly wage bill for all manufacturing industries would be 1.3 percent, according to the Labor Department estimates, with a much smaller impact on total production costs.

American industry can easily and rapidly adjust to such a small cost increase—less than seven-tenths of one percent of total production costs in manufacturing —out of sharp increases in production efficiency. In addition, the public welfare costs for the working poor would be cut.

The social cost of an inadequate minimum wage is apparent in welfare costs. In New York City, it is estimated that the cost of low wages to the public treasury in the form of welfare payments amounts to over $1 million a month or $13 million a year. This involves the 7,729 welfare cases being cared for in 1964 who received supplemental assistance because their wage earnings were less than the welfare budget.

According to the New York City Deputy Commissioner of Welfare, most of the supplementation was received by families where the family wage earner earned less than $1.50 per hour.

In Cook County, Illinois, the situation is similar. Some 3,000 families receive supplemental assistance checks. These are just two examples of a national problem.

In addition, low wages place a considerable burden on other services, both public and private, such as public and charitable health facilities, increased fire and police protection and other specialized services. These then become a drain on the general public.

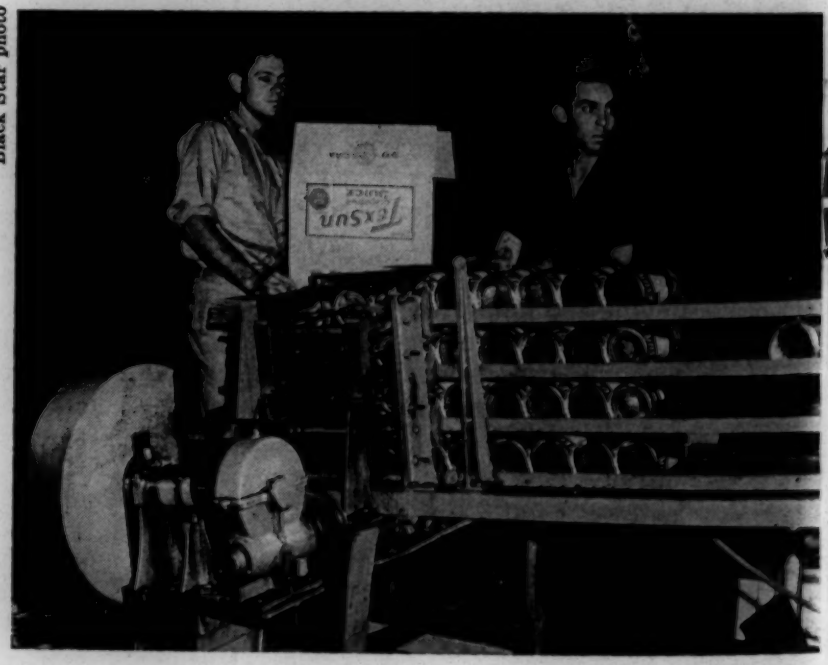
Such costs to the community can be reduced by a rise in the minimum wage and the elimination of poverty among the working poor.

The very high level of business profits, in addition to the economy's rapidly rising productivity, enables the economy to adjust easily to a rise in the minimum.

The U.S. economy is now in its 53rd month of steady economic growth. Although all segments of society have not been equally blessed by the expansion of national wealth, American corporations and their owners

A higher wage floor is needed in low-wage industries.

Black Star photo



The working poor need increased income to move out of poverty. A higher minimum wage would be the quickest and most effective help the poor could get.

have been reaping fantastic financial benefits from America's economic growth.

From 1961, when FLSA was last adjusted, to the first quarter of 1965:

- After-tax profits increased by 67 percent to a record $36.5 billion annual rate for the first quarter of 1965.
- Cash-flows of American corporations (after-tax profits plus depreciation) increased by almost 60 percent to a record annual rate of $70.5 billion for the first quarter of 1965.
- Dividends were paid out by American corporations at an annual rate of $20.5 billion in the first quarter of this year—up 35 percent over 1961.
- For manufacturing corporations, after-tax annual rates of profits on stockholders' equity were 12.4 percent in the fourth quarter of 1964—up 43 percent since 1961.

Much of the financial bonanza that American corporations are now enjoying stems from substantial government aid during the past few years. This aid came in the form of a 4-point reduction in corporate income taxes, changes in depreciation procedures and the investment credit. A rise in the minimum wage—to boost the incomes of poor families—is needed now to help restore needed balance to the economy.

Most sectors of the economy and most industries can easily absorb an increase in the minimum wage to $2 an hour out of rising productivity and high profits. Some high-productivity, high-profit industries can absorb the increase and reduce prices. Some others, whose productivity and profits are low, would probably have to raise prices somewhat. But the overall impact on the price level should be very small if at all.

The original Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 provided for an increase of the same magnitude proposed in the $2 minimum—a 60 percent increase in the minimum wage.

In 1950, the minimum wage was raised 87 percent, from 40 cents to 75 cents. Again in 1956, and in 1961 and 1963, the minimum wage was increased without any appreciable impact on the nation's price level.

There has been no change in the overall wholesale price index as a result of recent minimum wage changes. This is what the Secretary of Labor said in his 1965 Report: "Wholesale prices of industrial commodities remained relatively stable during the period in which the federal minimum wage became $1.15 an hour in September 1961 and $1.25 two years later.

Industrial commodities, which exclude farm and food commodities, in 1961 and 1962 averaged 99.5 percent of the 1960 wholesale price level and, in 1963, 99.4 percent. Prices edged upward during the first nine months of 1964, averaging 99.7 percent of the level for the same period in 1960."

During that same period, the consumer price index moved up only moderately. In fact, both the government and business have taken great pride in the price stability of recent years.

Opponents of minimum wage laws claim such laws cause unemployment. But there is no evidence to support their claim.

Obviously, payment of the minimum wage is a cost to employers. But it is also income to workers, who spend their earning to buy goods. The buying power of these workers is spent and multiplied as it circulates through the economy, adding to sales, production and employment. Without any minimum wage laws, many workers would be badly exploited. In addition, many consumer goods industries would weaken and collapse in the absence of minimum wage legislation. Moreover, in the real world productivity is rising rapidly; automation is spreading; business profits have risen fantastically.

The evidence indicates that a rise in the legal minimum wage—as the nation's productivity, profits and incomes increase—adds to employment generally by increasing production and sales. In some specific instances, a few jobs may be eliminated in low-profit and low-productivity companies. But such instances have proven to be relatively few in number. And the beneficial impact of lifting the general level of economic activities and employment is clear.

Today's national economy can readily absorb a $2 minimum wage. The minimum wage in 1938 was 25 cents an hour. At that time the gross national product (total production of goods and services) was $85 billion. In 1965, the GNP is expected to be $660 billion, or eight times as great as in 1938. If the1938 economy could stand a 25-cent an hour minimum wage and even expansion of that minimum to 40 cents by steps, a $660 billion economy can stand a $2 minimum wage.

The beneficial social impact of an increase in the minimum wage to $2 an hour—accompanied by an extension of wage-hour coverage to about 5.4 million workers—would be great. The prevalence of poverty would be reduced and the social costs of welfare assistance could be cut.

Moreover, the increased buying power of low-income families would lift the entire national economy although there may be displacement of some jobs in a few isolated cases. Most, if not all, of the cost to employers could be absorbed easily out of rising productivity and high business profits. Any remaining cost-impact on the prices of a few low-productivity and low-profit industries would be small, and, in terms of the overall price level, the impact would be negligible, if any at all.

The Effect on Employment

What happens when the federal wage-hour law is improved? Congress requires the U.S. Department of Labor to study the effects of each change. Here are some relevant findings:

"The 1961 minimum wage increases had no discernible effect on the nation-wide level of employment in the industries affected. On an overall basis, employment has risen in these industries since the 1961 amendments took effect.

"Despite repeated predictions to the contrary, the evidence is emphatic that the successive amendments to the Act have gone far toward its objective of eliminating 'conditions deterimental to the maintenance of the minimum standard of living necessary for health, efficiency and general well-being of workers . . . without substantially curtailing employment or earning power.' "[1]

In the areas most directly affected, the Secretary of Labor stated:

"Employment in low-wage areas increased, and no rise in layoffs in low-wage industry groups, other than seasonal changes, is reflected in the labor turnover series. . . ."[2]

In a special follow-up of the effects in 15 low-wage areas of the South, chosen because of the larger impact of the minimum wage laws, the Secretary of Labor found similar results:

"In the 15 low-wage areas combined, 129,300 workers were employed in October 1960 and 141,300 in March 1964, an increase of more than 9 percent. This is about twice as great as the increase in employment in all nonagricultural industries over the same period in the country as a whole. When the comparison is limited to manufacturing industries, the increase in these nonmetropolitan areas is 9 percent as compared with one and one-half percent in all areas of the United States. . . ."[3]

"There does not appear to be any direct correlation between the impact of the minimum wage in these areas, when measured in terms of proportions of workers earning less than the minimum wage prior to the effective date and the changes in employment. . . .

"On balance it would appear that the $1.25 minimum wage was adjusted to without adverse employment effects in these low-wage, high impact areas. . . ."[4]

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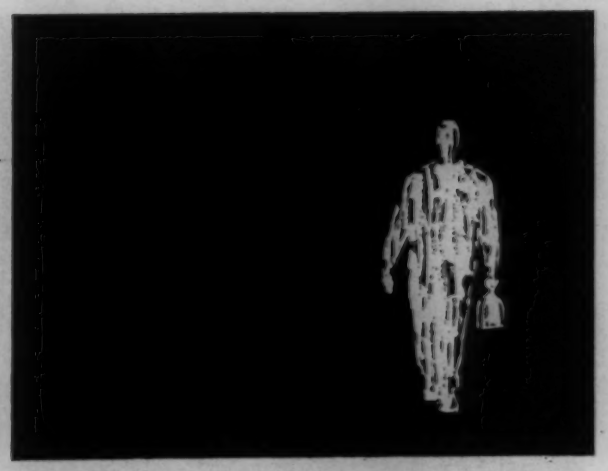
[1] *"Report Submitted to the Congress in Accordance with the Requirements of Section 4(d) of the Fair Labor Standards Act," Jan. 1963, U.S. Dept. of Labor, p. iii.*

[2] *Ibid., p. iv.*

[3] *"An Evaluation of the Minimum Wage and Maximum Hours Standards of the Fair Labor Standards Act," Jan. 1965, U.S. Dept. of Labor, p. 13.*

[4] *Ibid., p. 14.*

Doubletime Pay To Spread Employment



President Johnson has proposed an increase in penalty pay for overtime work. It would move from time and one-half after 40 hours to doubletime after 48 hours and gradually down to doubletime after 45 hours of work per week.

This points in the right direction but fails to go far enough. The objective remains—doubletime after 40 hours for all—to discourage employers from scheduling overtime work and to encourage them to hire additional employes.

The present overtime provision was adopted 27 years ago. It was written into law to discourage the scheduling of overtime work so as to provide additional employment opportunities. At that time, an overtime penalty of time and a half was adequate for the purpose; it is much less effective today.

Time and a half is not as costly to the employer as it might appear. The increased volume of production during overtime hours reduces the employer's overhead costs per unit. But more than that, the cost of hiring additional workers has increased. Through both legislation and collective bargaining, various fringe benefit costs have been added to the employment-cost package—such as social security payroll taxes, paid vacations and pension plan contributions. Such costs vary with the number of workers employed rather than with the number of manhours worked. In balancing out these additional costs against the present overtime penalty, many employers believe that overtime is cheaper.

In 1938, fringe benefits were about 4.5 percent of employe wages and salaries. In the 27 years since, the percentage spent on fringes has doubled.

There has been a tendency, therefore, for many employers to schedule overtime work rather than increase employment. This has created the paradox of substantial overtime in a period when millions of workers are jobless and when millions more are compelled to work part-time because full-time jobs are not available.

"Recipe for Jobs"

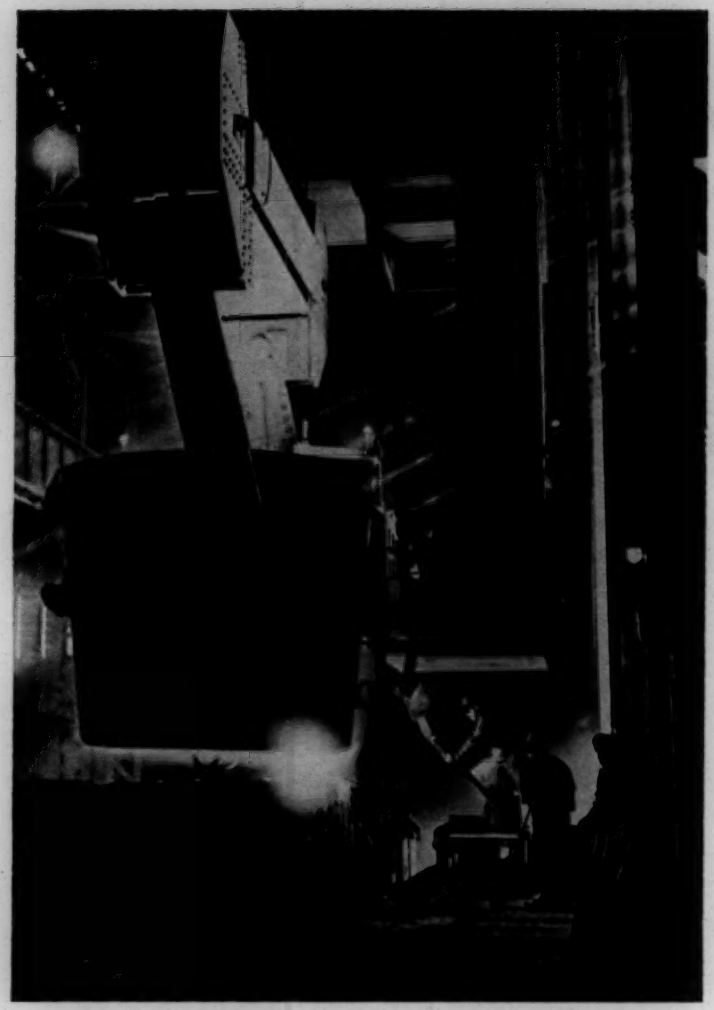
The Labor Department reports that in 1964 nearly 8 percent of the hours worked by manufacturing production and maintenance workers were overtime hours. This overtime totalled 39.7 million hours a week, the equivalent of 1 million full-time production and maintenance jobs at 40 hours a week. In 1963, the number of overtime hours was about the same.

These figures do not reflect the overtime of non-production workers in manufacturing—the growing body of white-collar and technical employes. They exclude also the large amounts of overtime worked in non-manufacturing industries.

Although the precise amount of overtime hours worked outside of manufacturing is unknown, the Labor Department said that in 1963 more than 40 hours a week were worked by 39 percent of the wage and salary workers in wholesale and retail trade, by 27 percent of those in service and finance, by 28 percent in transportation and public utilities and by 27 percent in construction.

For all workers now covered by the federal wage-hour law, it is estimated the total overtime in the past two years has been the equivalent of about 1.5 million full-time jobs. Overtime worked in industries not now covered by the wage-hour law is the equivalent of several hundred thousand additional jobs.

The Labor Department's Wage and Hour Divisions'



Black Star photo

Steel and auto lead the high-overtime industries.

report on overtime hours in manufacturing in March 1964 states that 42.5 million hours of overtime a week were worked by non-supervisory employes, mainly reflecting the overtime work of production and maintenance workers. This would be the equivalent of 1.1 million full-time non-supervisory jobs in manufacturing industries alone.

But even this is an understatement, for an analysis of the monthly variation in overtime hours of production and maintenance workers, as reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, shows that March was one of the months with the least overtime in all 1964. In March, the average overtime hours were 2.8 hours, whereas in every month from May to December, the average was 3 to 3.5 hours per week. And this trend has been continuing in 1965.

About 4.25 million non-supervisory employes in manufacturing worked over 40 hours in the March 1964 week surveyed by the Labor Department. Half of them, or over 2 million, worked 48 hours or more.

Those who worked overtime put in an average of 7.8 overtime hours per week. Twenty-seven percent of all overtime hours worked were above 48 hours a week—hardly unavoidable overtime.

A comparison of the earnings of overtime workers with those working 40 hours showed a small difference in the level or distribution of wages. Those working overtime averaged 9 cents an hour less than those who worked 40 hours a week. This does not substantiate the contention that overtime hours are necessary because of a lack of highly-skilled personnel.

The manufacturing overtime involves the average worker—with neither a concentration of high-paid and high-skilled nor of low-paid and unskilled.

The Wage-Hour Divisions estimate that employes subject to the law worked some 62.5 million overtime hours in a single week of March 1964. This is the equivalent of 1.5 million full-time jobs.

An increase in the overtime penalty from time and a half to doubletime would increase the employers' costs of scheduling such overtime and provide an incentive for business firms to hire additional workers.

It is not possible to make a precise estimate of the number of additional jobs that would result from an increase of the overtime premium to doubletime. There is a lack of detailed data on overtime in some non-manufacturing industries and some overtime is unavoidable and would be worked even at doubletime.

To make the doubletime penalty fully effective, the coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act needs to be extended to millions of workers who are excluded from the law's protection. A Labor Department survey showed that some 70 percent of the wage and salary workers who put in more than 40 hours a week in May 1963 did not receive premium pay for overtime work. These, of course, were people not covered by the federal wage-hour law.

An increase in the overtime penalty to doubletime, coupled with extended coverage of FLSA, would probably result in as many as a million additional jobs—about 550,000 in manufacturing and a similar number in other types of employment.

THE BOOM IN OVERTIME

Overtime Hours of Production Workers in Manufacturing, 1964-65

	Average Weekly Hours*	Overtime Hours
January (1964)	39.8	2.7
February	40.3	2.7
March	40.4	2.8
April	40.5	2.9
May	40.7	3.0
June	40.9	3.2
July	40.6	3.0
August	40.9	3.3
September	40.7	3.5
October	40.7	3.3
November	40.9	3.3
December	41.3	3.5
January (1965)	41.4	3.3
February	40.9	3.3
March	41.2	3.5
April	40.7	3.1
May	41.2	3.5

*Not Seasonally Adjusted

SOURCE: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor.

Creating Jobs Through A Shorter Workweek

The aim of organized labor's campaign for a reduction of the workweek is clear, simple and direct —to spread job opportunities and reduce unemployment.

Unemployment is still America's number one domestic problem, despite the improvements of the past year and a half. It has been undermining the nation's strength, affecting race relations and creating difficulties in labor-management relationships.

There is no one-shot cure-all for this serious and growing problem. The tax cut adopted in March 1964 lifted economic activities, prevented the onset of a 1964 recession and provided an economic lift into 1965. But a tax cut alone cannot reduce joblessness to a minimum and keep it there. Additional measures are required, such as a great increase in job-creating public works programs, extension of federal minimum wage coverage to millions of unprotected, low-wage workers and an increase in the minimum wage to $2 an hour.

Reduction of working hours and an increase in the overtime premium to discourage employers from scheduling overtime work are elements of the needed series of measures to increase employment and ease the growing job displacement that results from automation.

The facts are plain. In the 11 years, 1953-1964, the number of unemployed workers doubled—from 1.9 million to 3.9 million. Even in 1964, a generally prosperous year for most Americans—with booming business profits and dividend payments to stockholders —high-level unemployment continued.

The unemployment situation is more serious than realized. In 1964, there were 3.9 million unemployed or 5.2 percent of the civilian labor force. There were also 2.4 million additional workers who were compelled to work part-time because full-time work was not available to them. In addition, about 1 million to perhaps over 2 million men and women were neither employed nor counted as unemployed since they had given up seeking work because of a lack of job opportunities.

When these figures are added up, it is estimated that about 8 percent of available work-time in 1964 was lost as a result of unemployment and part-time.

This is the record of the 11-year period 1953-1964:

- The civilian labor force increased 10.1 million;
- Total employment rose 8.2 million;
- The number of unemployed increased 2 million;
- As a percent of the labor force, the number of unemployed jumped from 2.9 percent to 5.2 percent.

Jobs were provided for only about four-fifths of the increase in the labor force. But the record is considerably worse than these bare figures indicate.

Much of the increase in employment was in part-time work. Moreover, there is the hidden unemployment of workers who are discouraged and have given up seeking jobs.

During the past 11 years, employment in most major parts of the economy declined or failed to show adequate growth:

- Farm employment dropped 1.9 million between 1953 and 1964. Hundreds of thousands of farmers, farm laborers and their families left the rural areas in search of work in the cities.
- Factory production and maintenance jobs fell by 1.2 million.
- Railway jobs declined by over 500,000.
- Mining employment dropped more than 200,000.
- Jobs in the telephone industry remained about the same and there was a small increase in electric and gas utility jobs.

While nearly 4 million jobs disappeared in these key sectors of the economy between 1953 and 1964, there was an insufficient rise of employment in other parts of the economy.

- Jobs in the federal government increased only slightly.
- Contract construction employment rose 376,000 between 1953 and 1956 and only 105,000 between 1956 and 1964.
- Jobs in the services—such as hotels, laundries, restaurants and hospitals—increased 2.7 million.
- Retail and wholesale trade employment was up 1.9 million.
- Employment in the finance, insurance and real

"Life-Line"

estate industries increased by approximately 800,000.

Much of this rise in employment in trade and the services was in part-time work at considerably lower wages than in manufacturing, mining and the railroads, where jobs dropped sharply.

- Non-production jobs in manufacturing—scientists, engineers, technicians, executives, supervisors, sales personnel and clerical employes—increased by nearly 1 million.
- State and local government employment rose 2.8 million—mostly in school systems.

These are jobs for which few displaced workers are qualified by education, skill or training.

The increase of about 1.1 million in the number of household workers and self-employed people in non-farm activities—such as doctors, lawyers and shopkeepers—offered very few full-time job opportunities for displaced wage and salary workers.

While total employment rose 8.2 million in the period 1953-1964, the net increase of full-time employment was essentially in state and local government jobs, which rose 2.8 million. Much of the net job increase in private industry was in part-time work. After accounting for the increased employment in government jobs and in private, non-profit institutions—such as private schools and hospitals, churches and religious institutions—it is clear there was little increase in full-time jobs in private, profit-making businesses between 1953 and 1964.

These trends of the past 11 years occurred when the labor force was growing by about 920,000 per year. Moreover, those born after the the end of World War II, when the birth rate moved up, are now becoming adults. Between 1965 and 1970, the labor force is expected to increase by 1.5 million a year—more than 50 percent higher than in the past decade. And if jobs are provided for only four-fifths of these new additions to the labor force, which was the record of the past 11 years, unemployment will continue to rise.

But the problem of the future is much greater than merely the accelerated growth of the labor force—which is a big enough problem in itself. An even greater problem is the continuing spread of automation—not only in manufacturing, mining and the railroads, but into offices, warehouses and retail stores as well. Output per manhour of work is rising at a rapid rate.

The pace of rising productivity is revealed in Labor Department reports that output per manhour in the total private economy increased 3.5 percent a year between 1960 and 1964, compared to an average rate of 3 percent a year between 1947 and 1960.

These striking increases in the efficiency of production explain how it has been possible for production to rise substantially in the last few years with only a slow improvement in employment. They also go a long way towards explaining the increase in profit margins and the sharp boost in corporate profits during the same period.

Yet true automation is still in its infancy. There is reason to believe far more sweeping changes are ahead.

The number one reality is the need for jobs. The increasing impact of automation and the accelerated growth of the labor force, on top of the present high level of unemployment, add up to the need for about 4 million to 4.5 million additional job opportunities each year from now until 1970. America requires about 80,000 new job opportunities every week through the remainder of the 1960s to reduce unemployment to a minimum and keep it there.

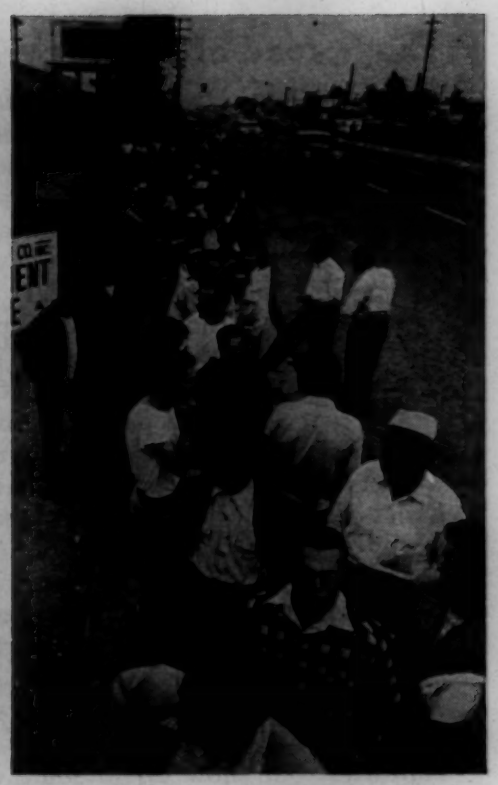
An essential part of the effort to meet America's job needs is a reduction in working hours.

There is nothing sacrosanct about the 40-hour week. It has been enshrined as one of the New Deal's achievements and deserves its position in history.

But the 40-hour week had no such aura of sanctity when it first came along. In the 1930s, the 40-hour week was simply regarded as an improvement over the 50-hour week or the 44-hour week which were then so common. As a matter of fact, there were some very distinguished Americans, some of whom are still in public life, who thought, even 30 years ago, that 40 hours was too conservative a goal. A bill introduced by the distinguished Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, Hugo Black, then a senator, called for the 30-hour week.

A look at the history of the American workweek shows that, on the basis of past performance, another reduction is already overdue. For example, from 1900 to 1940, the average workweek shrank four or five hours a decade. Since 1940, it has been cut only three hours, even allowing for paid vacations and holidays.

The argument has been made that a 35-hour week would cut down the nation's productive power at a time when it is most needed.



Automation and growing labor force combine to keep unemployment high; shorter hours can create jobs.

The aim and result would be not less production, but more production—sustained by greater purchasing power stemming from high employment.

In calling for a shorter workweek, organized labor is calling for more total hours of work, not less. The whole idea behind a reduction of working hours is to increase employment.

In the 1920s, employers refused to shorten hours of work. Ford's 8-hour day and 40-hour week in 1926 was the exception, so that in 1930 less than 6 percent of the workers in manufacturing had attained the 40-hour week. The nation suffered a catastrophe in the 1930s because of the failure to act in the 1920s to provide additional job opportunities. In the mid-1960s, there must be action to cut the workweek in order to prevent mass unemployment in the late 1960s or 1970s.

The pivotal question, of course, is to what extent shorter hours will be a dynamic new force for the expansion of employment in the nation as a whole. Although no precise answer can be offered, some rough statistical estimates may be useful.

If Congress were to reduce the standard workweek from 40 to 35 hours, this reduction would provide the equivalent of about 2.5 million full-time jobs to maintain the same total number of working hours involved in producing goods and services on a 40-hour schedule under the Fair Labor Standards Act.

In manufacturing, where the greatest impact would be felt, the equivalent of 1.5 million full-time jobs would be provided. The Labor Department survey of hours worked in manufacturing by workers under FLSA protection showed that 10 million manufacturing employes worked 40 or more hours a week. If these jobs were all cut to a 35-hour standard and the 5-hour reduction per worker were converted to full-time jobs, this change would mean one new worker for every seven presently on a 40-hour schedule.

Outside of manufacturing, the impact of an FLSA reduction in the standard workweek to 35 hours is estimated to be the equivalent of at least 1 million full-time jobs—bringing the total to about 2.5 million.

There is wide recognition, particularly at the individual plant level, that cutting working hours will help prevent layoffs of workers—"cutting hours means less cutting of men." It will surely reduce or eliminate labor displacement. How effectively it does this depends largely on the pace of productivity changes and on trends in sales.

The extent to which it will lead to new hiring depends on such factors as management's judgment about future needs for labor and the level and trends of sales for the company's products.

But, typically, a company that reduces its workweek by several hours ordinarily will have to hire additional workers if it wants to maintain or increase production.

Other factors would make for even greater hiring. To the extent that new hiring occurs, for example, it would quickly increase the economy's sales and touch off additional production and hiring.

In summary, then, reduction of working hours without curtailment of weekly pay is an important tool to spread employment.

Now as to costs. This issue arises because the proposed reduction of working hours must be linked

The Spread of Shorter Workweeks

Scheduled workweeks of less than 40 hours are much more prevalent today than is generally realized. Although a minority practice, they are sufficiently widespread across various industries and areas of the country to indicate their practical feasibility.

Available information indicates that the proportion of wage and salary workers on full-time weekly schedules under 40 hours is 15 percent. This means approximately 8 million workers.

A recent Labor Department survey of both union and non-union conditions of 17 million workers in 82 metropolitan areas in 1962-64 found over 15 percent were on schedules shorter than 40 hours.

The survey findings show that (1) such shorter workweeks are much more common for office workers than for production workers; (2) the most frequent shorter workweek schedules are 35 and 37½ hours and (3) the shorter workweeks are not peculiar to one or two areas or industries, but show up to some extent in virtually all areas and in each broad industry sector.

Here are some specific examples: In New York, 19 percent of the factory production labor force and 86 percent of the office and clerical workers were on full-time schedules shorter than 40 hours. In Boston, the percentages were 15 percent for production workers and 66 percent for office workers. For Chicago, they were 9 and 39 percent. In Philadelphia, they were 10 and 52 percent; and in San Francisco, 16 and 35 percent.

Nationally, over 35 percent of all office workers covered by this survey were regularly scheduled for less than 40 hours per week. Shorter workweeks are fairly common in the ladies' garment industry and in printing, brewing, rubber, construction and coal mining. Two Labor Department surveys in 1963 of major service industries found notable proportions of their workers also on shorter than 40-hour schedules.

with the need to maintain weekly pay. A reduction in working hours, accompanied by a corresponding reduction of weekly wages, would be self-defeating; it would depress consumer buying power and sales. To maintain weekly earnings while the number of working hours is cut requires an increase in hourly wages.

If the standard workweek were cut from 40 hours to 35, it would require a 14.3 percent increase in hourly wages to provide the same weekly pay. If the hours reduction were to 37½ per week, the needed hourly increase would be 6.7 percent.

To the employer, the increased cost of cutting working hours without reducing weekly pay is essentially similar to an increase in hourly wages.

The employer is primarily interested in his unit costs—not in hourly wage rates. To the extent that productivity increases, it offsets all or part of the rise in hourly wages and the unit labor cost may actually remain the same or even decline.

It is obvious that a reduction of standard working hours from 40 to 35 in one fell swoop—requiring a 14.3 percent increase in hourly wages in one year—would boost unit labor costs substantially. Productivity for the economy as a whole does not rise that rapidly, although the spread of automation does, sometimes, result in such spectacular bursts in individual plants of companies.

If the reduction of working hours is spread out over a number of years, however, the needed increase in hourly wages can be absorbed without a general rise in unit labor costs or pressures on the price level. Since productivity in the total private economy has risen at an average yearly rate of 3.2 percent in the postwar period—and 3.5 percent a year since 1960—the American economy can absorb, without prohibitive difficulty, a substantial cut in working hours that is spread out over several years.

It should be recalled that direct labor costs are only one element of costs. There are many others—depreciation of plants and machines, power, raw materials and numerous overhead items. In addition, there are profits. Although labor costs as a share of the sales dollar vary from one company to another, the direct labor costs of the average company (including management and executive salaries and fringe benefits) are only about one-quarter of the sales dollar. A small rise in unit labor costs, therefore, can usually justify, at best, only a tiny rise in the price of a company's products.

Shorter hours undoubtedly will increase leisure and recreational activities. The reduction of working hours and the spread of paid vacations and holidays in the last 30 years have created new industries, such as motels, and have added substantially to others, such as the producers of leisure and recreational goods and the various industries involved in travel. This trend will continue as working hours are reduced in the future—adding to jobs and general economic activity.

In addition, judging from the past, reduced working hours will increase educational and cultural activities —an important investment in the nation's future.

Finally, in considering the issue of cost, it should be remembered that unemployment is not without cost —unemployment compensation and public assistance, for example. Although it is not feasible to attempt a breakdown on a company or industry basis, the economic and social costs of unemployment to the community—including business—are considerable. To the extent that shorter hours will help to avoid layoffs and to aid in reducing unemployment, they will reduce these society-wide expenses and thereby help to finance the cost of reducing working hours.

AN EDITORIAL

To Rescue the Working Poor

The opening shots have now been fired on the most important battlefront of the war on poverty—the drive to assure every worker of at least a subsistence wage.

The field of battle is the Fair Labor Standards Act—the wage-hour law. Only through a thorough and far-reaching modernization of this law can the war on poverty be won, for low wages are the most significant single cause of poverty.

As the ensuing articles in this publication make clear, we propose three immediate and one long-range attack on this front.

First, we want a $2 minimum wage established now.

Second, we want the law to cover all who should reasonably fall within its protection.

Third, we want a double-time penalty to discourage overtime.

Down the road, but not very far down, we want a reduction in the basic workweek to 35 hours with no loss in earnings. We are, as always, realistic and pragmatic; we recognize that this must be done a step at a time, but a start must now be made.

What concerns us most is the plight of the working poor.

It is bad enough to be without a job, or to have a job of sorts which offers only part-time work. It is even worse to work hard, every day and every week, and still earn too little to be self-supporting. Yet this is the plight of many thousands of workers from coast to coast—including many who are assured of the present minimum wage of $1.25 an hour.

The fact that more than half of the American families now living in poverty are headed by an employed worker—and 30 percent of them by a full-time worker—is a national disgrace by any measure. Surely it is indefensible for any American, fully employed at useful work, to be paid less than he needs to support himself and his family.

That is why a $2 minimum must be established; and that is why many more millions of working Americans, now denied the protection of the law, must be covered by it.

The working poor refute the basic assumptions of American society; in their own lives the American dream is a nightmare. A $2 minimum, universally applied, is the least the nation can do to eradicate this blight.

An increase in the overtime penalty is essential to re-establish the standard workweek. A generation ago, time and a half discouraged overtime work, as it was intended to do. It no longer serves that purpose; thanks to both union and federal benefits, it is often cheaper to pay time and a half than to hire additional employes. Moreover, time and a half work is all too often scheduled as a substitute for a decent hourly rate.

Both these abuses would be met by boosting the overtime penalty. Work over 40 hours a week should cost enough to make new hiring a more attractive alternative. And the contemplated raise in the minimum wage should help low-paid workers to earn a living within the statutory limits.

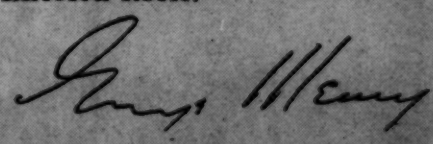
Of our four-point program, the least understood is the shorter basic workweek, yet in one sense it is the simplest.

We have urged and are urging a whole series of job-creating programs. Some have been adopted; many others are likely to become law. The present Congress will go far beyond its recent predecessors in the enactment of social legislation which will, at the same time, create jobs; and, through the various phases of President Johnson's war on poverty, it is deliberately creating job opportunities as such.

Yet all this, even if supplemented by every other measure we have advocated, could result at best in momentary full employment. In no time at all, the inexorable increase in the labor force and the inevitable impact of automation would again leave millions jobless. This is why the workweek must be shortened—not because 40 hours are too long for workers, but because 40 hours are too long for the nation.

Each of the points I have touched upon is documented in the following pages. The case for each of them is, in the truest sense, unanswerable. To some of you, of course, one or two of the points have more immediate importance than the others; but I assure you that, in the broad sense, every one of them is vital to every worker.

Yes, our primary motive, as I said earlier, is the war against poverty, the rescue of the working poor. But the ultimate effect of this four-point effort goes even further. What we propose in the way of amendments to this single statute involves the security and the ultimate well-being of every wage and salary earner in America and thus of America itself.



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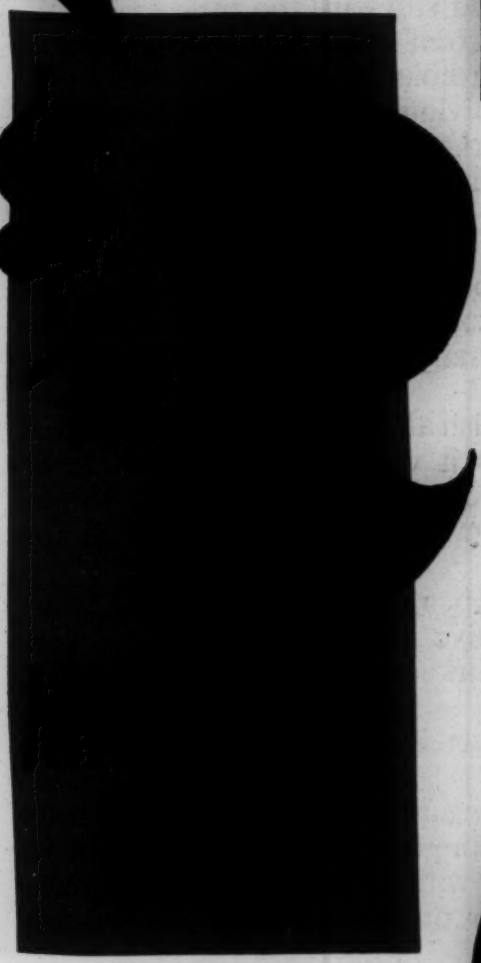

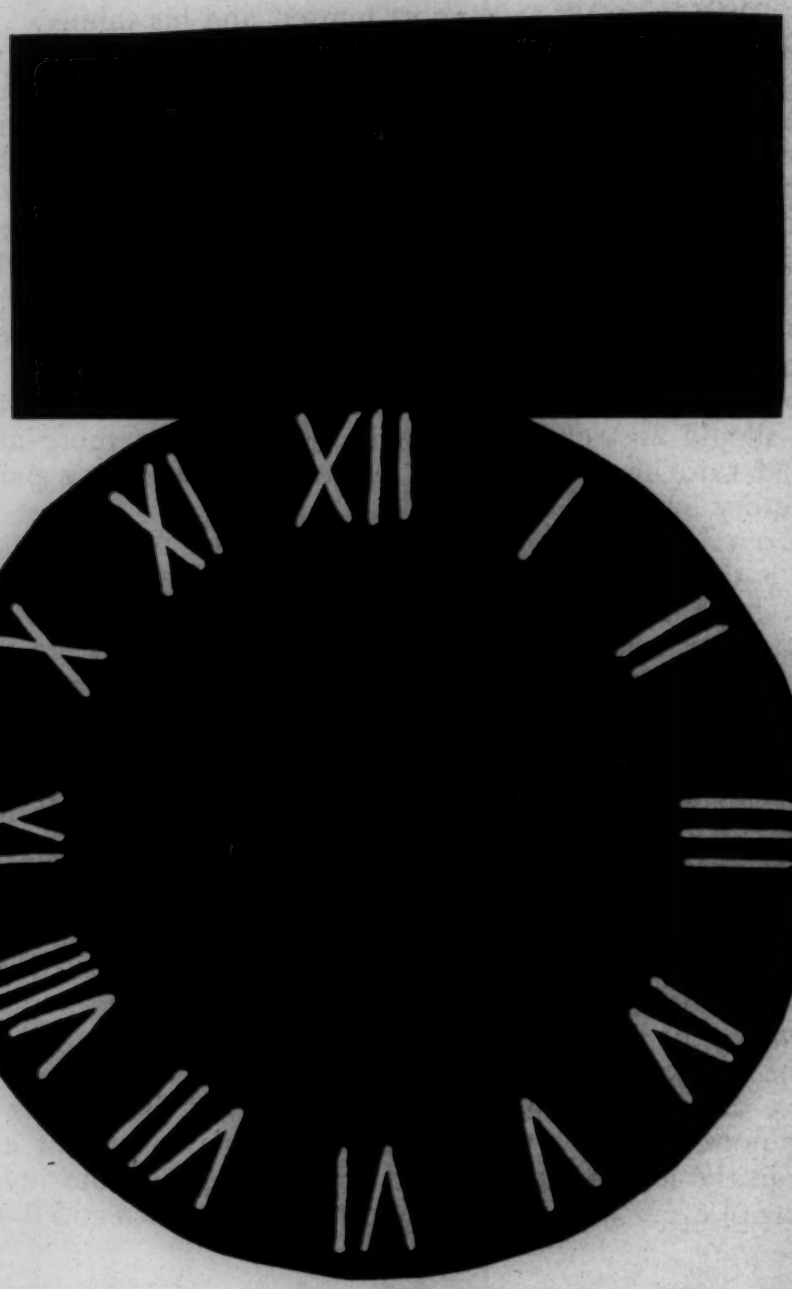

file - miscegenation

Washington, D.C.
March 28, 1965

James Farmer
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

MAR 30 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

My observations, made during the last three months, of the events meriting national press notice have failed to disclose more than a solitary occurrence of a person of colour seeking 'civil liberties'. My meaning of 'civil liberties' can be best explained by reference to the substance of the event cited. It has to do with the Virginia couple, one of whom is of colour, and their suit to force that state to recognize their marriage.

To articulate my meaning simply it is only necessary to say that equality is synonymous with miscegenation, although, not entirely dependent upon it.

Men and women of colour have not been the only victims of this deception that leads to laws prohibiting miscegenation. There is no human power that can accurately record the number of lives, whose expression has been determined by fear because we have wasted our energy and our substance to maintain the barriers of hate and fallacious race designation by laws prohibiting miscegenation.

In light of the very recent events occurring in Alabama, I am militantly inclined to prove my beliefs in miscegenation. I am making every effort possible to carry these beliefs into the South with action. My plan is to move to the French Quarter of New Orleans and live there with a woman of colour in my apartment. A persual of the attached letter will clarify the manner in which I hope to operate this 'action defiance' of Louisianna civil law until that time that its law prohibiting miscegenation is abolished.

For long I was unsophisticate. Searching for myself and asking questions of everyone except myself. I found these questions to be ones which I, and solely I, could answer. That is why I wish this battle with that body corporate of nineteen states who deny expression of life by laws prohibiting miscegenation. This thought of defiance makes me feel intensely alive and striding on the path of logical living.

To explain the details of this endeavor further a few more pertinent facts need mention. The stipend I have reference to is monthly retirement pay for military service of ammount $126. I feel that two of us shall find existence possible on this sum if

it be adjusted to meet food and rental payments only.

The letter to Miss Valdery is indicative of the fact that I do not yet know her, and ample evidence of the difficulties I am having in establishing eommunication with someone having the same thoughts as mine. The name and address of Miss Maria Valdery, obtained from The Times Picayune report of her arrest recently, has been the only method of contact that I have devised.

The basic problem again. It is not whether I accept or reject American ideas on miscegenation. It is, rather, how can I get into a position where I may have maximum influence upon its solution in the only manner I can uphold as being of value to the American people and nation.

Thru the task outlined as my personal undertaking and the present facts brought to your attention may I depend upon the legal aid of an attorney of your organization should my arrest stem from this crusade? May I further ask your indulgence in any help you can of possibility give me in communication with Miss Valdery, in addition to the letter, of which a copy is attached, and I am mailing on this same date?

I shall be available at this address thru 30 April 1965.

Sincerely,

F. D. Van Vranken

Mr. Frank D. Van Vranken
U.S. Soldiers' Home
Washington, D.C.

COPY

Washington, D.C.
March 28, 1965

Maria Valdery
618 Dauphine
New Orleans, La.

My dear Maria,

Consistent with the humid day you are wearing brief shorts and a bandeau, not entirely opaque. You are putting our rooms in order. The vision is enchanting; the bareness of your brown legs and exposed midriff diverting as you bend to pick up an ashtray. The sight of your loveliness once more demanding that I be thankful for the sentiments that were resultant in our association at this Vieux Carre apartment.

As you may have now conjectured I am a free-lance author, aspiring to know you as a companion and confident. Moreover, I have an authentic and militant cause! I am desirous of your companionship and alliance in a crusade for nullification of the laws, prevalent in nineteen states, prohibiting miscegenation, (or the marriage between people of colour and non-colour). The popular term of Negro as used in the United States is now fallacious, and never of my use when avoidable, or when not of direct context to the statement I am making.

The success of this endeavor depends upon the following facts. An atmosphere in which I can employ my time in study and writing upon this subject without regard to housekeeping chores, and a companion of colour who is of the same mind that these laws deprive both peoples of marrying as their heart dictates.

Men and women of colour have not been the only victims of this deception. There is no human power that can accurately record the number of lives, whose expression has been determined by fear because we have wasted our energy and our substance to maintain the barriers of hate and fallacious race designation by these laws prohibiting miscegenation.

To make possible this effort I have a small monthly stipend of adequacy to rent an economical furnished apartment, with provision of food for two if the cooking be done at home. My plan is to rent a furnished three room apartment in the Vieux Carre equipped with, in addition to bedroom for you, a sofa-bed combination in living room, where you and I might reside with all the earmarks of living seperately as housekeeper and patron, while my work goes forward due to your help.

With plan of moving to New Orleans on the first of May, I am making every effort to round out all details first. Would you be interested in room and board at no cost, in return for a minimum

COPY

of your time and effort to keep house and cook for us both? Enclosed is postage and an addressed envelope for your reply.

Sincerely,

s/ Don

Mr. Frank D. Van Vranken
United States Soldiers' Home
Washington, D.C.

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25 CENTS

THE PROGRESSIVE

TRUMAN AGAINST MIXED MARRIAGES AMONG RACES

NEW YORK, Sept. 11 (UPI) —Former President Harry S. Truman said today he sympathizes with Southerners who "don't want to be pushed around by damn Yankees."

Reporters accompanying him on his stroll along Madison and Park Avenues asked him if he thought integration would lead to intermarriage.

"I hope not," Truman said. "I don't believe in it. The Lord created it that way. You read the Bible and you'll find out."

Then he turned to a reporter and asked if he would want his daughter to marry a Negro.

"If she loved him," the reporter answered.

"She won't love somebody that's not her color," Truman said.

the issue is

Miscegenation

Milton Mayer

the issue is MISCEGENATION

by MILTON MAYER

". . . Judge Douglas is especially horrified at the thought of the mixing of blood by the white and black races. Agreed for once—a thousand times agreed."

—ABRAHAM LINCOLN, 1858.

THE INTEGRATIONISTS say that the issue is equal educational opportunity. The segregationists say that the issue is sexual intercourse of Negroes with whites and the consequent amalgamation of the races. When the Supreme Court ordered public school desegregation in 1954 the Jackson, Miss., *Daily News* said: "White and Negro children in the same schools will lead to miscegenation." As long as the integrationists go on saying that the issue is nothing but civil rights, they will be talking to themselves.

Miscegenation is the way the segregationists have always defined the issue. This is the way it was defined by Stephen A. Douglas in 1858. Lincoln disagreed; like the present-day integrationists, he insisted that the issue was simply legal equality; and he protested against "the counterfeit logic which concludes that, because I do not want a black woman for a slave, I must necessarily want her for a wife." After the Civil War the Knights of the White Camellia said in their constitution that "social equality would soon be the fruitful source of intermarriage between individuals of the two races; and the result of this miscegenation would be gradual amalgamation and the production of a degenerate offspring."

Social equality leads to miscegenation. What constitutes "social equality"? Anything and everything; in the old days, emancipation from slavery, today desegregated schools and buses, restaurants and housing. Gunnar Myrdal, in his monumental *American Dilemma,* found that "the very lack of precision allows the notion of 'no social equality' to rationalize the whole system of color caste in America." In the segregationist's logic, every deprivation of rights (at least where those rights bring Negroes and whites together) is justified as resistance to miscegenation.

The consecrated taboo in America is, of course, intermarriage, and not miscegenation at all (unless the miscegenation involves a white woman against her will). When the segregationist rails against "race pollution," he does not necessarily care how much the race is polluted or how much his ancestors have done to pollute it, as long as their legal wives were white. When he cries "mongrelization" he doesn't ordinarily mean that he objects to the production of mongrels by himself or the males who listen to him, just as long as the producers, good, religious people that they are, are married *only* in the sight of God.

"Would You Want Your Daughter . . . ?"

"I was addressing a girls' school recently," says Negro attorney William Kelley, executive secretary of the Milwaukee Urban League. "My subject was the Supreme Court's outlawry of the 'separate but equal treatment' doctrine in public education. In the middle of the question period a girl got up and said:

" 'Do you believe in miscegenation?'

"I said the only thing I could think of:

" 'Do you mean *miscegenation,* or do you mean the *solemnization* of miscegenation and the assumption of the legal, moral, and religious responsibilities that such solemnization entails? If you simply mean miscegenation, you're asking about an accomplished fact, and there's nothing to be said about it. There are several million Americans called Negro whose pigmentation ranges from sepia to pomegranate to ochre, from milk-chocolate brown to daffodil yellow, and they didn't get here by any "separate but equal" treatment.' "

The segregationist's trump question is, of course, "Would you want your daughter to marry a nigger?" Many liberals, having tried (and failed) to avoid answering that question, have tried to answer it. I am one of them. My answer, "Not unless she was in love with him," is no answer. Neither is another I've heard given Southerners: "*Your* daughters have always married Negroes; it's *your wives'* daughters you're worried about." The only actual answer I've ever heard was the one given by a Jew: "No, I wouldn't. I wouldn't want her to marry *any* of you gentiles."

There is almost no Negro-white intermarriage in America. The highest rate ever recorded was 1.2 per 100 marriages in Los Angeles 1924-32, and this figure represented the intermar-

riage of whites with *all* other races in an area with a comparatively high proportion of Latin Americans, Filipinos, Orientals, and Indians. In 1948 the California statute forbidding interracial marriages was invalidated, and in 1951 there were .56 such marriages per 100 in the state—about one-half of one per cent. Five years afterward John H. Burma reported in the *American Journal of Sociology* that "no significant trends as to increases or decreases by months or years were observable."

But miscegenation is something else. Its popularity, especially in the segregated South, is attested by the fact, no longer disputed, that at least 70 per cent of all American Negroes have one or more white ancestors. Segregation in the South has always been what proud Negroes bitterly, and proud whites jovially, call "daytime segregation."

Twenty-eight states—including all of the South and some of the West—have laws vividly forbidding intermarriage, but only four penalize interfornication and these four make no enforcement effort. Even before the War (Civil, of course) such statutes were dead letters in the South because a Negro could not testify against a white. Intermarriage, on the other hand, is just as sternly resisted by law today as it was in slavery; more so. Until 1910 it was permitted in Louisiana, where, for a hundred years, French Creoles had married wealthy Negro girls. (*Before* Emancipation one-fifth of the property of New Orleans was owned by Negroes or part-Negroes, *many of whom had Negro slaves.*)

Miscegenation has flourished in America as in no other country. Negro and white indentured servants were thrown together in one common depreciated class before the reduction of the Negro to slavery in the Eighteenth Century. Intermarriage was legal, and not infrequent. After slavery was established, the slave girl was not only at the mercy of her master; it was to her advantage to be his concubine and to the master's to breed the highly valued mulatto. (Breeding slaves was cheaper than buying them.) And before and since Emancipation (and since the beginning of the world, and until the end) there have been two compulsions to miscegenation. One, particularly strong in America, is the challenge of forbidden fruit; the other is the piquancy of variety or, as the French say in another (but related) connection, *"Vive la difference!"*

Not As Other Men Are

The white man's traditional repugnance toward miscegenation—Lincoln said he felt "disgust" at the idea—is not Southern. It is American, "remarkably similar," Myrdal found, "throughout the country." And in a truly miscegenated populace like ours—composed of all the racial stocks of Europe—the Negro is the one distinguishable outsider, the most obvious and ubiquitous "other." True, the Northerner does not appear to be thinking about miscegenation; perhaps because he doesn't dare to. But the Southerner isn't thinking about anything else. "They don't build a federal government big enough," says school segregationist Ace Carter of Alabama, "to integrate my daughter with niggers."

Is it the white man's fault; or is it his history's? He is pre-conditioned. He can not help *discriminating* the Negro; how can he help discriminating *against* him? And his country's peculiarly puritanical tradition, sensitizing him to sex, focuses his discrimination on miscegenation. The Northerner's prejudice against actual propinquity seems to be much stronger than the howling Southerner's; many old Southern cities have no residential segregation, and Professor E. Franklin Frazier, an authority on race relations in the *post-bellum* South, found very few Northern soldiers among the white ancestors of part-Negroes. "Northern soldiers," he says, "had an aversion to close intimate contacts with the blacks, an attitude that was lacking among Southern whites." As well it might have been, among a people who as children had played and eaten and slept with Negro children and, as infants, may even have been suckled by a Negro "mammy."

On the surface the Negro is as firmly opposed to miscegenation as the white—but not for the same reason. White and Negro scholars agree that the Negro's race pride is a defense reaction or response to white prejudice, a "secondary attitude." Common as this pride is among Negro chauvinists, it is, says Myrdal, "a white, not a Negro, argument." Negroes know that their race is not pure. They know it by looking at themselves. And for two hundred years they have had a social stratification among themselves based upon their knowledge of their racial impurity: a "good complexion" is a light one, "good hair" straight, a "good nose" thin-nostriled.

Does this mean that the Negro favors miscegenation? In a negative sense he does; he would be inconsistent if he didn't. But what he *wants* is the repeal of racist marriage laws—not merely because they insult him and deny his civil liberty, but because of their effect in encouraging illegal miscegenation, with its abuse and exploitation of the Negro woman and the legal impunity of the gallivanting white man.

A harder question is whether the Negro actually shares the white man's "natural disgust" at the idea of miscegenation. The answer—impossible to come by statistically—would seem to be that he doesn't. Repugnance requires a sense of superiority. Equals may hate those who subjugate them, but they do not find them categorically obnoxious; the man who is excluded from the country club because of his race or religion has no *primary* feeling against intimate association with the members. Similarly, the Negro who considers himself the white man's equal would seem to have no primary attitude toward miscegenation, any more than, say, Pennsyl-

vania boys react to Ohio or Michigan girls. People tend to fall in love with "their own kind"—nationally, religiously, or racially. Negroes assume they will marry Negroes; and nearly every last one of them does.

The White Man's Dream World

There are two kinds of reality—the reality of things as they are (or may be) and the reality of things as people see them. The two realities may coincide, but the white man's hostility toward miscegenation and his dread of amalgamation arise strictly from three realities of the second kind.

First, he sees that *there are such things as races and there is such a thing as a pure race.*

As far as science now knows, there aren't and there isn't. In the middle of the Eighteenth Century the "father of anthropology," Blumenbach, concluded that "no variety of mankind exists, whether of color, countenance or stature, etc., so singular as not to be connected with others of the same kind by such an imperceptible transition that it is very clear they are all related or only differ from one another in degrees." Two centuries later the eminent Krogman, in *The Concept of Race,* summarizes the present state of our knowledge: "Below the level of the species definition is uncertain, persistence is doubtful, and transmission is variable. In other words, the breakdown of *Homo sapiens* into subgroups is zoologically very risky business . . . We are all far more alike than different . . .[There are] no fundamental differences . . . biogenic potentialities are shared equally . . ."

There *are* observable and measurable physical differences that enable us, simply for purposes of superficial classification, to distinguish human groups. How did these differences come about? The only possible assumption, says Krogman, is that "the basic *sapiens* population from which modern races developed was relatively homogenous, and that via mutation, isolation, selection, and recombination diverse gene-populations emerged." Physical traits, bred into geographically isolated groups, show signs of adaptation to the conditions of environment. Says Huxley: "The dark skin, which characterizes most of the people living near the tropics, is almost certainly the result of elimination by natural selection of the fairer types of pigmentation less fitted to afford protection against the actinic rays of the sun. The greater number of sweat glands in the Negro and the reduction of their number among the yellow-skinned peoples, are probably adaptations to hot and to dry conditions respectively . . . A white skin is a disadvantage in the Tropics and a wide nostril in the Arctic."

The "pure race"—if it could be found anywhere on earth—would have been utterly isolated for ages, culturally primitive, technologically backward, and undeveloped in the arts of civilization which the crossing of cultures has produced. We shall never know how "impure" the first American settlers, black *or* white, were when they got here; we know that African soldiers invaded Britain with Caesar two thousand years ago, and, boys being boys, one thing certainly led to another. We know that Europeans, especially Portuguese, were frequent settlers in the West African ancestral areas of most American slaves. And we know that in America free intermarriage between white and Negro indentured servants was not prohibited until 1691, in Virginia, and that prior to the reduction of the Negro to slavery the "poor white's" hatred of him was unknown. How much Negro-white miscegenation there was between 1619 (when the first Negroes reached Virginia) and the Civil War is suggested by Ray Stannard Baker's calculation in 1908 that three million of the country's ten million Negroes were mulattoes, or half-whites. Wirth and Goldhammer, in *Characteristics of the American Negro,* tell us that "contemporary observers, on the whole, tend to leave an impression that no likely-looking Negro, or especially mulatto, girl was liable to be left unmolested by the white males [in the *ante-bellum* South]; that few of the young white men grow up 'virtuously,' and that their loss of virtue was scarcely to be attributed to cohabitation with white women."

The rate of miscegenation continued to rise in the South even after the Civil War. (The original Klan required its members to swear only that they would not *marry* a Negro.) After her emancipation the freedwoman could move about, and into the white man's cities; but she was still defenseless against him. "Father Abraham" had made her his equal, but Father Abraham wasn't down in Dixie in the '70's and '80's. Besides, concubinage with a white man was, if anything, more than ever economically better than marriage to a Negro. And the mulatto's high value—as the white man's sex object and the white woman's servant girl—was still an incentive to "breeding" half-bloods.

The reduction in miscegenation probably set in in the '90's or shortly afterward; no one knows. Urbanization would tend to *increase* it (especially in the North) and so would the sexual laxity of the Twentieth Century. But that same sexual laxity made white women more readily available to white men, and would therefore tend to reduce "mixing." The decisive factor in reduction was doubtless the rising status of the Negro and, with it, rising pride and moral dignity.

But there is no *un*miscegenation. The "white" and "Negro" blood that was mixed at the pleasure of the bygone Southern gentleman is mixed forever. If there is no pure race now—and there isn't—there never will be.

Second, the white man sees *the Negro as a race, to which an individual either belongs or doesn't.*

As long as the white man defines Negro simply as "Negro" (as he does in the marriage laws of West Virginia and Colorado), he is safe from contradiction, if not from redundancy. As long as he talks (as he does in the Oklahoma law) about "any person of

African descent," he is safe; providing, of course, that he doesn't mind excluding some whites of African descent and some Negroes of non-African descent. As long as he says (as he does in Nevada) "any person of the Ethiopian or black race" or (in South Dakota) "members of the African race," he is all right providing he agrees that a nation or a continent is a race. But the minute he tries to make more sense than any of this, he gets into trouble.

If he prohibits the intermarriage of "persons having one-fourth Negro blood," as he does in Kentucky and Oregon, he seems to have decided that a person with 24.99 per cent Negro blood is a white; a very difficult decision, especially when Florida, Indiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, South Carolina, and North Dakota have decided that persons having 12.50 per cent (or one-eighth) Negro blood may not marry whites; the 24.99 per cent man appears to be white in Kentucky and non-white in Mississippi. The Mississippian with 12.49 per cent Negro blood is eligible to marry the Natchez Magnolia Queen—but he'd better not let the sun set on him in *this* town if he has 12.50 per cent.

In Alabama we draw the line just a little bit finer than we do in Caroliner. We don't fool around with percentages. We cal'ate in *drops*. Persons having "one drop of Negro blood" are interdicted; should such person be waylaid en route to his wedding with the local Cotton Queen and, in the ensuing confusion, lose one drop of blood, and that one turn out to be the Negro drop, he could proceed with his now honorable intentions. But not in Georgia or Virginia, where "any ascertainable trace of Negro blood" puts a man beyond the palefaces. Now everybody knows that a trace is less than a drop; thus Georgia and Virginia must look upon Alabama (not to say Mississippi and Carolina) as a hotbed of "mixing."

There is, of course, no such thing as "Negro blood," in any quantity. Human blood can be differentiated only in one way—by the four common groups found indiscriminately in all human stocks. During World War II the American Red Cross (then a semi-official agency of the government) first refused Negro blood donors. A howl went up, and the Red

Cross thereafter accepted "Negro blood" but segregated it for transfusion to Negro soldiers only.

Third, the white man sees not only that *there are Negro and white races, but that the white is superior.*

Because the mulatto's white father prized him for his "white blood"—even educating and occasionally freeing him—the full Negro of slave times accepted the mulatto as a superior kind of creature, a sort of *tertium quid,* below the white, but above himself. This acceptance by the Negro of the white man's theory of racial superiority has descended in the Negro social mythos to the present day. But there are signs of a change, although the successful or attractive Negro still tends to "marry light" and is more readily hired by Negro employers. The mulatto myth always involved envy and resentment among full blacks anyway, and it is now beginning to lose its status with them. They know that, belatedly given opportunity, they are as capable as mixed-bloods.

With the abolition of slavery, the white man's new race hatred of his newly legalized equals compelled him to relinquish one of his favorite arguments for white superiority, namely, the obvious superiority of the mulatto over the "pure" Negro. (The argument, of course, ignored the fact that the mulatto had always enjoyed superior advantages.) Today the prejudiced white sees Negroes, dark *or* light, as indiscriminately inferior. And they *are* inferior, on the average, in their occupations, their housing, their education, their achievement in almost every field.

"The American," said Bernard Shaw, "compels the Negro to black his boots and then says, 'He's fit for nothing but blacking my boots.' " To say that all, or most, or many, or some Negroes are found among lowly placed, or unskilled, or uncouth people is simply to say that whatever it is that makes people that way also makes all, or most, or many, or some Negroes that way. But to say that the Negro race is an inferior race is to say that every Negro is born that way and will die that way, no matter what his opportunity. It is to say that he is in an inferior situation.

Myrdal, though he found the Northerner more polite, more "tolerant," could find no substantial difference among whites of different regions or classes on this one fundamental belief—that the Negro is *somehow* racially inferior. The white man's aversion to miscegenation requires that he believe the Negro inherently subhuman. Even a Lincoln, seeing nothing but the then condition of Negroes, recorded his conviction that "in some respects he certainly is not my equal." In what respects he doesn't say—few whites do. And if a Lincoln, why not you and I? If the "nigger" were your equal, you would want your daughter to marry him.

The Negro's racial inferiority is something the white man knows in his bones, or in his viscera; in other words, a prejudice, which, like all prejudices, may with equal likelihood be true or untrue. When, under some duress, the locus of the inferiority is specified, it is invariably in one or more of three areas—biological, intellectual, or cultural.

One—The Negro's racial inferiority is proved anatomically and physiologically—that is, he is constructed differently and, as an organism, functions differently from the white; and the differences are hierarchical, lower-higher, like those of the ape and man.

Scientifically this supposition is wholly discredited. Of the four characteristic features of the "typical" Negro—dark skin, broad nose, woolly hair, thick lips—the first two are a *little* closer to the ape man than the white man's while the white's hair and lips are *much* closer to the ape than the Negro's. As for "primitive" and "advanced" stages of evolution, all morphological evidence indicates

that man evolved only once. We have already seen that there is no such thing as "Negro" blood. It is equally impossible to determine by examination of the human brain whether its owner was black, white, or pimiento. True, the ideal Negro type tends to dolichocephaly—long-headedness, to you and me—and to a degree matched by only one other human type: *the ideal Nordic type*. By all other standard indices, such as fertility of mixed mating (even the fox and the wolf can not mate fruitfully) and comparative harmony-disharmony of parts, there is no evidence of hierarchy.

In the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries the facts of biology and psychology proved that Negroes *were* different from whites, not just in visible and measurable bodily features but in higher susceptibility to disease, in lower mental ability, in greater personality disorder. The rise of social research in the 1920's began to complicate the picture. And if there is anything that people who have simple scientific facts to sustain their prejudices do not like, it is complications. The findings of social research were facts, too, but they had the disadvantage (in the layman's view) of being come by without microscope or stethoscope. They were facts about environment—housing, diet, climate, clothing, medical care, and educational and occupational opportunity.

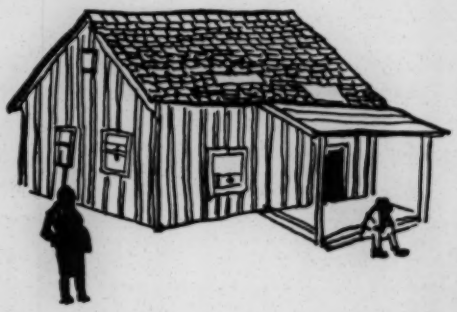
But the new facts coincided with new medical knowledge. Pellagra, syphilis, and nephritis were now known to be environmental, not constitutional. The Negro's notorious susceptibility to tuberculosis declined as his living conditions improved. A study which showed that Illinois Negroes had a dementia praecox rate three times as high as whites had to be reinterpreted—or, rather, interpreted for the first time—in light of the facts that Illinois Negroes were concentrated in cities (where the overall rate is twice as high as in rural areas), that Illinois Negroes were concentrated in those age and income groups with the highest rate of d.p., and that most Illinois Negroes were recent migrants, whose mental disease incidence, regardless of color, is much higher than that of natives. In every area where social research was correlated with the biological facts, the inference of racial superiority has been undermined or exploded.

Two—The Negro's racial inferiority is proved intellectually—that is, he is unable to think as well or learn as much as a white man.

Less than 20 years ago a *Fortune* survey found that a majority of whites, ranging from 60 per cent in the North to 76.9 per cent in the South thought that "Negroes now generally have lower intelligence than white people." The percentage of those who regarded the difference as due at least in part to heredity ranged from 55.5 to 79.2. The Negro's *actual* inferiority was obvious, and, besides, the new intelligence tests showed that the average Negro I.Q. was 20 to 25 per cent lower than the white.

But was it—again—*because* he was a Negro?

Intelligence tests tried to measure the innate capacity of the subject to learn. But nobody knew then (or knows now) if mental capacity is an innately determined quantum, or if the tests we have yet been able to devise operate prejudicially in connection with the subject's environment. Complications again—and the I.Q. figures were so nice and simple. As a matter of fact, the rug had already been pulled out from under the superior intelligence superstition (a superstition confirmed by scientific facts!) in 1921, with Yerkes' classic monograph, "Psychological Examining in the U.S. Army," published quietly in the *Memoirs* of the National Academy of Science. In the Army Alpha test of 1917, a language-based test given only to literate recruits, Negroes *as a whole* had scored much lower than whites, but *Northern Negroes* had scored much higher than *Southern whites,* and the same thing was true of the non-language Beta test. The median scores for Negroes from New York, Illinois, and Ohio were 45.02, 47.35, and 49.50 respectively; of whites from Mississippi, Kentucky, and Arkansas, 41.25, 41.50, and 41.55.



Either Northern Negroes were innately more intelligent than Southern whites, or the education of Southerners was so poor that Northerners, white or Negro, appeared to be innately more intelligent than white or Negro Southerners. Which was it? The answer was obvious: Environmental conditions made Southern whites *look* as if they had been born less intelligent than Northern Negroes.

Before the I.Q. fad subsided at the end of the '30's, it was found that one group of underprivileged Negro children in Tennessee had a score of 58; another group of privileged Negro children in California had a score of 105. The Los Angeles Public Schools tested 500 Negro children with the whites in 15 elementary schools and found the median I.Q. slightly higher for the Negro group. Successive types of testing have all demonstrated that group biological differences, however real, do not account for group intellectual differences.

Three—The Negro's racial inferiority is proved culturally—that is, by his inability to develop an "advanced" society or keep pace with the one he is in.

Of the three race dogmas this is the hardest to investigate. It requires the impossible—an objective definition of culture. People who cut off their enemies' heads with machetes and people who cut off their friends' heads with two-toned convertibles both regard their cultures as advanced. Still the fact (at least *a* fact) remains. The American Negro as a whole is backward in terms of American cultural standards in science, art, morals, and manners. This anyone can see, and what anyone can see must be true. *But is it because he is a Negro?* Even before the development of social research this particular dogma was shaky. True, the racist saw the shiftless, "worthless" Negro all around him; but he also saw the Frederick Douglass, the George Washington Carver, the Booker T. Washington, indubitable Negroes of indubitable

genius. Carver could not be a Negro and still save the "goober" economy by his plant research—but he was and he did.

There was something else, something that the Southern racist did not see. That was his own culture. The behavior he ridiculed or condemned in the Negro was his own. The Negro was a Southerner. The lazy, good-natured, romantic, immoral, profligate, shabby, violent Negro reflected traits that are so common in the South that the foreign visitor (not to say the Northerner) calls them all Southern traits. What produced them in many or most Southern whites produced them still more prevalently in the most depressed Southerner, the Negro. Climate, soil, boll-weevil, poverty, defeat—in a word, environment.

Still the fact remains: *Negro* culture is inconsequential. The *Negro's* sole contribution to American culture is American music, which is tom-tom primitive. But we don't ask what the Swede's contribution is, or the Pole's, or the Irishman's, or even what American culture is, or how much there is of it. If there were only one "pure" Negro who was a genius or a saint (instead of hundreds or thousands), the white man could not say truthfully that *the Negro* is culturally incapable, or that only white men develop a culture. In deference to the "exceptions," the white modifies his generalization, then, and says that *most* or *many* Negroes are backward; and the next thing he knows (or doesn't), he has forgotten the qualification and talks about *the Negro*.

However "culture" is defined, cultures rise and fall; we have only to think of ancient and modern Greece. The Negro slave's ancestral culture may well have been much higher than his first American master's; several pre-medieval African cultures (notably Ethiopia's) were more advanced, even by present Western standards, than any of contemporaneous Europe's. But the black man's culture was beaten out of him with the lash. He was separated from his kinsmen and countrymen so that he could more easily be brainwashed. And for two hundred years he was fixed in his degradation. Literacy, property, and human rights were forbidden him by law until 1863 and for another half century denied him in fact. He is just now emerging from all the indignities that can be visited upon a man. And unlike the Japanese- or Chinese-descended Americans, he has no culture other than America's to call his own, no other basis for group pride, no memory (so immutably tied to language) of another civilization. If he has got to be a second-class American, then he has got to be a second-class man, because an American is all he is.

Like "Negro intelligence," "Negro personality" and "Negro character" appear to be the product of environment; at least, other persons and groups of people in the same condition act, never uniformly, but, like the Negro, on the average, in the same way. Summarizing the vast Carnegie Study in *Characteristics of the American Negro,* Klineberg writes: "What differences there are appear to depend on existing discrepancies in the opportunities afforded to the two groups." The popular concept of the "marginal" man originally described the individual of one culture who had to live in another, the "cultural hybrid." When the individual is racially, as well as culturally, marginal; when, in a word, he can be distinguished not only by background but by appearance, his maladjustment is, axiomatically, intensified. That a culturally *and* racially "marginal" man should ever achieve "normal" behavior might well be viewed as something of a superhuman achievement, a sign of individual, if not racial, superiority.

"But We Always Knew That"

When we submit the arguments against white superiority to our enlightened neighbor, he says, "Of course, of course. I've known that for years. There's nothing really inferior about Negroes. Why, I know a Negro college professor who. . . ." We must interrupt him at this point and say, "Would you want your daughter to marry a nigger?" He rocks on his heels, and, while he is still rocking, we ask him, "Would you want niggers"—we are very careful here to say "nigger," not "Negro"—in your golf club?" As soon as he recovers sufficiently to begin sputtering, "Why—why—why—," we must interrupt him again and say, "Why not?" It is only then that we come to the heart of the issue.

It doesn't matter whether Negroes are innately inferior, equal, or superior, temporarily or permanently. What matters is something so profound that no argument touches it, no evidence speaks to it. Our enlightened neighbor, who is long since convinced that there is no such thing as racial superiority, is ourselves. And like ourselves he is moved by a mechanism hidden in the deepest recesses of the heart. He has rejected every argument against segregation—which means every argument against miscegenation. But the hidden mechanism still functions. He is a racist. You are a racist. I am a racist. Why?

The Christian has the easy answer: The Devil. The Devil has planted in all of us the love of unearned increment, of something for nothing. If, without lifting a finger, I can be superior—well, why not? If, however worthless I may be, I can be worth something by having been born white, or American, or the eldest son of the Duke of Marlborough, I will cherish the worth all the more mightily. It's my one absolutely inalienable posses-

sion. I may forfeit my good name; my purse, my home, my family, my job, my health, my liberty, and my life may all be taken from me. But nobody can take my whiteness away from me. I'm *in*.

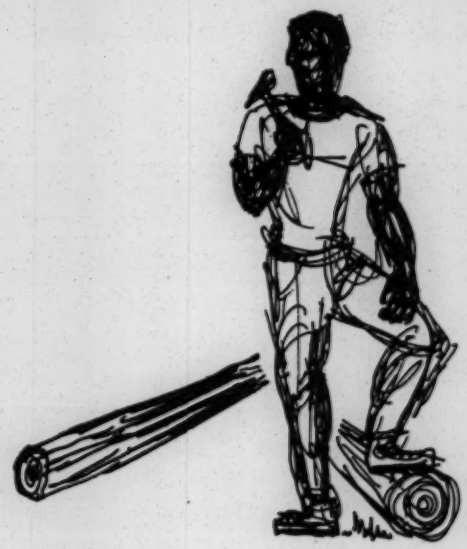
When a few members of what the sociologist calls the out-group come—unwillingly, in the Negro's case—to live among the in-group, they are depreciated—the depreciation ranging from the city man's ridicule of the yokel to the native white's dislike of the foreigner or the Negro. As long as the out-group are few (or are held in subjection as they increase), they are not thought of as dangerous. But when they increase and are no longer legally subjugated, they are no longer merely comical or obnoxious, but dangerous, and the in-group's sense of security requires their segregation.

The white man who has never directly injured a Negro may nevertheless bear the unconscious guilt of chattel slavery and hate the cause of his vicarious wrongdoing; while the white who has directly injured a Negro (merely, for example, for living in a "restricted" neighborhood) may have a still heavier guilt to justify by hatred. Deeper buried still: Man, the impure, wants to be freed from his impurity—from impure flesh and blood and bone, from impure occupations and associations, from impure thoughts and desires. He wants to be "washed," "cleansed," *"white as snow."* And the Negro is black—the color of evil and dirt and the dread unknown.

Acceptance of this racist mystique, below the level of rationality, is not confined to yahoos and legislators. Learned men of the greatest consequence, judges, South *and* North, low *and* high, have generally upheld the racist marriage statutes of the states, and their opinions ring repetitiously with the characterization of mixed marriages as "unnatural," "productive of deplorable results," "conducive to a degeneration of the public morals," and detrimental to the "moral and physical development of both races and the highest advancement of civilization." The documentation of such assertions from the bench is invariably missing; white judges turn out to be white men. Four years ago the "liberal" Virginia Supreme Court, upholding that state's statute, found that "there is no requirement that the state . . . must permit the corruption of blood [which would] weaken or destroy the quality of its citizenship."

In the Evening, by the Moonlight . . .

Does the "social equality" which the segregationist says leads to miscegenation actually lead to it? It was the social inequality of slavery and the segregationist South, reinforced by laws which forbade interracial marriage and even interracial fornication, that led to miscegenation on a colossal scale, while the relative social equality of the North led to intermarriage on a miniscule scale. The racist's ready invocation of white Southern womanhood and its protection suggests that he is preoccupied with rape; but it would not seem to be rape that he has on his mind when he asks, "Would you want your daughter to marry a nigger?" And rape accounts for almost no miscegenation; voluntariness is of the essence of the evil (if it is an evil). The question has often been asked of the whites who enact laws against intermarriage: If their white women do not want to marry Negroes, why is it necessary for them to pass laws forbidding them to do so? The question is a mean one.



It would be a little more decorous to discuss miscegenation without reference to sex, but it would also be a little more difficult. To begin with, the fascination of the repugnant, in any area of life, is a commonplace: "I simply couldn't take my eyes off it," whether the "it" is a murder on television or a monster in a sideshow. It not only rivets the eyes, it unrivets responses we normally try to keep cribb'd, cabin'd, and confined. And the fascination and the repugnance both seem to spring from the same aspect of the object: its difference from ourselves and what we know. Deep stuff, perhaps; but the soul is not a shallow saucer, and sex is an emanation of the soul.

Whether white women are more attracted to Negro men than white men to Negro women is undetermined and, probably, undeterminable. The few (and necessarily inadequate) studies of intermarriage, in Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Los Angeles County, reveal a great preponderance of Negro husbands and white wives. But this fact, even if it is universal, is not conclusive alone. The human male is the aggressor; it is he who does the courting and proposing. And most intermarriage is in Northern cities, where the proportion of unattached Negro males to females is high. In addition, intermarriage in America nearly always involves "emancipated" individuals, among whom there are many white and few Negro women. A considerable percentage of white female-Negro male marriages certainly involves a degree of "protest" on the part of the white females—protest against the sexless preoccupation of the modern white American male with "getting ahead," or against their own fathers.

But sex rears its beautiful head in the midst of these pedestrian speculations. Both classic and modern historians confirm James Baldwin's assertion, in *Notes of a Native Son,* that "darker races always seem to have for lighter races an aura of sexuality." The rapist of the Southerner's nightmare—or dream—is the "buck nigger," big and black. The Nubian slave of high romance was a Negro. And the chronicles of explorers abound in their coming to rest (at least temporarily) by the side of a dark-skinned girl. Whether tropical peoples are more interesting sexually than non-tropical peoples may be debatable; but it is generally observed that they are more languid and more excitable—qualities that in combination are not unpraised by the poets.

There is no doubt, however, that the Southern white preferred the mulatto slave girl to her full-blooded Ne-

gro sister as the object of his passion. The storied "quadroon ball" of early New Orleans, the commonplace marriage of French Creoles to mulatto girls in the same city, and the well developed *placage* system there, in which white men established a permanent contractual relationship with mixed-blood girls, whom they courted and whose parents' permission they asked, all suggest that the nearer to white a "Negro" girl was, the more desirable she was to white men. Why? She was more "white" than her black sister but, above all, rarer, and rarity, like variety, is said to be spicy.

Sex is the opposite of the weather; everybody talks about the weather and nobody does anything about it. The role of sex in miscegenation is more obvious than the way in which the role is played. There are some things that Professor Kinsey despaired of learning, and should. But Myrdal was willing to say that "the South has an obsession with sex which helps to make this region quite irrational in dealing with Negroes generally. . . . The sadistic element in most lynchings"—often involving emasculation of the victim—"also points to a close relation between lynching and thwarted sexual urges."

It was out of this unpenetrated and perhaps forever impenetrable complex of non-rational drives that the South's "third sex" was born—the "flower of Southern womanhood." The origin of this "woman on a pedestal" may in part (but only in part) be explained by the Puritan strain in American culture, South and North; the Negro slave girl, defenseless in any case, was uninhibited by the blessing of a puritanical upbringing. The white wife was absolutely unable to avoid knowing of the carryings-on of her husband—and of her father and her son. And the Northern abolitionists were loud against it. The Southerner's answer to both his wife and the Yankee was the construction of a beautiful fiction. "On the one hand," says Wilbur Cash in *The Mind of the South*, "the convention must be set up that the thing simply did not exist . . . and on the other, the woman must be compensated, the revolting suspicion in the male that he might be slipping into bestiality got rid of, by glorifying her." The Southern gentleman was able to convince himself, as he found his way down to the cabins by moonlight, that his wife was a paragon. She may have had little occasion to be anything else.

The Mongrel and the Hybrid

Miscegenation certainly can't impurify the race unless it produces offspring. And even then, unless the offspring miscegenates, the impurity, if any, dies with him. But the inferiority of the Negro and the superiority of the white ought both to be apparent in the half-breed. He ought to be superior to his Negro parent and inferior to his white. The proof of the mixing is in the mulatto. Unless the mulatto is inferior to the white—and not because of environment—the Negro is not inferior to the white and miscegenation can not be condemned on the ground of racial corruption.

We know a little about the mulatto. We know that, at least until recently, he was generally the intellectual and cultural superior of the unmixed Negro. But was it because he had "white" blood? Social research does not say No; it simply says that the mulatto has always enjoyed (until very recently) an immense superiority of opportunity over the "pure" Negro. But the rate of anti-social behavior among mulattoes was also high. It has declined radically, as the mulatto has shared the increased opportunity for Negroes generally and as his once intense resentment of being peculiarily *déclassé* has faded with time and color; with greatly decreased miscegenation in the past half century, the mulatto has been disappearing. (Of course, the white racist who cited mulatto criminality or immorality was arguing against himself; if mixed-blood Negroes are inferior to pure-blood Negroes their inferiority must be the consequence of their "white" blood.)

You would rather be a hybrid than what the Kluxers call a mongrel—but there isn't any difference. Cross-fertilization has produced "mongrel" agricultural stocks of such superiority that the pure strain has in many instances been abandoned altogether. But the superior plant or animal hybrid is produced by controlled experimentation, while the consequences of random cross-fertilization in humans can only be observed. The studies of miscegenated *groups*—the Rehobother Bastards (a cross between South African Boers and Hottentots, as divergent a pair of "races" as can be imagined); the Polynesian-white descendants of the mutineers of the *Bounty* on Pitcairn Island; the Chinese-Hawaiians in Honolulu; white-Negroes in Brazil; and Indonesian-whites on the Timor Archipelago—all support the theory of heterosis, or hybrid vigor: the offspring of the cross tend to be larger in size, more active, more fertile, and with improved vitality and longevity. Scholars generally agree with Benedict, in *The Races of Mankind*, that "as far as we know, there are no immutable laws of nature that make racial intermixture harmful."

Of course the human hybrid will usually resemble each of his parents in some physical respects, but Hooten in the Harvard *African Studies* discovered that "Negroid features seem to be attenuated, rather than intensified, by successive generations of inbreeding of mixed types." "While *two* parties with Negro blood may very occasionally have an offspring with somewhat more Negroid features than themselves," say Wirth and Goldhammer in the Carnegie Study, "it is not possible for a white person and a person with some Negro ancestry to have an offspring more Negroid than the partner with Negro blood." The "black baby" of melodrama—the spawn of the young aristocrat and the beautiful brunette whose telltale shadows on her fingernails nobody ever noticed—is a complete fiction.

Who's Negro? Who's White?

If there is no other reliable basis for determining race, the only thing left is appearance. And here, as elsewhere in this life, appearance is deceitful. It is estimated that 30,000 part-Negroes a year "pass" into white

society permanently, and that many times 30,000 might, but refuse to because of pride or family ties. And many "pass" without ever knowing they have done so. Unlike the "black baby" of fiction, the white baby of real life is often part Negro. Occasional instances reach publication; a few years ago a good "white" farmer in Mississippi named Davis Knight was convicted of miscegenation when a family feud disclosed (to him, as well as to his wife) that his great-grandmother had been a slave girl.

In *A Study of Some Negro-White Families,* Day of Harvard found that "dominant mulattoes and five-eighths [-white] individuals are frequently mistaken for foreigners of various nationalities, or for white Americans . . . I know of no case of a quadroon [one-fourth Negro] who could not easily 'pass' for white . . . In the few cases of octoroons [one-eighth Negro] which I have studied, I have been able so far to see no traces whatever of Negro admixture." Of 35 intermarried Negroes who "passed" for white, Day found 16 quadroons, 15 three-eighths Negroes, *and four mulattoes.* On the Von Luschen skin-color scale a study of mulattoes showed absolutely "white" pigmentation in 12.55 per cent of the males and 20.6 per cent of the females.

Nearly all of us know nothing of our ancestors beyond our great-grandparents. The shadow sinister may be just beyond the far side of our limited acquaintance with our forebears. And although most race marriage laws stigmatize Indians as well as Negroes, it should be observed that in Virginia, where a trace of Negro blood pollutes, a trace of Indian makes a First Family; intermarriage of whites with persons of one-sixteenth or less "Indian blood" is permitted in the Old Dominion, in deference to the proud racist descendants of the one good Indian who wasn't a dead Indian—Pocahontas. Will Rogers and Vice President Charles Curtis were proud of their Indian ancestry; it is only the Negro who is irredeemably inferior.

Once appearances have been shown to be deceitful of race, the ground begins to give way under the marriage statutes and the Red Cross "white blood" bank, and all the processes, legal, non-legal, and illegal, of racial discrimination totter on their single foundation. You may *think* you wouldn't eat with a Negro—or your daughter marry one—but for all you know you do and she has. You may cry up the protection of the white race without knowing that you don't belong to it. You may lynch your own half-brother on the charge that he plucked the flower of Southern womanhood—and the flower may have been a black one.

And if the preservation of the supremacy of the white race depends on the preservation of its *looking* white, the supremacists should turn their attention immediately from the "nigger-lovers" to the biochemists. The doom of white civilization may be foretold in the following words of Professor John A. Kenney in the *Journal* of the National Medical Association:

> "Lerner has shown [in the Archives of Biochemistry and Biophysics, 1952] that mercury will compete with copper ions in tyrosinase which in turn inactivates the enzyme which catalyzes melanin formation. Once this has occurred, the reaction is only slowly reversible."

It should be added that melanin is the black pigment present in the skin of all human beings except albinos. Almost any Negro—whose skin is not allergic and whose spirit is willing—can use a variety of standard formulae to whiten himself. The Citizens Councils should smash the pharmacist's jars of monobenzyl ether of hydroquinone and p-hydroxypropiophenone, the most effective devices against melanin formation.

Who Intermarries and Why

Most Negro-white marriages (and courtships), if not secret, are at least furtive. Unless the two partners have already cut themselves off from their backgrounds, their marriage will ordinarily do it for them. The relatives, friends, and business associates of the white partner will be the more hostile; the white is "marrying down," the Negro "up." Not that the Negro's circle will approve of the marriage—it won't—but it will be readier to forgive and to accept the white partner on the basis of merit. Negroes may be inferior, but they seem to be a little more human.

Thus the newlyweds move immediately into isolation—or into the Negro world. But there they are also uneasy. Negroes generally look upon the white bride or groom much as the whites do: There must be something wrong with a white who marries a Negro (or a Negro who marries a white). An occasional Negro—and a rare white—will marvel that two people could be so much in love as to have been willing to make the desperate sacrifices that intermarriage entails. Either partner, but particularly the white, is liable to lose his job if the marriage becomes known. So the tendency to keep it secret or, at least, "close" abides. Their friends are other intermarrieds (if there are any); in New York and Chicago there have been informal clubs of such couples. The intermarried pair ordinarily lives just inside the boundaries of a Negro neighborhood in a large city.

Something like half of the estimated ten to twenty thousand Negro-white couples in America are politically or artistically "advanced" individuals, people whose social and economic sanction does not depend on the church, the P.T.A., the Legion post, and the luncheon club. Among the other half of the intermarrieds, white immigrant males of low social status (and low native race prejudice) are common, especially since there is ordinarily a shortage of their countrywomen among them. (With immigration almost cut off, this source of intermarriage is disappearing.) Then there are native white males of low status, often personally unattractive to white girls.

Probably because of the immigrant and the unattractive male, the marrying age of interracial couples is very high; in the Los Angeles study, for instance, it was 39 for the white grooms. The proportion of divorced persons intermarrying is also very high, especially among the whites involved; in Philadelphia 34 out of 80 intermarried persons had previously been married to coracialists; it would appear an unsuccessful marriage is broadening.

Attractive white girls marrying Negroes are usually collage graduates and daughters of prominent parents, apparently from the "protest" category. Like white males of such standing, Negro girls with high status almost never intermarry, partly, no doubt, because of pride, partly because it's polite for a girl to wait until

she's asked, and partly because they can "marry up" to a light-skinned Negro of position. Three times as many white women marry Negro men as Negro women marry white men.

The intermarriages that make news usually involve a Negro artist—Lena Horne and MGM Musical Director Lennie Hayton, Sugar Billy Daniels and Martha Braun, Sidney Bechet and Elizabeth Taylor. When Stuart Outerbridge of *the* Bermuda Outerbridges married Royce Wallace, a singer at his night club, he was thrown out of the Royal Bermuda Yacht Club and, he said, completely ostracized. Only once in a great while does a Negro leader "cross the line;" diplomat Frederick Douglass did, and so did NAACP secretary Walter White.

The wars of 1941-45 and 1950-53 added something new to American miscegenation—the white war bride, German, French, or English, brought back to America by the Negro soldier, and, more significantly, the Japanese or Korean war bride. Asians, especially Japanese, have a strong aversion to intermarriage (with whites *or* Negroes). Prior to the second world war there was almost no intermarriage among Japanese-Americans with any "out-group." It is very slowly increasing now, with whites, but almost no Mongoloid in America ever marries a Negro; yellow *plus* white racism. Europe has a fine new crop of mulattoes, Germany in particular; the French and American Occupation commands were more than benign in their attitude toward the Moroccan and Negro "debasement" of Hitler's Aryans.

Half of the Negro-white marriages in America are barren, and the other half produce remarkably small families, often one child, rarely more than two. The late age of the marriage combines with the unwillingness of the couple to subject children to the fearful strains of their position. More important, as regards amalgamation: inter-racial mating is almost always limited to a single generation, the reason, of course, being that the American mulatto is accepted only in the Negro world. The worst sufferer is the child whose white parent wants him accepted by whites.

If the American Negro is marginal, the mulatto child is sub-marginal. In his early teens he is likely to be called "bastard" or "miskeg" by Negroes, and in his childhood he may be taunted by his Negro playmates for the same reason that Negroes are taunted by whites: for being different. I knew a ten-year-old Negro boy during the second world war with very light skin but no sign of the epicanthic eye-fold common to Orientals; his black schoolfellows called him "Jap-eyes." The last stanza of Langston Hughes' poem, *Cross,* though its setting is the old South, portrays the mulatto adolescent everywhere:

My old man died in a fine big house
My ma died in a shack.
I wonder where I'm gonna die,
Being neither white nor black.

Wherever he dies, the chances that he (or she) will die married to a white are almost nil. The world (the American white world) says he's a Negro. He may hate being a Negro; but, if he does, he hates the world that made him a Negro still more. Marrying Negro, he will introduce a little more "white" blood into the next generation of blacks, but no more "Negro" blood into the white. *If* he marries. The tensions of his childhood may make a criminal (even a suicide, rare among Negroes) of him. Or a genius; the well known Negro journalist, George Schuyler, married the daughter of a white Texas banker, and their thirteen-year-old daughter's *Manhattan Nocturne* was premiered by the New York Philharmonic.

Who's Christian? Who's American?

Racial equality has come about—like miscegenation—without benefit of clergy. It is said that in America there is more racial segregation between 11 a.m. and noon on Sunday than at any other hour of the week. The church has been moving since the 1954 school segregation decision; the Roman Catholic church rapidly, the Protestant (with spectacular exceptions) slowly. But on the segregation of would-be wives from would-be husbands it is as silent as it is on war. It no longer quotes Scripture, as the "Bible-bangers" of the old South misquoted it on the inevitable slavery of the "descendants of Ham, accursed of God." (It was Canaan, not Ham, who was cursed, and it was Noah, not God, who cursed him.) On the ultimate, last-ditch issue of racism—miscegenation—the church today says nothing. A very rare clergyman speaks, at his peril, like the Rev. Kelly Barnett of the Episcopal Seminary of the Southwest, who, testifying against school segregation before a Texas legislative committee, was (of course) asked by State Senator Wardlow Lane if he believed in intermarriage. Barnett said that, while he thought it "sociologically inadvisable," he believed that "the right of marriage is a personal right." A few days later Lane leaped to his feet on the senate floor and shouted: "Why, these preachers want to mix colored and white. That's what Dr. Barnett said. He said it's all right for nigger and white to intermarry, but if one of my East Texas niggers married Barnett, I would feel sorry for the nigger. I want that clear: For the *nigger.*"

The Lanes will not let the church remain silent indefinitely. And the church is the church that preaches the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God; that preaches the parable of the black Samaritan in answer to the Pharisee's question, "Who is my neighbor?" that preaches the Ten Commandments received from the hand of God by the man who married an Ethiopian woman; that preaches the Disciple who said, "God hath made of one blood all nations of men," and the Apostle who said, "He who does not love his brother, whom he has seen, how can he love God, whom he hath not seen?" The church is the church that preaches Christ crucified that "they may be as one . . . one flock, one shepherd."

One of the strongest statements made in support of the Court's school decision—a statement the *Christian Century* called "a model of clear-thinking insight"—was made by 74 Atlanta ministers. They quoted the Golden Rule, and went on, after saying that Negroes have the *full privileges of first-class citizenship,* to suggest that they should have all the privileges but one: "We do not believe in the amalgamation of the races . . ." They did not say whether God does.

It is not just the church that trusts in God; the national motto commits every American to that trust, and the national creed proclaims that all men —not all white men, or all Negroes, but all men—are created equal. But nowhere in the Western world today

is a caste system of rigid inequality so vigorously expressed in law as in America. (Even the Nazi "Aryan marriage" laws were more liberal than Virginia's.) Perhaps the belief in the inferiority of the Negro race alone enables us to square our racism with our American creed of equality: American Negroes *must* be inferior creatures—otherwise American whites are inferior Americans.

Nor is it our creed alone that confronts us; the fact that our country is the great melting-pot confronts us too. We are proud of creating an "American tribe" out of the most diversified of the world's populations except Russia's. We are fanatical, not only about American equality, but about Americanism. We mistrust things foreign and alien; everything and everybody that comes to America has got to be Americanized. The American dream is the dream of complete assimilation —*except for the Negro.*

When novelist Erskine Caldwell says, "Eventually you'll have an amalgamation of the two races in the South," he would seem to be trying his hand at science fiction. What the sociologist calls assortative mating—like marrying like—tends to keep intermarriage from spreading. There will, of course, be more "white" blood in the Negro population, as part-whites marry non-whites; but the six million part-white Negroes will, the present pattern indicates, continue to marry non-whites. The Negro population as a whole will become a little lighter and more homogeneous in color; but that is all.

The racist marriage statutes have become more numerous and more rigidly enforced against Negroes in the past 50 years. They stand court tests because marriage has been held to be within the power of the separate states. But so is education. The 1954 decision in *Brown et al* v. *Topeka Board of Education* did not place education within the power of the federal government; it simply forbade unequal protection of the state's public school laws, under the Fourteenth Amendment. That decision overturned *Plessy* v. *Ferguson,* the famous case in which the Court upheld "equal but separate" railway accommodations in Louisiana. In 1896 the Louisiana statute was upheld on the ground that it enjoined members of *both* races from sitting together in railroad cars; it was therefore equal treatment. The state laws against intermarriage likewise forbid Negroes *and* whites to intermarry. But Justice Harlan said, in his historic dissent in *Plessy:* "If a white man and a black man choose to occupy the same public conveyance on a public highway, it is their right to do so, and no government, proceeding alone on grounds of race, can prevent it without infringing the personal liberty of each." What if two persons, one white and one black, choose to marry? Can a government prevent it, proceeding alone on grounds of race?

The California Supreme Court said No in 1948. The case at bar involved a Catholic couple, one white, the other Negro, who sued on the ground that the California marriage statute forbade them the sacrament of marriage in violation of the religious freedom clauses of the state and national constitutions. This argument, together with the equal protection finding in *Brown* v. *Topeka,* indicates that the statutes of all twenty-eight states forbidding intermarriage will be swept away in one U.S. Supreme Court decision, and the present attack on the Court has been said to involve that consideration. A couple of months ago, after Harry Bridges, who is always up to *something,* discovered that he could not marry a non-Caucasian in Idaho, that state quietly erased its intermarriage statute.

But it is doubtful, in view of the California experience since 1948, that such changes will affect miscegenation or intermarriage except in principle. The big change is already taking place—a bigger change than any law will ever induce: The Negro is at last rejecting the white man's doctrine of white supremacy. Not resenting it, or complaining of it, or defying it; rejecting it. It was his acceptance of this doctrine that spread miscegenation; his rejection of it will speed the rate at which miscegenation is declining. The Negro is completing the half of his emancipation that he has had to achieve himself. His hands and feet unshackled, he is climbing Jacob's ladder. He is *deserting* the white man's racism as he climbs from a sense of inferiority to a sense of equality. From there to a sense of unconsciousness of race is a long step—a step that will take a century or two for the Negro and at least that long for the white man. Along about then, or another century or two thereafter, amalgamation of the races will be a conceivable possibility. But along about then nobody will care.

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16 October, 1963

Re: WNEW Panel Discussion

Some time ago radio station WNEW did a taped broadcast containing charges of maltreatment of civil rights prisoners by local and state arresting and penal officers.

On Thursday, 24 October, 1963, at WNEW, 565 5th Avenue, at 7:30 P.M., a studio broadcast has been arranged and a discussion of the national and international implications of state and local authorities vis-a-vis political prisoners will follow.

Discussing the subject and answering questions will be:

Hon. Theodore Kupferman, City Councilman, Professor of Federal Law and Procedure, New York Law School.
Herbert Monte Levy, Esq., Chairman of the Bill of Rights Committee of the Federal Bar Ass'n of NY, NJ and Conn.
Hon. William Hand, Jr., Former NY State Supreme Court Judge, Chrmn., NY Metropolitan Committee, United World Federalists, Inc.
Lea Singer, Esq., Co-Chairman Women's Law Division, Federal Bar Ass'n of NY, NJ, and Conn.
Hon. Cornelius W. Wickersham, Jr., Former U. S. Attorney of the Eastern District of New York.

Since the program will be taped for possible future broadcast, participation from the audience will be limited. It is suggested that questions be limited to twenty-five words, and in writing. The studio capacity is thirty, so it is necessary for persons planning to attend to phone my office: PL. 9-3223 so that a seat can be reserved.

(WNEW fans might be interested to know that Marlene Sanders, who has charge of this project has promised to invite William B. Williams to join us!)

Hope to see you,

Florynce Kennedy

Florynce R. Kennedy

CORE Music

Kennedy

DEC 4 1963

CITY OF NEW YORK
OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
NEW YORK 7, N.Y.

JULIUS C. C. EDELSTEIN
EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT TO THE MAYOR

December 2, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
National Executive Director,
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 7, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Farmer:

Just a line to let you know that the Mayor was pleased to know that you had taken the time to attend the memorial meeting. He was sorry that I hadn't interrupted him to tell him that I had you in town. He asked me to convey his greetings and salutations.

I must apologize on my own account for having ambushed you without even taking the opportunity to discuss some of the matters which I am handling on behalf of the Mayor, in which I know you have an interest. I have always said to myself that I wanted to -- as they say -- sit down with you one day. There I had the opportunity, but I was too cold, too embarrassed and too pressed. Perhaps we can repair the omission one day.

Cordially,

Julius C. C. Edelstein

MEMORANDUM FROM JAMES FARMER TO MR ROY WILKINS
C.C. MR. GLOSTER CURRENT

February 18, 1960

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re: MAY 17th

I am sure that we all agree that May 17th is the NAACP DAY, and is thus an ideal time to seek to generate some mass enthusiasm and mass identification. I know that branches have been urged to plan something for May 17th, and that churches are being urged to hold some sort of celebration. While this is very good, it seems to me that the Day would have more impact for the NAACP program if one specific suggestion were made and followed through vigorously. In this regard I would offer the following suggestion:

<u>That we seek to organize mass parades in key cities north and south around the central issue of school discrimination.</u>

<u>Specifics</u>:

I think we should select a dozen or more cities in the north with at least five hundred thousand population, and a large percentage of Negro population, and try to sell the branch officers and/or executive secretaries on planning a gigantic parade on Sunday afternoon, May 15th. In New York, without too much difficulty, it should be possible to put 10,000 people in the street. Chicago, Detroit, etc., should not fall far behind. We all know how lodges like to parade in full regalia. They should be brought in, in force. Trade unions likewise are much given to walking in such lines and carrying their union banner pledging support on a specific issue; they,too, should be tapped. Friendly churches, especially large ones, can be urged to organize motorcades, and to turn their services out in time to shuttle a large part of their congregations to the parade starting point.

With careful attention to planning, even five thousand in New York would be a tremendously impressive demonstration. I would suggest that the lead walkers carry a huge banner stretching across the street, with a blown-up quotation from the Supreme Court's decision - "We conclude that in the field of public education" etc. etc. The whole march could be to the accompaniment of muffled drums, as has been done in the past by the NAACP with effectiveness. Children and youth should also be in the parade carrying their banners, protesting the various specific forms of discrimination in northern schools and making their demands for changes. I would suggest also that the paraders march to a hall to culminate in a giant mass meeting of brief duration, with 'punchy' speeches for the purpose of getting a shouting approval from the assemblage for certain previously drawn up demands to be made to the Board of Education. These demands might be as follows:

1. Compliance with the Supreme Court decision by accepting integration as a key principle in establishing school zones and in construction of new schools.

2. Re-zoning so as to cut across segregated residential areas.

3. Establishing free transfer zones for pupils to transfer out of ghetto areas.

4. Change of sight for contemplated construction of new schools, if applicable.

5. Equali- of use of substitute and temporary teachers
   sation

throughout the school system, rather than heavy concentration in ghetto areas.

6. Improvement in vocational and curriculum guidance and counseling in schools with predominantly minority group attendance.

A meeting should have been previously arranged with the Board of Education for Tuesday, May 17th, at which the demands would be presented, possibly in the form of a huge petition, signed by thousands of citizens.

In the south those cities which could arrange such a parade or "march" might concentrate on two things:

1. Full, not token integration of schools, and

2. Arousing Negro parents to apply for re-assignment of their children to white or integrated schools.

This is ambitious, but I think we need an ambitious act on May 17th. It will cost money, but it should be able to more than pay for itself with high pressure fund-raising at the mass meeting on the theme - "Fight For Your Children's Education", and signs on the collection barrels - "Give For Your Children's Future." Also, it would seem to me appropriate to use a suggestion made by Mr. Current last month; namely, having people with cans soliciting contributions on street corners and in business establishments with friendly proprietors in Negro areas, during the parade, saying in effect "you are not marching so <u>give</u> for your children's future.

Announcement of the project:

It seems to me that an important factor in getting something like this going is the very act of announcing it with as much fanfare as possible. Not only should it be announced in the daily and weekly press (to appear simultaneously if possible), but it would seem well to me for Mr. Wilkins to make the announcement via radio and/or television in a Report To The Nation on discrimination of schools. Perhaps the Public Relations can get an invitation to an established network television show, where the announcement can be made.

Additional Note:

It seems to me that May 17th falls close enough to our Annual Convention that even if the demonstrations are only moderately successful in terms of the original plan, much enthusiasm will be generated which will of course carry over into the Convention. Also, May 17th follows the White House Conference on Children and Youth closely enough so that we can, in a sense, ride on whatever comes out of that - or fails to come out of it. Such parades as suggested above will require two months of preparation, so whatever we do should be done quickly.

NAC MEETING - MARCH 18, 19, AND 20 - HARLEM YMCA

The following NAC members were present: McKissick, Dyes, Williams (Phila). A.D. Moore, Lynch, Hall, Bradley, Wilson Lewis, Curvin, Turner, Montiero, and Ussery.

The following agenda submitted by National Chairman, Wil Ussery, was approved by the body:

1. Discussion of meeting arrangements
2. Director's report
3. Financial report
4. Dept. of organization report
5. Lunch - committee meetings
6. General session (include the NE region recommendations)
7. Joint staff - NAC social gathering
8. Reports from special committees and recommendations - Sunday

Corrections to the minutes

Marlene Wilson submitted the following corrections to the NAC meeting minutes from Dec. 31 - Jan. 2:

1. Page 7 (Open Session). Motion - Leeds, adopt in principle the idea of endorsing one or more Northern projects and set up the necessary committees to bring in proposals as to what staff is feasible, financing and other ramifications .....motion failed, 6 in favor (Riley, Curvin, Rosenfeld, Williams, Leeds, Robinson), 11 against, 2 abstentions. Correction - Wilson also voted in favor, making the total 7 in favor.

2. Page 8 (Open Session). Ollie Leeds is shown as chairman of the Special Projects Committee. In fact Marlene Wilson is chairman.

3. Page 15 (Semi-Closed Session). Motion- "adopt recommendation of committee about Assoc. Director's increased salary to $12,500 (Brown, Montiero). Motion passed, 14 in favor, 6 abstentions (Dodie Smith, Curvin, Leeds, Dyes, Rosenfeld). Correction - Wilson also abstained but not named here.

Meeting arrangements

Julia Lewis raised the question that the notice of this meeting indicated that it was a Steering Committee and not a full NAC meeting. When calls were made to the office, NAC members were told by a secretary that only certain people were to receive expenses to come to the meeting, when in fact all NAC members receive expense money for NAC meetings. McKissick replied that arrangements were made to provide all NAC members with expenses. The only exceptions had to do with field staff. Ussery - also explained that there was a discussion with national staff and he told them that this was a full NAC meeting. The suggestion was made to check on NAC members not present to see why they were not present. Also since Lewis was not being notified of meetings nor receiving minutes, her address should be checked on all mailing lists to see if she has been sent her mail.

National Director's Report - McKissick

McKissick reported on a meeting at the White House March 13 with Johnson and leaders of civil rights organizations. Present were King, Wilkins, Young, A Phillip Randolph, John Lewis, Clarence Mitchell, and himself in attendance. Pres. Johnson presented the following issues to the group for consideration:

1. It was an election year and therefore there would be a problem in steering

the legislative matters through Congress on civil rights. There was a general feeling that his administration had accomplished enough in the area of civil rights. There was general agreement among those present that the bills should be presented in a package. The housing bill will probably get the most opposition.

2. The move of the mediation service (Collins' office) to the commerce dept. or the Dept. of Justice. Most felt that the Dept. of Justice was a much better location.

3. Center for Community Action Education (Farmer's program). There is great opposition mounting against OEO; Johnson expressed the fear that the program could be killed if Farmer got the money. HEW also has a plan for literacy training more comprehensive than Farmer's Powell wanted to wait until after the appropriation committee hearings to pass on the CCAE. Randolph, speaking for the group, took a strong stand and insisted that the President take action immediately. Pres. Johnson said he would see what he could do.

4. March 19 there was a meeting of the White House Planning Conference; Don Smith was CORE's representative. Purpose of the meeting - to come forth with positions for the White House Conference. Rev. Founteroy is the coordinator.

McKissick then pointed out the weakness of CORE in not having a Washington representative because of the heavy reliance of all the civil rights groups on Clarence Mitchell's know-how and expertise. There is also a need for a CORE position paper to present to the Pres. Conference in the spring with special emphasis on the War on Poverty and its obvious shortcomings. McKissick pointed out that he made it a point to emphasize that CORE would not be committed to any political party since he sensed that was a main reason for the President's calling them all there.

Report continued - National Office

The fund-raising department is the major weakness of the organization. Methods of raising funds must be carefully analyzed. Salaries and front costs are depleting our budget. We lost money on the Farmer Salute. (In fact we have not made money on any major project.) We entered into a number of contracts with entertainers, etc. and lost money. The Department did focus on this project over a period of the last 4 days and did manage to salvage something. One problem was the failure to advertise sufficiently. It is obvious that we must have new ways to develop funds.

Office overhead is still a problem. We have not yet been released from our lease which calls for $1200 monthly rent. Other locations in Harlem are much more promising if we can make arrangements with the landlord (e.g. two adjacent brownstone houses, a location across from the Theresa Hotel and another location on 7th Ave., which the owners will let us have free if we would assume the costs of renovation, taxes, etc. Recommendations - must make drastic changes in the fund-raising dept.; need to investigate other agencies who will fund-raise on a percentage basis. The membership drive material will be available Tues. at the latest and this is a source of funds. B. Elton Cox has made himself available to head a church dept. if we want him.

Financial Report - Mrs. Clora Coleman

The financial situation is critical. Income for the month of January is figured at $69,492.49 (including a $25,000 loan and a $6,000 bequest). Income for Feb. was a very low $19,872.42. At the same time our bills have gone up in Jan.

and Feb., a large portion of them resulting from fund-raising front costs.

At present $2,000 is on hand. Loans due Monday March 21 will take $1500 of that amount, and phone bills are due, Humble Oil bill of $11,000 is due and of course salary. Most pressing is the unpaid tax bill, IRS has not yet brought the matter up but they can and will and they have the power to padlock the doors and freeze assets.

The total debt, once down to $230,000 is back up to $266,000 because the suppliers debt has climbed. (the suppliers' debt is now back to $115,516.71). A $10,000 error in our bank balance which occurred in our book keeping dept. April, 1965 will make matters much worse when discovered by the bank.

We have not had an audit for 1966.

	January	February
Income	$69,492.49	$19,872.42
Disbursements	66,619.67	36,664.70

Ben Peterson, Director of Direct Mailing, also reported. The Winter Outside Appeal has not gone into the mail yet because of lack of funds, although $18,756.00 have already been incurred in production costs. There has been a drop in the returns from the Brotherhood Appeal ($23,478 vs. $30,709 this time last year) for a number of reasons: the Mt. Vernon incident, the appeal went out late and the New York list which was sent to was also used to promote the Lincoln Center benefit. The Appeal should have gone out the first of Feb.

Peterson's recommendation (although not cleared with Coleman, Hall or McKissick) was that there be a revolving account of $10,000 which would be used for direct mail expenses only.

When asked, he felt that we do not have too many appeals. The copy of the letter included in an appeal however should be simple, direct, concise and informal. Wilson questioned whether people might be asked to pledge more regularly. This will be looked into. Peterson said that the % of response from mailings is as follows: 12% Budget appeal, 7-8% Brotherhood appeal and C.5% Spring appeal.

The response from chapters has been negligible. Only 10-15 chapters requested Holiday cards, so far only 3 chapters have asked for Farmer's book. Curvin - noted that chapters need to be notified sooner about the cards. This year, according to Peterson, a large Holiday card will be sent out that can't be missed.

Dept. of Organization - Herb Callendar

1. Recommendation about Morris City. CORE (submitted in writing) be disregarded. Regional Vice Chairman Curvin urged that the chapter not be affiliated at this time.

   Turner raised the question about the standards for affiliation and whether we should be affiliating anyone when we obviously cannot service the chapters we have. Although there are constitutional obligations, it was discussed that even they are not being met in terms of affiliating chapters. More discussion postponed until the committees have a chance to meet.

Staff changes

1. Recommendation that the NAC ratify Callendar decision (to dismiss) regarding field secretary Mike Lesser. Motion - that the recommendation be approved (Bradley, Montiero). Discussion - Wilson explained that the Columbus chapter wanted to clarify its position on the matter. There was an implication in the letter of dismissal that Lesser was responsible for the chapter's raising certain questions at the RAC meeting in Chicago. This was not true. Motion passed. Curvin, Lewis, Wilson abstained.

2. Recommendation that the NAC ratify Callendar decision to dismiss Tony Riley. Callendar explained that the Maryland Freedom Union had developed in Baltimore but not because of Riley (more in spite of him). There were a number of financial problems as well connected with his employment. Motion - passed 9-1.

Curvin noted that the regional officers want to be informed of any such decisions in the future before the action is taken.

3. The Southern office

a. Ed Hollander is supposedly the public relations officer but is presently serving as a book-keeper in the so. office and should be transferred to the Mid-West.

b. Dave Dennis is presently working on only one campaign in New Orleans and is not functioning as a program director for the South. The recommendation is that he be transferred to the West Coast as a field secretary.

c. The So. office operate with Mr. Haley and one office secretary and the book-keeping operation for that office be put back in the National office.

d. Mrs. Annie Devine be made director of Miss. operations since George Raymond is in Detroit and there is no head now.

Callendar explained that he had sent these recommendations to Haley and the So. staff. They are still in discussion and the response of the staff is forthcoming. The informal response gotten so far is that Haley, Hollander and Dennis are not willing to make such changes. And yet the southern staff is not getting serviced by the so. office at present. In the recent blow-up in Bogalusa, no word could be gotten from the so. office about what was going on because no one went to the scene. By common consent it was decided that no action could be taken until discussion with Southern staff had been held.

4. Stu Wechsler, task force worker in So. Carolina

Pending discussion with Jim McCain and his recommendation, it was the director's opinion that Wechsler either be fired or placed in another area.

The need for an issue

Bob recommended that a strategy be developed for all CORE chapters and field staff persons to organize poor people for a minimum income program. One of the immediate steps that could be taken would be to call a meeting of all CORE field staff and at least one representative from each chapter. Then all civil rights groups could be called together and third, we could begin to set up the legal apparatus needed to deal with the legal problems of the project.

2. Another issue is the organization of Negro contractors similar to the assoc. of United Contractors of America, an organization that insisted on 15% of the rehabilitation contracts in New York (because Negroes represent 15% of the population) and finally got 28%.

3. Another prospect is the Maryland Freedom Union, the organization of low paid workers in Baltimore which has recently been joined by some locals in Baltimore who left their own unions.

By common consent these ideas were referred to committee for further action.

Callender also explained the Mt. Vernon incident involving the anti-Semitic statement of Clifford Brown. It took place at a board meeting (of Education) was convened to discussion why integration plans had not been submitted. Another organization besides CORE was present, Parents and Taxpayers, some of whose members were vocal and insulting. Obscene remarks and an actual attack was attempted on Mrs. Isabel Hawkins, chairman who was attempting to testify. The chairman of the PAT was Jewish and Brown's statement was aimed at him. He said, "Hitler didn't kill enough of you." As a result of that statement, Wil Maslow resigned and the advisory committee was called together. The statement had apparently also impaired plans on a benefit planned by the Seafarer's Union. Brown was not chairman of CORE, but chairman of the education committee and he has since resigned. The statement has been condemned by Farmer and the surrounding circumstances have been presented.

Callender then called on Tony Perot to give a report on the Chicago situation. Tony Perot, field secretary of the North Central region submitted his report on Chicago,(local federation of civil rights groups) site of a joint SCLC and CCCO campaign. After discussing what is going on in Chicago and the resources committed to the city by various organizations, he recommended that "Chicago be designated as a special project, funded by national CORE and by monies raised locally." Tony explained that the need for such a project was obvious. "That CORE is the only national organization committed to community development in Northern urban centers of which Chicago is the prototype. The increased awareness being generated by the charisma of Dr. King and the impetus of the Chicago Freedom Movement provide the best vehicle to build a solid community base in selected geographical areas and/or the entire ghetto of Chicago. The project also can be used as a training ground to develp CORE leadership and organizational skills for the long struggle ahead because of the presence of the Urban Training Center, a program headed by C.T. Vivian who is willing to lend CORE assistance. He recommended specifically that a special team of technicians drawn from among the most skilled people in national CORE be used in the Chicago area and elsewhere as the need arises and that a task force of at least 10 community workers be drawn from the Chicago area.

NE REGIONAL PROPOSALS

Bob Curvin presented some concerns of the region relating to National office and local chapter relationships. In light of a development in Syracuse when national staff was involved in a local project, the following recommendation was made: On Local Projects.

"That National CORE adopt the policy that there be consultation with the chapter in the particular area in which persons from National staff plan to operate. If a chapter asks for help it should retain authority over the project. National staff must keep in mind the CORE Rules for Action and consult with local chapter." Motion passed, (Hall opposed).

"That the NAC Support the activities of the Mt.Vernon CORE chapter in its efforts to gain better education, housing, and welfare services for the minorities in that community" (Curvin, Lynch). It was explained that there have been several breaches of basic rights in Mt.Vernon in view of Brown's statement; for example, City Hall has been declared 'Off Limits' to CORE chapter members. Therefore it was added to the motion "that the NAC condemns the actions of Mayor Joseph Vaccarella (of Mt.Vernon) in restricting the rights of CORE members to appear and speak at public meetings, etc. "Motion, passed unanimously.

"National must consult with the local chapter when planning fund-raising in a local area." (Curvin, Lewis). Motion passed, 7 in favor, Bradley, Lynch, Hall abstained.

Roy Innis, Chairman of New York CORE, asked to be heard on the proposed move to Harlem. At present he stated the relations between his chapter and the National office are good, because McKissick is making an effort to keep them that way. Innis wanted to know whether persons below McKissick would continue to work in harmony. If not, he wished to put the NAC on notice that the chapter wanted a right to present a bill of particulars to the organization. Turner noted that as we get larger, individual chapter chairman cannot expect to get the attention from National staff they got in the past since staff will have an even greater job to do. Callender remarked that other National staff besides McKissick had tried and were presently trying to relate to New York CORE (police brutality case and training conference).

Fund-Raising Department Report - Norman Hall

Norman outlined present, summer and long-range proposals for fund-raising. Our present plans include a Labor Salute to Jim Farmer at the Americana Hotel ballroom schedules for April 9th. Admission is $50 per plate. The hall holds 2000 people. Plans were snagged because of the Mt.Vernon incident because a number of Jewish Labor leaders were involved but they are on the way to being solved. If the event is successful, CORE could get substantial money.

Other events in the near future include: a CORE Day in Harlem which has some fund-raising aspects (luncheon, cocktail party, ball): Schaefer fashion show given in conjunction with Queens CORE; an Art Sale conducted by the Chelsea Friends of CORE; CORE nights in a series of nightclubs. Long range plans include a Blues Convention, a clambake and boatride up the Hudson to Bear Mountain and the establishment of co-op stores in the ghettos as well as benefit concerts.

Norman reported that these events, although smaller in scope than some in the past, required little in the way of initial investments, thus sparing the organization the fund-raising front cost that have been so costly. He also felt that they were in keeping with the mandate of the National Convention, to establish ties with the ghetto in a meaningful way. He did not feel that he was in position to judge the work of the fund-raising dept since he had only been director three weeks.

General discussion

The need for a focussing project was discussed at length. McKissick-CORE is its own greatest enemy. We're on the peripheria when we do not have to be. Our problems are interrelated. Curvin- need to focus on Washington. Hall - our staff is not trained to go into Washington right now. Chicago is one of the few places where training can be secured. Lewis - need to question some of our past decisions in view of our great financial needs. Dyes - Chicago is all right but Los Angeles needs to be considered, Lynch - Washington is the most

important city in the country, but we need to lay the groundwork if we want to focus there. Rachlin - CORE has to earn the right to earn money in the community. Callendar - there are civil rights aristocracies in each community not community movements. We need issues that chapters and staff can rally around. Turner - we are greatly handicapped because the committees did not do theie homework; there is no proposal for Washington. If King is in Chicago, does it make sense to be somewhere else. When King was in Selma and we were in Washington, we were eclipsed totally. Do we have the resources to develp something on our own at this point? And have the kind of summer success that will draw national attention else where? Perot - King can concentrate; he analyzes first what he is doing and what he has to work with. We must analyze our resources first/ Leeds - everyone recognizes that the black community is a base. Money will come as the result of what you're doing. Who says King will be successful, wasn't in the past. Need to pick somewhere (leans toward Washington) and concentrate. Also need to continue to encourage chapters who are engaged in community action. Coleman - the problem is that things have gone too far and too long already. We must have $25,000 next week. Ussery - if we decide we must have a project to move us, we must either cut back or plan to focus for a major effort. Chicago will not get money results Washington comes closer. Retrenchment is not the answer. A major project is the only answer. McKissick - retrenchment is possible in some instances; could reduce the staff by four people, can cut down in overhead office expenses, can reorganize the so. office (total budget is $15,000 monthly) and approach certain foundations.

Motion - recess and reconvene at 8:00 a.m. for meeting of two committees - program and finance . Motion passed.

Continuation of NAC meeting - Sunday March 20, 1:00 p.m.

Finance committee report - Bill Bradley chairman

The background of most of the committee's discussion was the immediate need for $25,000 and the present debt of some $266,000. In view of this crisis, the following recommendations were made:

1. Negotiate long term loans well in excess of $25,000.
2. NAC give the committee the names of any persons who might loan CORE money ($500 - $2000).
3. Carry out Herb's recommendations about the southern office - in terms of adopting the policy of transferral where possible.
4. Cut backs in the National office - left to administrative decision.
5. Foundations be approached for support of some of CORE 's programs (Apparently foundations have been reluctant because of CORE's state of disorganization, the problem of frequent policy changes and the amount of autonomy of local chapters).
6. Membership drive a) to be carried out within 30 days through the efforts of the fund-raising dept. b) Major metropolitan areas be targeted (Cleveland, Baltimore, Miami, New York). Discussion was on this point - CORE chapters should be ready to give national its share; at least the $100 chapter assessment could be paid.

Motion to adopt finance committee report - Bradly, Montiero, Passed unanimously.

Motion - that the category of membership for those who pay $500 be considered life membership category for individual and small groups with the appropriate award, but large organizations be asked to pay $1,000. Definition of groups eligible be left to administrative decision. (Turner, Leeds) Motion passed 13-0, 1 abstention.

By common consent - the director be instructed to bring in policy for handling relations with chapters on associate membership drives.

Program committee report

Marlene Wilson reported for the committee. She reported that the committee, after considerable discussion, recommended CORE participation in Chicago in a joint effort with SCLC and CCCO. Motion - that Floyd and other CORE representatives negotiate with Al Raby of CCCO and Dr. Martin Luther King and be prepared to commit a national team to concentrate on the North Side of Chicago, assuring also from time to time the National Director's presence in Chicago. Motion failed - 4-7-2. Because the motion failed to pass, it was ruled by "Ussery that the other parts of the committee's recommendation were no longer relevant. The other recommendation of the committee was a response to Callendar's recommendation; that a workshop on the issue of minimum income be planned for May involving field staff and chapter leadership. Field staff is to come a few days earlier to discuss organization problems. Funded if possible by foundation sources. (Turner, Hall)Motion passed.

Motion - (Leeds,Lynch) open an office in Washington, D.C.; the first job of the personnel there would be to investigate the possibility of home rule as an organizing issue in that city. Motion passed - 8-5. Motion - (Leeds,McKissick) that Baltimore be made a target city for a special project. Motion passed, 11-1-1 (abstention).

Motion - that CORE participate in the Chicago project. This participation depending upon an agreement that can be made with King on the basis of our limited finances. We will give our public endorsement to that project (McKissick, Leeds). Motion passed , 12 to 1.

Motion - that CORE develp and promote a sound public relations program around Operation Bootstrap (Los Angeles, Cal.) and the So. Carolina voter registration project and any other ongoing projects. (Dyes, Turner). Passed unanimously.

Motion - that the chairman of the Program Committee (Wilson) send letter of ackowledgement to all chapters, who sent in proposals that their proposals were received, studied, but because of our financial condition we could not accept all of them. Communicate further that the national office stands ready to assist chapters with their projects, inform of the present training programs, (Turner, Leeds). Motion passed, 13-1 (abstention).

Other recommendations were: that King and CCCO issue a joint invitation to National CORE to come into Chicago in a press conference; that CORE request of King immediate funds to ease CORE's financial straits ($15,000) and the local chapter be consulted, by the national chairman and other national staff.

Motion - (Lewis, Dyes), that the NAC go on record giving the same support to Operation Bootstrap as is being given to the Chicago situation Motion passed 12 in favor Curvin opposed, 3 abstentions - Montiero Leeds Turner

1966 Convention

Ussery reported that a meeting of the Convention Committee had been held in St. Louis March 17, and there was a meeting March 27 to work out the details of the convention agenda, make decisions as to site and plan for details.

Date of Convention - July 1,2,3, and 4.

Place: a. Hotel near center of town (Statler, Jefferson, Lennox)
b. Concordia Seminary
c. Washington, University

Staff needs - full or part-time convention aide who will work with the planning committee Guidance needed: a) approximate no. of guests, b) capacity of auditorium, c) national entertainment, d) theme: "Political Strength of the Ghetto" e) preliminary cash needs, f) local housing sub-committee, g) suggested key noters (Julian Bond, Al Raby).

By common consent the chairman was empowered to make decisions regarding the convention.

Memo from OEO - written by Theodore Berry - Dated March 3, 1966

Ussery explained that the San Francisco DEO Executive Committee went on record against the memo because it perverts the intent of the poverty act.

Motion

1. The NAC condemns the memo 23-24 by Theodore Berry, head of the CAP section, applying the Hatch Act in an unconstitutional way.
2. Our motion of condemnation be taken to the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and also be used as part of a position paper to be presented to the President Inference "To Fulfill These Rights."
3. The NAC support the action of the San Francisco executive committee of the local OEO in opposing the memo.

(Ussery, McKissick). Motion passed unanimously.

Next NAC Meeting

Held jointly with staff two days prior to the National Convention. (Lewis) Motion passed unanimously.

Motion - the NAC endorse an increase in minimum wage for the state of N.Y. Motion passed.

CLOSED SESSION

McKissick offered a motion regarding personnel as follows: to endorse Lincoln Lynch as Associate Director and as soon as funds are available hire Bill Bradley in the area of program (McKissick, Leeds).

Discussion

Curvin raised the question that because of the lateness of the time, it was not possible to discuss the matter as thoroughly as need be. Someone else commented that the need for additional staff is undisputed, but we need better idea of how decisions are arrived at. What are our criteria and how do the candidates fit them. This is very necessary if we are going to be able to deal with questions raised at the convention..

Lynch gave a brief description of himself. He was born in Jamaica of poor background. He joined the RAF after school (not college graduate) and was there 10 years. He considers himself dedicated, radical all his life and has been a CORE member the last 7 years. He hopes to help Floyd to do the job he wants to do, but will continue to be the same kind of person. If he disagrees, he will tell you.

When asked why he picked the two, Floyd responded that they would both be an asset to the kind of team he was trying to build in the national office, each bringing besides thinking ability his own special talents. There was a great deal of discussion about Bradley's attitude toward white people and some feeling expressed that he was overly nationalistic and therefore not objective. The motion was separated. Lynch - 11-0--1(Lynch) ; Bradley as program director 8-3 (Curvin, Lewis, Wilson) .

March 23, 1962

REPORT TO THE NATIONAL ACTION COMMITTEE ON FREEDOM HIGHWAYS

FROM: The Program Department

Introduction. The February meeting of the NAC requested the Program Department to report on the proposed Freedom Highways project. It is the impression of the Program Department that the NAC intended this project to be one of CORE's major undertakings in 1962.

It is further our feeling that this project is complex -- more so in many ways than was the Freedom Ride. It has also been expressed by some that CORE, in undertaking such a new project, appears to be appealing more to the sensational than to the truly productive.

Reasons for Freedom Highways. The most obvious reason for this project is the fact that discrimination does exist in eating places along the highways of the United States particularly in the South. Throughout practically the entire South it is impossible for a Negro traveling by car to eat in any restaurant along the way without submitting to gross humiliation. Consequently most Negro travelers are forced to travel without being able to stop for food, drink, rest or any other purpose. It is not unusual to carry sandwiches. It should be kept in mind that highway travel is a major means of travel and that travel by Negroes is increasing greatly.

The early stages of the Highway 40 project indicated the fantastic interest in a project of this sort. While later the Route 40 episode became a favorite for college students from the North one need only look at the newspaper clippings to see the unprecedented support and participation which this project elicited from Maryland residents, young and old. The Route 40 Freedom Ride provided a more general and a broader support from local citizens than almost any other recent CORE project. It is possible that Freedom Highways could have the electrifying effect on the civil rights movement which the Freedom Ride had. In addition to the opening of restaurants along major U.S. highways another prime goal of this project would be to spur activity in voter registration, housing, unemployment and other endeavors. It is a logical follow-up to the Freedom Ride and could conceivably spark new interest in CORE's struggle North and South. We should keep in mind that much of the dramatic and effective nonviolent action taking place in the North in the past few months stems directly from the Freedom Riders journey into the Deepest South. Student action in McComb, Mississippi and the campaign in Albany, Georgia were directly inspired by the Freedom Ride.

While it is agreed that in the long run progress in the fields of employment and voter registration may be more basic than eating facilities we cannot afford to overlook the prime necessity for some projects which speak to man's dignity, can draw wide support and can be sufficiently dramatic to give a boost to all our other efforts.

There has been expressed the fear that Freedom Highways might require so much effort that other projects would be neglected. In answer to this we feel it essential that we look at CORE with a longer perspective. It should be kept in mind that most CORE activity is carried on automatically by the chapters and that most national program is not very time consuming. A well executed Freedom Highways project should mean more local activity, more national participation, more money and more growth in spite of the fact that at times it will require most of the time of most of the staff.

- continued -

General Format. The initial portion of Freedom Highways would be a major campaign along a single route through the South. The most likely route appears to be from Miami, Florida to Washington, D. C. along U.S. Highways #1, #301, and #17. Due to the proliferation of restaurants along our highways it is most practicable to pick out a particular chain. Howard Johnsons seems best suited. This is the major restaurant chain along the highways; it has exclusive franchises on several turnpikes; and it affords ample opportunity for supporting action in the North. "Howard Johnsons" is also a brand name for many food products. The initial stage of the project would be a "freedom ride" by trained personnel traveling in automobiles and staging sit-ins at Howard Johnson restaurants. Testing and negotiations would of course preceed action.

Problems. As mentioned earlier this project poses many difficult problems. As opposed to our campaigns at Woolworth and the bus companies where facilities were essentially owned and operated centrally or in the case of Trailways by a number of companies, most Howard Johnson establishments are locally owned and managed and are licensed and serviced by the Howard Johnson Company. Furthermore, we cannot expect or even hope for the kind of federal intervention that occurred when the Justice Department petitioned the Interstate Commerce Commission for a ban on discrimination.

Traveling in cars is somewhat more dangerous than traveling on regularly scheduled buses. But the most severe problem posed by this project is local follow-up action.

Staff Involvement. Because of the nature of this project and since the Program Department recommends that it be a major national project it will of necessity involve the full cooperation of all Departments if it is approved. We should recall that the Freedom Ride at times required the primary attention of 9/10 of the CORE staff. Freedom Highways requires wholehearted participation or none at all.

Timing. As indicated above, Freedom Highways is complex and difficult. It also offers real challenge and opportunity. It is our opinion that we cannot hope to launch Freedom Highways until this summer. We have also been persuaded that participation by students and others who will only be available during the summer months dictates a later starting date than was discussed at the February meeting of the NAC. The proposed approximate schedule might be as follows:

Investigation, testing and negotiations	- already under way
Recruitment	- April
Preliminary field work	- May
Training (2 weeks)	- July (after Convention)
Launching of first demonstrations	- late July or August

Investigation and negotiation. Tests of Howard Johnson were done along the proposed route by individuals from the New York area over the past Christmas holidays. Their report is very adequate and helpful. More testing has been done in Virginia by Alexandria CORE (report not yet received) and current testing is being done in Miami and in other sections of the nation by CORE groups. We have also secured information on the Company's corporate status, list of franchises, etc. Mr. H.B. Johnson, President of Howard Johnson was written to on March 14 requesting a conference. To date we have had no response.

Recruitment. Recruitment of participants can begin almost immediately. Based on our experience with the Freedom Rides we know we must be more selective and careful in recruiting. Recruitment would begin initially with the CORE chapters, then with southern student groups and finally with other groups. Recruitment must be very selective and opportunity for weeding out will be afforded by the training period.

- continued -

Training. It is felt that a two week training period must be provided for. An ideal location would be Miami, Florida where we should be able to use the Sir John Motel (used by two previous Institutes). Miami and vicinity have a large cluster of Howard Johnson Restaurants, most of which are still segregated. This situation would provide a rather easy project for training while in effect beginning the project. Training would include: history and philosophy of CORE and nonviolence; discussions and workshops on tactics; socio-dramas; and actual participation on sit-ins at Howard Johnsons. At the time of recruitment it would be understood that participants would volunteer for a minimum of two months and could be terminated at the discretion of the project leaders.

Advance field work. Advance field work would be of two kinds: that taking place prior to the training session and that following the training project. The first work will probably have to be carried out by the field staff. The latter work can be done by the trained participants and volunteers.

As noted earlier one of the main problems which we see in the implementation of Freedom Highways is that of effective follow-up. The route over which the riders would travel is pitifully underorganized. We have practically no CORE chapters along the way and other effective nonviolent groups are few. The problem is compounded by the fact that many Howard Johnsons are located outside of towns (though often on the outskirts) and are not necessarily in the major cities. Since local activity is essential after the project if there is to be any meaningful follow-through, it is apparent that we must attempt to organize some new CORE units in the cities through which we will pass or at least organize someone to carry on after the project has completed its journey. Since we can count on Howard Johnson to be a tough project it would be irresponsible to launch Freedom Highways without planning an effective program to carry it to completion. The first advance work would be essentially to organize groups to work on the implementation and follow-up. Following the training period and preceeding the "formal launching" the trained participants would be deployed along the route in key cities to prepare action simultaneously with the departure of the main groups of Freedom Highways participants. The importance of the preliminary work cannot be overemphasized.

Implementation. Ten days or so after the end of the training session we would plan for groups of riders in automobiles to depart from Miami en route to Washington. If we had sufficient numbers the participants could divide and half would head North from Miami and the other half South from Washington. At the time this group (these groups) depart we would like to have sit-ins begin in several Howard Johnsons along the route by local people. The effect would be simultaneous action in several states rather than a single dramatic ride.

This stage would not be reached much before the beginning of August. We would allow about two weeks for the groups moving up and down the road to complete the itinerary. We would allow for at least one day for each restaurant at which the protest would occur. Riders would go only to places which we know to discriminate.

The minimum number of cars which could work as a unit would be five. Three would carry participants; the fourth would be for observers and trouble-shooters, and the fifth would be an advance unit. Each car would have a driver and probably four others.

Conclusion. Many problems have yet to be considered. We face the possibility of finding most of the restaurants closed. The schedule will have to more flexible than that used for the Freedom Ride. Can we get enough cars? What about insurance on the cars? How long will participants be committed to stay in jail if arrested? How much full-time staff can be assigned to Freedom Highways? And to what extent can full-time volunteers be utilized? There are many more questions.

We hope the National Action Committee will authorize the staff to begin implementation of this project as outlined above. Criticism and suggestions are most welcome.

NATIONAL CONVENTION SITE

Criteria for selecting a convention site.

Geographical:

There has been strong hope expressed from some quarters that a southern city be chosen. To my knowledge, no other preference has been offered.

It should be a location easily accessible by ordinary transportation.

It should be well-removed from the region of recent conventions.

Host:

CORE ordinarily meets at the home site of some CORE-group. There are exceptions. Last year the convention was originally scheduled for a camp in Wisconsin, a CORE-less state.

In considering a city with no group it would have to be determined if some other local person or group could serve as host. (The "host" would survey the city for food, lodging, meeting-rooms, publicity, entertainment, and government hospitality).

If there is another civil rights group in the city, and it is not disposed to serve as host, there is the distinct possibility that a CORE convention in that city would generate more animosity than love. Such a selection, then, would be strongly questionable.

Physical facilities:

1. An auditorium seating three to five hundred people.
2. At least six conference-rooms in close proximity.
3. Eating facilities nearby.
4. Lodging, preferably nearby so that transportation would not be a problem.

Expense:

Accessibility of the place has a bearing on travel expense.
If a vacation area, it is better that this be the "off" season.

Prior information:

It would be helpful if surveys of local facilities, and expense estimates, were submitted prior to making a choice of location. Since the present suggested dates are Thursday, June 28 through Sunday, July 1, such surveys could only be superficial. This much would help:

1. Would meeting-rooms be free, or rented?
2. Who would be the host?
3. Can eating arrangements be satisfactorily made?
4. How much free lodging (estimate), how much commercial?

CITY	LOCATION	ACCESSI
Nashville, Tenn.	Midsouth	Good
Atlanta, Georgia	Southeast	Excelle
Miami, Florica	Deep South	Good
Kansas City, Missouri	Midwest (with a southern slant)	Good

These cities have been suggested; natu
for further suggestions. I hope the NAC w
members working on the matter the space of
a little more information on each of the
the end of that period we would submit our
to the members, then proceed from that poi
of planning.

Richard

CCESSIBILITY	HOST	FACILITIES
Good	NCLC(?)	perhaps one of the schools?
Excellent	SCLC(?) SRC(?) Other(?)	perhaps one of the schools?
Good	Miami CORE	Hotels and private homes
Good	KC-CORE	Hotels and private homes

ed; naturally there is room
he NAC will allow the staff
space of seven days to seek
of the suggested sites. At
bmit our findings individually
that point into the next phase

Richard Haley

Minutes
NAC Meeting - Congress of Racial Equality
March 23, 1962

Present: Farmer, Rich, Carey, Moore, Lombard, Peck, Carter, Gartner, Hughes. Invited Observers: Larkins, Hill.

Vice Chairman, Rudy Lombard, presided at this meeting, which opened with a report from ~~Director~~ National Director, Jim Farmer, on wires received from Don Wendell and Marvin Robinson accepting field secretary positions with National CORE. Wendell has been added to the staff and is presently working in Louisville, Kentucky while Marvin Robinson will begin on April 1st.

Financial: Treasurer, A. D. Moore, prefaced his report with concern over the organization's precarious financial position and heavy obligations. Total income for ~~the fiscal year~~ since June 1, 1961 was $462,703.29 representing special fund/raising, holiday cards, and contributions from churches, unions, fraternal organizations, chapters. Disbursements totaled $316,858.41. The balance of $145,844.88 is tied up in bail money in Jackson, Mississippi.

A short reevaluation was done on the advantages and disadvantages of the recent re-organization of the National Office. Majority opinion is that ~~the reorganization has been advantageous to the operation of the staff.~~ the reorganization is a definite improvement in the operation of the National Office Staff.

Community Relations: ~~Mailing of~~ 38,220 appeals to the CORE list have brought responses ~~have been received~~ from 4,347 with an average contribution of $9.03. It is still too early to predict responses from the Brotherhood Appeal. Several other ~~fund/raising appeals~~ fund/raising affairs are expected to bring in some additional cash.
The Freedom Ride film is not doing too well financially. Film showings through churches and schools look hopeful. It was suggested that groups who sponsor the film might look into the possibility of combining the showing with another attraction, such as a dinner. This has been done on a few occasions and has proved very successful.

Financial: Treasurer, A. D. Moore, prefaced his report with a statement of concern over the organization's precarious financial position and heavy obligations. Total income for the fiscal year beginning June 1, 1962 was $462,703.29, representing direct mail special fund/raising, holiday cards, contributions from churches, unions, fraternal organizations, CORE Chapters. Disbursements totaled over ~~$316,858.41~~. The bulk of the balance, ~~$145,844.88~~ is tied up in bail, court fines, and court costs in Jackson, Mississippi.

$400,000.00

However, the ~~liability expected~~ bulks of the balance (approximately $62,000.00) ~~expenses~~ is still up in Jackson, Mississippi in bail bonds. However, some of the money will be returned, this will be more than off-set by conviction court costs, and expenses directly related to these cases. In addition, $85,500.00 ~~in salary, loan funds~~ ~~to loan funds~~ has been loaned for jail bail. Losses on these accounts must be made-up above in that entirely by CORE.

While not looking upon the film as a money-making venture, the organization definitely expects ~~to~~ it to pay for itself. Total costs of production and promotion amount to approximately $19,000.00.

Marvin Rich presented the new CORE literature list to the NAC. He reported that a booklet on the Baton Rouge story is planned as well as a photo essay on Voter Registration. Jim Peck's book is going well to the CORE mailing list.

Committee Of Inquiry ~~Into~~ the Administration of Justice in the Freedom Struggle: CORE ~~it~~ is initiating a Committee of Inquiry ~~in~~ to the administration of justice in the freedom struggle. Eleanor Roosevelt has agreed to be honorary chairman of this committee and to invite others to participate. Among those who have agreed are: Judge Justine Polier, Roger Baldwin, James Wechsler, Norman Thomas and Gardner Taylor. This committee will hear testimony on police and judicial harrassment of civil rights leaders throughout the South, and will involve other civil rights organizations as well as CORE.

National Projects: Program Director, Gordon Carey, brought to the Committee a written report on the proposed Freedom Highways project, as requested at the February 23rd meeting. This report was accepted by the NAC and Mr. Carey was asked to proceed on the details of the project.

1962 Conventions: Assistant to the National Director, Richard Haley, submitted a list of possible Convention sites with pertinent information on each city. These are Kansas City, Mo.; Nashville Tenn., Miami, Fla., and Atlanta, Ga. A straw vote of Committee members present placed Kansas City in first place followed by Nashville and Miami. It was suggested that all members of the Action Committee should be polled for their preferences and Mr. Haley was asked to follow through with a letter to [illegible]. Suggested dates for the Convention are June 21-24 or June 28 -July 1. Mr. Haley letter to [illegible] absent members would also ask their date preference.

CORE's 1962 Institutes - Action, Housing and Employment, were briefly discussed. The Program Department is working out details, including dates and sites.

Committee to Aid Monroe Defendants: Mr. Farmer read a letter from this Committee requesting CORE support for the [illegible] Monroe defendants. [illegible] Specifically, the request was for financial aid and a letter of support for use in fund-raising. The NAC authorized Mr. Farmer to reply to this letter stating that because of the organization's financial difficulties it would be unable to comply with the requests, but also stating CORE's concern with this situation and pointing out that the organization intends to do all that it possibly can to see that the defendants are not left without their constitutional rights of equal & justice under the law, nor does it intend to see John Lowry or any of the other defendants serve sentences without exhausting appeals machinery and every other [illegible] avenue of relief. CORE will try to contact other appropriate organi-

zations for discussions on the Monroe situation in the event appeals become necessary.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

American Committee On Africa Request: ACOA's Africa Freedom Day Rally will be held April 15th. Jim Farmer ~~xxxxx~~ reported a request from the Executive Director of this organization that CORE help in publicizing the rally among its chapters in the metropolitan area, and that ACOA be allowed to ~~xxxx

Affiliation of Syracuse CORE: Rudy Lombard asked Alan Gartner to chair this part of the meeting while he spoke for affiliation of the Syracuse group. He reported on activities of the group in housing, particularly in re-location resulting from the urban renewal program, and its work against discrimination in housing for students. Jim Farmer reported that he had recently visited Syracuse and was favorably impressed with the group. The NAC looked favorably upon the application for affiliation from this group and will act upon it at a future meeting when the Director of R Organization is present.

Voter Registration: The Taconic Foundation is making certain funds available for work in voter registration. Participating organizations are CORE, the NAACP, SCLC, SNCC and the Urban League. CORE's original request was for $64,000.00 to be used for its work in this area. However, since that initial proposals were submitted, the grant has been set at $125,000.00 per year for two years, total funds to be spent by all participating organizations. In view of this, CORE will present a modified request before the deadline of March 30th.

Marvin Rich brought to the attention of the NAC the fact that postal rates will in all probability be raised very shortly and that this raise will cost CORE from $12,000.00 to $15,000.00 per year over present mailing cost unless the organization is able to obtain a nonprofit status.

Visitors to this meeting of the NAC were Baton Rouge CORE Vice Chairman, Weldon Rougeau, recently released from jail in that city, and CORE Field Secretary, Jerome Smith.

March 28, 1962

Mr. Henry Hodge
1818 S. Sycamore
Los Angeles 19, California

Dear Mr. Hodge:

Two dates have been suggested for this year's national convention: June 21-24 and June 28-July 1. There was some feeling among staff that the latter date imping as too closely on the NAACP national convention, already set at July 2-8. However, we'd like to get more thinking on this, and a definitive vote (It is my understand- that the NAC vote on convention site was a "straw vote.")

Concerning the site, one other location has been suggested: Jackson, Mississippi. While this may sound far-fetched at first, it has points in its favor.

1. For those who prefer a southern location, it's unquestionably southern.
2. Interracial accommodations are in order at Tougaloo College, provided the space is available.
3. There is possibly greater publicity value in placing the convention here than at any other place in America ex except Birmingham or Montgomery.

The comments on Jackson are included because the other cities were discussed at the last NAC meeting. Whatever the city chosen, planners will move with as much care and thoroughness as possible. We are planning for a smooth, well-ordered meeting with the aim of maximum accomplishment through discussion and conference. We are not planning for melodrama, violence or arrests. Please cast your vote with this in mind.

Kindly return the vote-sheets immediately. To avoid delay in plans, we have set April 6 as the deadline for receiving the votes.

Sincerely,

Richard Haley

RH/med
Enc.

Spring, 1962

CONFIDENTIAL
****

MEMO TO: CORE National Officers and National Action Committee

FROM: Carey, Dennis, Gaither, Haley, Hamilton, Hill, Hughes, McCain, Robinson, Smith, Teer, Thomas, Tournour

RE: POLICY STRUCTURE OF NATIONAL CORE

The above named staff members at the staff meeting following the 1962 National Council meeting in Cincinnati came up with several suggestions which we decided to transmit to the officers and the NAC. These suggestions result primarily from the current discussions about possible structural changes and from our concern that CORE be the most viable, efficient and democratic organization possible.

Specifically, we had reservations about some of the suggestions which were presented to the Council from the "Committee on CORE Structure." We feel that the structure of CORE is extremely important and our suggestions are offered in a constructive manner with the hope that they will be given serious consideration. In most cases we were unanimous and where we were not it will be indicated.

First, we felt that the Committee's report to the Council did not clearly differentiate between policy structure and program structure. For example, the Convention is clearly primarily a policy making body while a conference/workshop serves primarily a program function. We suggest that the policy making structure should be constitutional and considered independently from program structure which should be more flexible and not spelled out in the constitution. Consequently, the part of the Officers' Committee Report which stated, "The Council will continue to be a national meeting ... and serve in a conference/workshop function on a national basis" would not properly fit in a discussion of CORE policy structure, but should be handled separately.

The staff suggests that CORE should have three (3) major policy bodies:

A. The National Convention
B. An Executive Council
C. The National Action Committee

The Convention remains the major policy body and the NAC the lowest.

The staff recommends that the structure of the above bodies be constituted in the following fashion:

A. Convention
   No change from the present structure is suggested.

B. Executive Council
   1. The Council should meet 2 or 3 times a year
   2. Membership should consist of:
      a) National Officers (Chairman, Vice-Chairman [two] Secretary, Treasurer, CORElator Editor)
      b) Two regional members elected from each of

five (5) regions at the Convention.

C. National Action Committee
1. Meet monthly or at least 10 times a year in New York
2. Membership should consist of:
   a) National Officers (those who can attend)
   b) The two regional Council members from Eastern region.
   c) Three active CORE members elected from CORE groups, not represented on the regional Council within the Eastern Region, by the Council.
   d) CORE National Director
   e) Three other persons elected by the Council
   f) Department heads and Assistant to the National Director would attend but not vote.

Some explanation is necessary in order to make clear the reason for the above suggestions.

In effect the Executive Council as suggested here is the same as the "body of nationally elected officers...and 5 regionally representative vice-chairmen..." mentioned in the Committee's report to the Council. However, we strongly disagreed with the suggestion of having regional vice-chairmen. To have regional vice-chairmen would simply aggravate the problem we have now with Regional Officers -- there has rather consistently been a conflict of authority between staff and Regional Officers. Furthermore, having <u>two</u> regionally elected Council members from each region would give better representation and still keep the Council down to a workable size (16 people). The staff agreed that the Regional Council members be elected by delegates from the Region and not by the Convention as a whole. It is implied that the expenses to the Executive Council would be borne by national CORE and that it would meet in various parts of the nation.

The staff felt the NAC should be retained, but that staff votes should be removed and that it should be made more representative of the CORE chapters. For obvious reasons of economy and efficiency it would continue to meet in New York and would draw its members from areas which could conveniently attend frequent meetings. It was further felt that the functions of the NAC should be more clearly defined, but that such a body was definitely needed.

By structuring the NAC as we have suggested, it would have a working size of about 12 persons assuming that generally only half of the six national officers would attend. By requiring the 5 members from local active CORE groups (two Executive Council members and 3 elected <u>by</u> the Executive Council) to be from different chapters we would assure participation from five separate chapters from within the Eastern Region. The three "others" on the NAC would permit it to draw upon talent and guidance from persons not necessarily active in local chapters.

There was some dissent about inclusion of the National Director as a voting member of the NAC. The majority (10 persons) felt it important to have a close tie between staff and the NAC and that one staff vote would help keep the NAC from an overbalance on behalf of the groups represented from the Eastern Region. They felt that it should be kept in mind that staff votes on no other policy body and that the NAC is the lowest policy group.

The minority (3 persons) felt that staff should not vote at any level of policy structure and that a staff vote presented a possible problem of conflict of interest between policy formulation and implementation.

In addition to the above recommendations the staff present at the meeting felt that regionalization was inevitable, and that it should be incorporated into the constitution. One suggestion is that the number of regions and their functions be constitutional, but that actually drawing the lines be left to the Executive Council or be done by the Convention as a by-law.

The staff does not disagree with the idea that CORE continue to have a meeting similar to the present national council but on a conference/ workshop basis. However, we did feel that such items of program should be set up in by-laws or by some means other than the constitution. Major program items such as Institutes and conferences and workshops must be left flexible.

July 26, 1962

Dear Chapter Member:

The Action Institute in Houston represents a most important phase of CORE's work. Our workshops have given us some of our most valuable workers and significant actions. If we hope to continue on an increasingly effective level, CORE chapters themselves should be strongly represented in CORE's training program.

I think of this representation in two ways; physically, by a personal representative from your chapter and financially, by as substantial a contribution to the Institute as you are able to make. As you know, the cost of the Houston Institute to each participant is $150. Your contribution would be a double one if you would underwrite a scholarship for an active participant from your group.

Because CORE's financial position is still touch-and-go your financial assistance is not simply welcome, but necessary. What an irony if all of our available money goes to pay rent, telephone bills and taxes and we lose the Institute---our reason for being---because of insufficient funds.

This letter does not begin to express the passion and depth of conviction I feel about the importance of this workshop; about all of CORE's workshops.

The time is short. Please let us hear from you immediately.

Richard Haley
Director of the
Houston Action Institute

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

November 6, 1962

Dear NAC Members:

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May I ask that you check the appropriate blank at the bottom of this letter and return the letter to us immediately.

1. I will ☐ I will not ☐ be able to attend the NAC meeting in New Orleans December 22-23.

2. The flight arrangements you have made for me are ☐ are not ☐ acceptable.

3. Comments:

Cordially yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF/med

P. S. In the memo which you have received you will note that the NAC members from New York had been scheduled to arrive back home on the morning of December 25. We are now endeavoring to change their reservations to get them back on the 24th.

NOV 16 1962

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

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2. The flight arrangements you have made for me are partly [ ] are not [ ] acceptable.

3. Comments: I will be going to Florida from New Orleans and will not want the return reservation. The travel agency who made my reservations to Florida and back to Detroit have already cancelled the return reservation made by CORE. It will probably be simpler to let me buy the whole ticket here and get reimbursed later for one way Detroit-New Orleans. I will stay with my sister in New Orleans and will not need a hotel reservation or room assignment.

Anna Holden

Cordially yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF/med

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Charge Reservation

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY CORE

NOV 2 6 1962

Lexington Chapter

P. O. Box 498
Lexington, Kentucky

A national organization with affiliated local groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

Nov - 20th, 62
405 Robertson St.
Lex, Ky

Jim,

If it is possible that I can get back to Lex, by 7:30 AM Dec-24th than I will be in ox the 21st to the Council Meeting- As I can not get off from work on the 24th -

I have spent all this time asking to have my time changed but I guess it or I know now for a fact I can't get it done- Trusting the flight back can be changed -

With Much Respect

Julia -

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

November 6, 1962

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2. The flight arrangements you have made for me are ☐ are not ☐ acceptable.

3. Comments:

Cordially yours,

Mark Dodson

James Farmer
National Director

JF/med

P. S. In the memo which you have received you will note that the NAC members from New York had been scheduled to arrive back home on the morning of December 25. We are now endeavoring to change their reservations to get them back on the 24th.

May I ask that you check the appropriate blank at the bottom of this letter and return the letter to us immediately.

1. I will ☒ ~~I will not~~ ☐ be able to attend the NAC meeting in New Orleans December 22-23.

2. The flight arrangements you have made for me are ☒ ~~are not~~ ☐ acceptable.

3. Comments: I hope that the arrangements referred to below in the P.S. can be made. Also I would like to know of any arrangements to get to Newark by 5 P.M. Fri. Dec. 21st. IT would seem that we could all meet at the office to go in ~~cars~~ cars or public Transportation.

Cordially yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF/med

Mark Dodson

P. S. In the memo which you have received you will note that the NAC members from New York had been scheduled to arrive back home on the morning of December 25. We are now endeavoring to change their reservations to get them back on the 24th.

NOV 14 1962

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

November 6, 1962

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1. I will [X] I will not [ ] be able to attend the NAC meeting in New Orleans December 22-23.

2. The flight arrangements you have made for me are [X] are not [ ] acceptable.

3. Comments: Signed: E. L. Walton Los Angeles

Cordially yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF/med

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Carl Rachlin

CR NOV 1 2 1962

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

November 6, 1962

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James Farmer
National Director

JF/med

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Levarne McCummings

NOV 9 1962

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

November 6, 1962

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1. I will [X] I will not [ ] be able to attend the NAC meeting in New Orleans December 22-23.

2. The flight arrangements you have made for me are [X] are not [ ] acceptable.

3. Comments:

Will see you in Dec.

Levarne

Cordially yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF/med

P. S. In the memo which you have received you will note that the NAC members from New York had been scheduled to arrive back home on the morning of December 25. We are now endeavoring to change their reservations to get them back on the 24th.

Val Coleman

NOV 9 1962

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

November 6, 1962

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1. I will [V] I will not [ ] be able to attend the NAC meeting in New Orleans December 22-23.

2. The flight arrangements you have made for me are [V] are not [ ] acceptable.

3. Comments: Reservations are excellent for me. Val Coleman

Cordially yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF/mad

P. S. In the memo which you have received you will note that the NAC members from New York had been scheduled to arrive back home on the morning of December 25. We are now endeavoring to change their reservations to get them back on the 24th.

CLORA

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

November 6, 1962

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3. Comments:

JIM PECK

Cordially yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF/med

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3. Comments: Ralph Rosenfeld Detroit.

NOV 16 1962

Cordially yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF/mad

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November 13, 1962

MEMO TO: Clora Coleman
FROM: Marvin Rich

While you were in negotiations we received two requests for changes in travel arrangements. Ed Singler would like to receive a check for the cheapest air tourist fare round trip from Seattle to New Orleans. He will then make his own travel arrangements. He would like to receive a check quickly since there is a deadline for picking up the ticket from Seattle.

333.38
mailed
11.14.62

Alan Gartner says that he will be driving the New York to Boston and the Boston to New York ~~lake~~ of his travel. Therefore, cancel this and simply put him on the same travel schedule as the other people from New York.

21

OK

Check sent
11-13-62

NOV 16 1962

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

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1. I will [X] I will not [ ] be able to attend the NAC meeting in New Orleans December 22-23.

2. The flight arrangements you have made for me are [ ] are not [X] acceptable. I will arrive New Orleans 12/21/62 - 6:05 P.M. Nat'l airlines
Leave New Orleans 11:15 P.M. on 12/23/62 FL 34

3. Comments: Called M. Rich on 10/9/62 - I had to make other reservations because of job and other previous Holiday plans. Please just send Atlanta fare and I will take care of flight arrangements this was the agreement made with Marvin Rich by phone. Ed Single

Cordially yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF/med

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

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2. The flight arrangements you have made for me are [X] are not [ ] acceptable.

3. Comments:

Cordially yours,

Ed Lewinson

James Farmer
National Director

JF/med

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MEMORANDUM

December 7, 1962

To: Clora Coleman

From: James Farmer

Bill Davis of Ambassador Travel called regarding the note he received from you regarding: Ralph Rosenfeld's reservation and Anna Holden's reservation. He is cancelling the return reservation for Rosenfeld as you requested and leaving it open. He informs me that Anna Holden has, on her own, cancelled the return reservation which we had made for her and in its place made a return reservation as follows:

December 24th, New Orleans to Jacksonville, Florida
National Airlines, flight number 878 tourist.

January 2nd, Jacksonville to Detroit
Eastern Airlines Flight 702 tourist.

He wants to know whether he should ticket her for that and include it in our bill or whether she has made other arrangements. Unless you have heard from Anna on this, you probably will want to contact her to find out what is what.

I told Mr. Davis you would call him on Monday, December 10th.

JF/jg

DX 75A NEW ST

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

1962 DEC 11 PM 7 23

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

1962 DEC 11 PM 7 17

CDW408 OB503
O SJB197 PD SAN JOSE CALIF 11 311P PST
JAMES FARMER CORE
38 PARK RD NYK
RESERVATIONS OKAY I WILL ATTEND CONVENTION
WESTER SWEET.

December 12, 1962

The earliest arrival in New Orleans will be 1:30 p.m. on December 21, the next at 6:14 p.m., one at 7:10 p.m. and then a large group will be arriving at 8:15 p.m. There will be a few later arrivals.

Thank you for your courtesy, and our members look forward to being with you next weekend.

Mrs. Lafayette L. Caddis
Museum Receptionist
3923 Napoleon
New Orleans 25, Louisiana

Dear Mrs. Caddis:

Thank you for letters confirming reservations for our National Action Council members who will meet in New Orleans December 21 through 23. Most of the attendants will be arriving the evening of December 21 and will be leaving New Orleans either the night of the 23rd or the morning of December 24. Please make reservations for the following people:

1 Miss Anne Holden, Ann Arbor, Michigan
2 Miss Julia Lewis, Louisville, Kentucky
3 Mr. James McCain, New York City
4 Mr. James Farmer, New York City
5 Mr. Marvin Rich, New York City
6 Mr. Gordon Carey, New York City
7 Mr. Mark Dodson, New York City
8 Mr. Earl Walter, Los Angeles, Calif.
9 Mr. Carl Rachlin, New York City
10 Mr. Val Coleman, New York City
11 Mr. Ralph Rosenfeld, Detroit, Michigan
12 Mr. Charles Oldham, St. Louis, Missouri
13 Mr. Edward Singler, Seattle, Washington
14 Mr. Ed Lewinson, New York City
15 Mr. Alan Gartner, Cambridge, Mass.
16 Mr. A. D. Moore, Miami, Florida
17 Mr. Hester Sweet, San Jose, Calif.
18 Mr. Bob Carvin, Newark, New Jersey
19 Doris Hollis, St. Louis

There is a possibility that we will need reservations for three or four additional people, and if so, we shall advise you just as quickly as possible.

This will confirm your letter of November 24 that two persons will occupy each room at $10.00 per room per day.

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Thank you for your courtesy, and our members look forward to being with you next weekend.

Sincerely yours,

Clora Colenan
Administrative Assistant

CC/dmb

December 13, 1962

Mr. Julius Hobson
4801 Queens Chapel Terrace
Washington 17, D. C.

Dear Mr.Hobson:

Flight reservations to New Orleans for the National Action Council Meeting, December 22-23, have been made for you as follows:

Leave Washington, Dec. 21st, 9:45 AM, Delta Flight No. 725; Arrive New Orleans 1:30 PM.

Leave New Orleans Dec.24th, 2:50 PM.; Arrive Washington 8:20 PM. Delaaa 724

We are enclosing a brochure and card from Mason's Motel, where all Council members will live while in New Orleans.

Please let us know immediately if you are unable to attend, so that the flight may be cancelled.

Clora Coleman

cc/

December 18, 1962

Dear Alan,

enclosed is your ticket to New Orleans. You will note that the flight is at 6 PM from Idlewild. You are wait-listed on a 9 PM flight, but as yet it hasn't cleared.

DEC 3 - 1962

November 30, 1962

Miss Janice McCain
Congress Of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Miss McCain:

Mr. Lolis Elie called me this morning to ask me to confirm reservations for your group for December 21 - 23, 1962. I had written you earlier, therefore, I am sending you a copy of the letter and the material mentioned in it.

With the fullest measure of Southern hospitality from New Orleans' newest luxury-motel, we promise to make your visit to our city and Mason's Motel a most delightful experience.

Very cordially yours,

Hattie M. Gaddis

Mrs. LaFayette L. Gaddis
Reservations Clerk

Enclosures:4

CC: Mr. Lolis E. Elie
2211 Dryades Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

0 A:I:66

WILLIAMS-McWILLIAMS INDUSTRIES, INC. SHEET NO.

November 24, 1962

Congress Of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Attention: Miss Janice McCain

Gentlemen:

As per your conversation with Mr. Lolis E. Elie, we have reserved for your group 10 rooms for December 21 - 23, 1962. It is our understanding that two persons will occupy each room @ $10.00 per room per day. It is further understood that some of the group will probably like to stay over until December 24, if so, we will be happy to accomodate them also.

For your convenience we are enclosing a stamped envelope, our rate schedule, and some information about Mason's Motel.

Please let us know at your earliest convenience at what hour you expect to arrive and depart so that we may complete our records.

We are looking forward to welcoming you to Mason's Motel and our city and assure you that every courtesy will be extended to make your stay a most enjoyable experience.

Very cordially yours,

Mrs. LaFayette L. Gaddis
Reservations Clerk

Enclosures: 3

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

James Farmer
national director
Richard Haley
assistant to the director

December 13, 1962

Mrs. Lafayette L. Gaddis
Mason's Motel
3923 Melpomene
New Orleans 25, Louisiana

Dear Mrs. Gaddis:

Please make additional reservations for December 21st - 23rd for:

Miss Doris Hollis
St. Louis, Missouri

Mr. Julius Hobson
Washington, D. C.

These persons will be checking out the late morning of December 24th.

Sincerely yours,

Clora Coleman

cc/

December 13, 1962

TO: National Action Council

From: James Farmer

re; Council Meeting, New Orleans, December 22-23, 1962

Living accommodations for all members attending the Council Meeting have been made at:

Mason's Motel
3923 Melpomene Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana

We expect to have transportation from the airport to the Motel for Council members. However, if you have any transportation difficulties, please phone 822-3710 and ask to speak to James McCain.

DOMESTIC SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram

TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	X

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S
E

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

1211 (4-55)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate

FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE-SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			COKE	12/19/62

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Mr. Charles Oldham (Doris Hobbs)
722 Chestnut Street
St. Louis, Missouri.
Delta 006-908-049-979

A. P. Moore
c/o Central Life Ins. Co.
176 N. W. 14½ St.
Miami, Fla.
010-991-270-951 national

Rudy Lombard
618½ Irving Ave.
Syracuse 10, N. Y.
Mokrumb 34490 023-735

Hester Street
395 North 14th St.
San Jose, Calif
Delta 006-900-049-983

Julia Lewis
405 Robertson St.
Lexington, Ky.
Delta 006-900-049-981

Earl Walter
4232 Halldale Ave.
Los Angeles 62, Calif
Delta 006-900-049-980

Anna Holden (Ralph Rosenfeld)
502 E. Kingsley - Apt. 4
Ann Arbor, Michigan
Delta 006-900-049-982

P

DOMESTIC SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram

TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	X

$ S E

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

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			COKE	12/19/62

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Western Union - WO 2-7111

Message:

Request New Orleans airline ticket

~~Local~~ by Prepaid Number _____

Signed -

James Farmer

COUNCIL

RESERVATIONS FOR NATIONAL ACTION ~~COUNCIL~~ MEETING -- NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA
DECEMBER 22-23, 1962

Persons traveling from New York have a return flight scheduled the night of December 24 which arrives in New York the morning of December 25. We hope this will not be too inconviencing since the cost difference between a night and day flight is $15.00 per person. In all cases, we have gotten the best available flight both going and returning.

Reservations for:

Robert Curvin — B78-4062 ✓
Carl Rachlin — 702-5105 ✓
Val Coleman — C55-6055 ✓
Mark Dodson — Cy6-9871 ✓
Ed Lewinson — MO3-8392
Jim Farmer — Lv. 9:30 AM Ar 2:50 Ea. 332 ~~Dec 24~~ OK
Marvin Rich — Lv. [illegible] Newark Ea. 322 OK
Gordon Carey —
Jim McCain** Lv. 8:15 PM United 749 Ar. 11:20 AM
~~Jim Peck~~ Cancelled

Marvin Rich - Lv. N'orleans Dec 24 - 8:50 AM - Delta 876 Ar. Phila. 12:50 PM

are as follows:

Leave---Newark, New Jersey, 5:00 p.m. December 21, United Airlines Flight No. 741
Arrive--New Orleans 8:15 p.m.
Leave---New Orleans December ~~24~~ United Flight No. ~~[illegible]~~ Eq. 332
~~[illegible]~~ 9:30 AM
Arrive--~~New York 4:00 a.m.~~ Newark - 2:50 PM

**McCain

Leave---New Orleans December 24 9:30 a.m. Eastern Airlines Flight No. 332
Arrive--Atlanta 11:40 a.m.
Leave---Atlanta 1:10 p.m., Delta Flight No. 467
Arrive--Columbia, S. C. ~~2:10 p.m.~~ 2:13 PM

Other council members reservations are:

~~Alan Gartner~~

~~Leave---Boston December 21 3:50 p.m. Eastern Flight No. 805~~
~~Arrive--Idlewild 4:40 p.m.~~ Cancelled
Wait listed Eq. 543-98 M-Idle Arr. N. Orleans ?
Leave---Idlewild 6:00 p.m. Eastern Flight No. 505
Arrive--New Orleans 8:15 p.m.
Leave---New Orleans 3:05 p.m. December 24, Eastern Flight No. 310
Arrive--Idlewild 7:48 p.m.
~~Leave---Idlewild 8:45 p.m. Eastern Flight No. 302~~
~~Arrive--Boston 9:40 p.m.~~ Cancelled

A. D. Moore
Gloria Gilliam

Leave---Miami December 21 4:30 p.m. National Airlines Flight No. 251
Arrive--New Orleans 7:10 p.m.
Leave---New Orleans December 24 3:50 p.m. National Airlines Flight No. 254
Arrive--Miami 8:20 p.m.

Wester Sweet

Leave---San Jose, Calif., December 21 12:34 Pacific Airlines Flight No. 417
Arrive--Los Angeles 2:47 p.m.
Leave---Los Angeles 6:20 p.m. Delta Flight No. 958

Wester Sweet
Delta 006900049 → 983
Arrive--New Orleans 11:24 p.m.
Leave---New Orleans December 24 12:55 p.m. Delta Flight No. 959
Arrive--Los Angeles 2:32 p.m.
Leave---Los Angeles 3:30 p.m. Pacific Airlines No. 452
Arrive--San Jose 5:30 p.m.

Earl Walker
Delta 006900049 - 980
Leave---LosAngeles December 21 6:20 p.m. Delta Flight No. 958
Arrive--New Orleans 11:24 p.m.
Leave---New Orleans December 24, Delta Flight No. 959 12:55p.m.
Arrive--Los Angeles 2:32 p.m.

Charles Oldham
Doris Hollis
Delta 006900049 - 979
Leave---St. Louis December 21 5:12 p.m. Delta Flight No. 783
Arrive--New Orleans 9:11 p.m.
Leave---New Orleans December 24 2:30 p.m. Delta Flight No. 725
Arrive--St. Louis 5:36 p.m.

Anna Holden
Ralph Rosenfeld
Delta 006900049 - 982
Leave---Detroit (Metropolitan Airport) December 21 4:30 p.m. Delta Flight No. 741
Arrive--Atlanta 7:30 p.m.
Leave---Atlanta 8:10 p.m. Delta Flight No. 923
Arrive--New Orleans8:15 p.m.
Leave---New Orleans December 24 3:10 p.m. Delta Flight No. 680
Arrive--Detroit 10:02 p.m.

Julius Hobson
Cancelled 12/18 (ll)
Leave---Washington, D. C. December 21 9:45 a.m. Delta Flight No. 725
Arrive--New Orleans 1:30 p.m.
Leave---New Orleans December 24 2:50 p.m. Delta Flight No. 724
Arrive--Washington, D. C. 8:20 p.m.

LeVerne McCummings
Delta 006900049 977
Cancelled
Leave---Philadelphia, December 21 4:00 p.m. Delta Flight No. 875
Arrive--New Orleans 6:14 p.m.
Leave---New Orleans December 24 4:50 p.m. Delta Flight No. 874
Arrive--Philadelphia 8:43 p.m.

Rudy Lombard
Mohawk 034490-023735
return
open
Leave---Syracuse December 21 2:00 p.m. Mohawk Flight No. 454
Arrive--Newark, N. J. 3:05 p.m.
Leave---Newark, N. J. 5:00 p.m. United Flight No. 741
Arrive--New Orleans 8:15 p.m.
~~Leave---New Orleans December 24 3:33 p.m. Delta Flight No. 872~~
~~Arrive--Idlewild 9:25 p.m.~~
~~Leave---Idlewild 10:15 p.m. Mohawk Flight No. 459~~
~~Arrive--Syracuse 11:33 p.m.~~

Julia Lewis
Delta 006900-049-981
Leave---Lexington, Ky., December 21 3:17 p.m. Delta Flight No. 433
Arrive--Atlanta 5:13 p.m.
Leave---Atlanta 8:10 p.m. Delta Flight No. 923
Arrive--New Orleans 8:15 p.m.
Leave---New Orleans December 24 12:30 p.m. United Flight No. 740
Arrive--Atlanta 2:40 p.m.

Julia Lewis

Leave---Atlanta 5:30 p.m. Delta Flight No. 418
Arrive--Lexington, Ky., 7:30 p.m.

Edward Singler

Leave---Seattle December 20 11:00 p.m. United Flight No. 836
Arrive--Chicago 5:45 a.m. December 21
Leave---Chicago 8:00 a.m. Eastern Flight No. 115
Arrive--New Orleans 11:27 a.m.
Leave---New Orleans December 24 12:30 p.m. Braniff Flight No. 254
Arrive--Minneapolis 8:13 p.m.
Leave---Minneapolis 9:10 p.m. Northwest Flight No. 85
Arrive--Seattle 11:11 p.m.

Reservation made from Seattle

12/10/62

Alan Gartner
would prefer
leaving on a 707
flight to New Orleans.
Please try to arrange. EG
543
MED. Arr. 11:05

Lv. New Orleans Dec. 24th

Eve.

332.

9:30 A.M. — Arr. 2:50 PM Newark

L. Corey

B. Curtin

V. Coleman

M. Dixon

C. Rankin

Please cancel reservations for Evie + Gordie Rich to New Orleans and back, and try to make reservations for Marvin to return to Philadelphia

October, 1963

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500 Elwood Drive
Highpoint, N. C.

Mr. Walter Jones
E-18 Washington Terrace
Raleigh, North Carolina

Cleveland CORE
P.O. Box 1235
Cleveland, Ohio

John Cloud
1085 E. 98th St.
Cleveland, Ohio

Robert L. Bolton
2801 Tierwester
Houston, Texas

Memo from

CYNTHIA K. HOMIRE

Taft Hight
240 East 172nd
Bronx 57, N.Y.

February 20, 1963

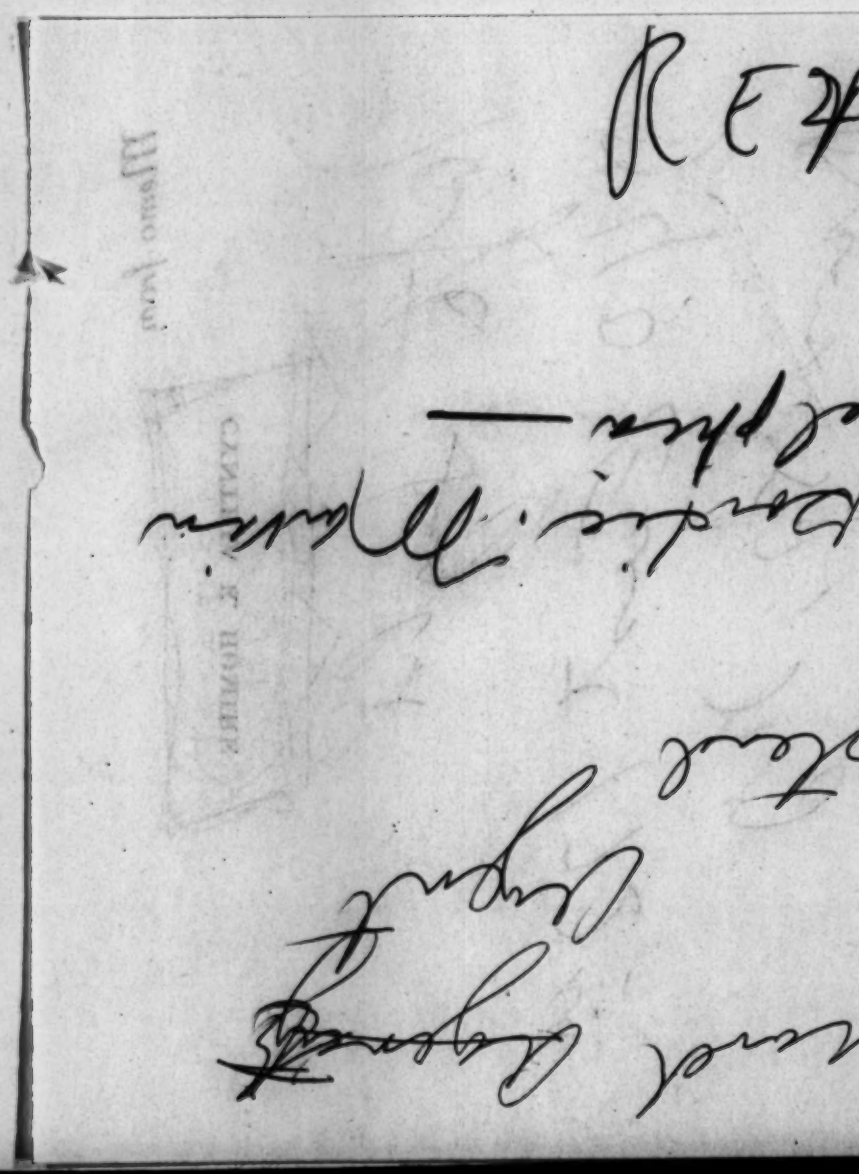
Dear Henry,

Yilgoft

New Orleans
to Philadel
on 24th

Cancel Evie + Ro
return to Philadel

Mr. Brown



CORE - Congress of Racial Equality - Income Analysis

	4101-2-3 Assoc.Mem.	4110 CORE List	4200 Chapters	4400 Lit.Books	4500 H.C.	R
June, '63	4,606.36	67,108.79	3,372.49	168.23		
July, '63	1,639.00	32,153.13	195.00	364.16	2.25	
Aug., '63	2,189.35	15,653.07	190.44	304.50	21.85	
Sept.,'63	549.50	52,307.76	243.56	470.20	5.00	
Oct., '63	876.00	79,722.32	532.02	589.19	21,285.60	2
Nov., '63	442.75	51,941.32	1,722.67	915.30	26,084.15	1
Dec., '63	199.00	32,860.57	498.27	552.75	12,071.02	
Jan., '64	189.50	21,879.07	39.20	3,376.68	595.03	
Feb., '64	385.00	7,875.72	1,136.15	2,078.22	130.3%	
March,'64	206.50	41,057.52	544.70	1,727.70	6.75	
April,'64	135.50	24,918.46	826.74	1,751.68	9.95	
May, '64	1,448.00	17,259.88	1,604.45	2,136.82	14.00	
Undetermined						
	12,866.46	444,737.61	10,807.29	14,435.43	60,225.95	4

2/64

	Records	Honorarium	Stock-Wills	4700 Spec.Fund	4800 Organ.	Grants UCRLC
		412.62		11,166.00	3,469.75	
.25		965.00		3,754.85	13,032.60	
85		775.49	1,033.38	2,306.45	8,421.47	2,500.00
00	3,546.50	2,133.54		1,679.91	1,497.95	
60	22,266.15	1,544.67	5,000.00	9,011.42	2,266.46	
15	14,255.79	2,850.09		2,484.00	4,250.29	
02	8,244.40	5,269.50	504.25	11,794.68	3,467.68	12,000.00
03		2,024.92	2,218.16	9,174.30	5,435.82	12,000.00
3%		1,694.72		2,271.58	2,417.00	3,000.00
75		1,254.37		5,978.73	3,828.12	
95		719.00		6,219.70	14,526.61	
00		2,966.27	490.00	34,223.36	15,827.20	
—						
95	48,312.84	22,610.19	9,245.79	100,164.98	78,440.95	29,500.00

Income Analysis (Cont'd)

	Grants VEP	5200-5500	Reg. Office	Misc.	Totals
June, '63	1,276.92	550.00			92,131.16
July, '63	2,586.49	1,866.40		2,766,79	59,322.67
Aug., '63	1,145.00 1;369.26	35.00			35,925.26
Sept.,'63	2,103.51	177.00			64,714.43
Oct., '63	1,369.26	1,675.75	503.90	625.00	147,267.74
Nov., '63	1,860.30			60.00	106,866.66
Dec., '63	5,376.40	728.65	76.00		93,643.17
Jan., '64	2,016.51	428.85			59,299.64
Feb., '64	3,916.43	176.00	531.99	168.57	25,781.73
March,'64	1,606.16	2,721.40	149.00	1.50	59,082.45
April,'64	3,792.62	137.97			53,138.23
May, '64	10.41 2,334.84	2,316.06	314.50		80,945.79
Undetermined	2,566.47	5,038.47			7,604.94
	33,327.58	15,851.55	1,575.39	3,621.86	885,723.87

Income Analysis (Cont'd)

	Grants VEP	5200-5500	Reg. Office	Misc.	Totals
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Undetermined	2,566.47	5,038.47			7,604.94
	33,327.58	15,851.55	1,575.39	3,621.86	885,723.87

Can't you see N.Y. Core

Income Statement (Condensed)					
Income	Mar.	Sept.	Dec.		
Net Sales	$ 1,528,000	$ 1,600,000	$ 1,750,000	$ 1,900,000	$ 7,778,000
Cost of Goods Sold	1,100,000	1,150,000	1,250,000	1,350,000	4,850,000
Gross Profit	428,000	450,000	500,000	550,000	2,928,000
Selling Expenses	150,000	160,000	170,000	180,000	660,000
Administrative Expenses	100,000	105,000	110,000	115,000	430,000
Total Operating Expenses	250,000	265,000	280,000	295,000	1,090,000
Operating Income	178,000	185,000	220,000	255,000	838,000
Interest Expense	20,000	20,000	20,000	20,000	80,000
Income Before Taxes	158,000	165,000	200,000	235,000	758,000
Income Taxes (30%)	47,400	49,500	60,000	70,500	227,400
Net Income	$ 110,600	$ 115,500	$ 140,000	$ 164,500	$ 530,600
Earnings Per Share	$ 1.11	$ 1.16	$ 1.40	$ 1.65	$ 5.31
Dividends Per Share	$ 0.50	$ 0.50	$ 0.50	$ 0.50	$ 2.00
Retained Earnings	$ 60,600	$ 65,500	$ 90,000	$ 114,500	$ 330,600

MEMORANDUM

TO: National Action Council February 21, 1964

FROM: Gordon R. Carey, Assistant to the National Director

Re: By-Laws

At a recent meeting of the Steering Committee I was authorized to search through all records of official CORE policy meetings and extract the by-laws which have been passed but never catalogued. Most of the by-laws which are to follow were not passed in the form of by-laws, but were passed as policy of the organization. They have been extracted from Convention, Council, Executive Committee and/or National Action Committee or Steering Committees dating back to 1945. Some minutes have unfortunately been lost, but our records are fairly complete.

I have done some editing but in no case have changed the meaning or intent. Editing has simply been to correct the grammar or for example to insert "Steering Committee" in place of "National Action Committee."

The by-laws as extracted are:

I Regional Organization. Regional Organization may be established within the organizational framework of the National CORE organization. Chapters in any region desiring to form a regional organization will inform the National Office of their plans with details of the planned organization. If a regional group of chapters applies to the National Office for such regional organization, and the National Action Council does not give its approval, then further action by the regional group will be postponed until the next Convention. (Convention 1950)

II Local Chapter Policy.

1. All chapters must submit to national CORE for approval the names by which they will be identified. (Action Committee 1961)

2. An individual who lives in one area and works in another may affiliate with either CORE chapter he desires, rather than being confined to the chapter of his residential area. (Action Committee, October 12, 1961)

3. Every affiliated chapter must report annually at least three months prior to Convention, a list of all chapter members, officers, committees and must include an outline of chapter policy and practice for granting active membership. Such a report will include the most recent revision of the chapter constitution and by-laws. (National Action Council Feb 1964)

4. No local chapter is to engage in joint activity with other organizations unless that joint activity has been discussed and approved at a duly constituted meeting of the local CORE chapter. (Convention 1957)

5. Literature of other organizations cannot be distributed at CORE meetings, except with the consent of the chapter. (Convention 1957)

6. Local chapters are to issue active membership only after prospective members have been screened, the screening procedure to be established in the local constitution. (Convention 1957)

7. All CORE chapters endorsing issues of lending organizational support must do so in their own name and not in the name of the Congress of Racial Equality. (National Action Council 1963)

8. Before any local chapter may become incorporated, it must be in touch with the General Counsel; those chapters already incorporated must send a copy of their corporation charter to the General Counsel. (National Action Council 1963).

9. If local chapters hire staff persons, National CORE may not subsidize such persons. (National Action Council, November 1963)

10. Local chapters are requested to investigate the need to register as a membership organization under local state law, and when this has been determined, they are to communicate this information to the General Counsel. (National Action Council, November 1963)

11. In the event of complaints received within 30 days of alleged irregularities in the conduct of an election wherein chapter or unit officers are involved, the National Director, or his agent, may after investigation, cause to be held, under his supervision, new elections if one or more of the following circumstances hold:

1 - requested by the candidates
2 - requested by 30% of the active members in good standing
3 - requested by the Director of Organization
4 - indicated in trusteeship situations

(National Action Council, November 1963)

12. All CORE activities on a nation-wide basis, whether initiated by National CORE or a local chapter must be originally coordinated through the national office. (National Action Council, December 1962)

13. Forms shall be sent to the chapters for a formal report to the Convention that shall include budgets, projects, officers, and other pertinent information. Reports to the National Action Council will remain informal. (National Council, Feb. '61)

III Multiple chapters. The National Action Council may direct the chapters in a city to establish a coordinating body which will not affect the status or autonomy of any chapter but which may prohibit a chapter from taking unilateral action in city-wide affairs without approval of the majority of the chapters within that city. Such a coordinating council may also be directed to meet regularly to exchange information, to seek cooperation and to negotiate differences which may arise among the various chapters.

IV International Fraternal Affiliations. The National Office and the National Action Committee are authorized to investigate and establish fraternal relationships with race relations groups outside the continental limits of the United States. (Convention 1960)

V National Projects.

1. Projects may be developed on a national level and presented to the local chapters for their action, as needed. Decision for participation is to rest with the local chapter. (Convention 1957)

2. CORE recognizes and affirms the rights of all local CORE chapters to initiate and carry out projects in their own area within the framework of CORE Rules for Action. Whenever a local chapter participates in a national project, that chapter accepts the national organization's program of action. (Steering Committee, October 26, 1962)

VI National Officers. The National Action Council is authorized to handle any situation which may arise involving any difficulty with any of the national officers without waiting until the next Convention. Any charges against any officer will be sent to the officer involved and to all local chapters, and every effort will be made to get the officer present at the meeting where the affair will be discussed. (Convention 1950)

VII High School Students. High school students may generally be used in local projects, depending on local circumstances. It is CORE policy that persons under 18 years of age be used only on projects within their state. It is general CORE policy not to affiliate high school groups to the national body. However, there are three circumstances in which high school groups might be associated with CORE:

1. Organizations that are primarily, but not exclusively made up of high school students may apply for affiliation on the same basis as any other chapter.

2. High school branches may be organized by already existing chapters. In this case, the high school group would become a part of the older CORE chapter and would not affiliate with the national organization. Certain specifications or suggestions would have to be worked out for the relationship between the high school chapter and the community CORE group.

3. Other high school groups which want to work with CORE must receive permission from CORE in order to call themselves a students committee in support of CORE or by some similar name and then may cooperate with national and local CORE without affiliation. (National Council, February 1962)

VIII National Convention.

1. That the nominating committee nominate at least two persons for each office and that they be listed in alphabetical order. (Convention 1963)

2. There should be a form of certification of delegates to the Convention; and there shall be a credentials committee chaired by the secretary. (National Action Council, December 1962)

IX Steering Committee.

1. The Steering Committee shall continue to meet on the last Friday of the month. (National Action Council, November 1963)

2. Six National Action Council members must be in attendance in order to hold an official Steering Committee meeting. (National Council, July 1962)

3. Minutes of the Steering Committee shall be mailed to affiliated local chapters. (National Action Committee, January 1958).

X National Constitution. The Constitution must be re-issued every time it is amended. (Convention 1958)

XI Political Restrictions.

1. Persons owing allegiance to Communist, facist, and/or totalitarian philosophy shall be excluded from active membership. (Convention 1957)

2. No chapter shall be accepted as an affiliate of the Congress of Racial Equality, if it is known to be Communist controlled. If a member chapter becomes Communist controlled during its period of affiliation, such a group will be dropped from membership in the federation of CORE. (Convantion 1948)

3. CORE chapters may not involve their organizations in political campaigns; all political work must be carried on as individuals. CORE members have the right to engage in political activities as individuals, but CORE as an organization is non-political. (Convention 1959)

XII Task Force. The Task Force shall be a permanent part of CORE and it shall be expanded at the discretion of the National Director. (Steering Committee April 26, 1963)

XIII Finances.

1. CORE chall not make substantial contribution to other organizations, except under unusual circumstances. (Convention 1957)

2. The treasurer shall prepare forms to be sent to all chapters as the basis for a uniform accounting system. (Convention 1954)

3. Chapters are free to contribute to their regional organizations after obligations to the National Organization are met. (Convention 1950)

4. Only those persons authorized by the national office may collect funds in the name of CORE, and all chapters are given blanket authorization to collect funds. The national office shall make an effort to inform local chapters of persons authorized to raise money in their local area. (National Council February 1962)

5. When the national office of CORE provides local chapters with a major outside speaker or performer for a benefit, then the national office shall receive 2/3 of the net proceeds from the benefit. The national office shall provide transportation from its share and the local chapter shall provide hospitality. The remittance to the national office can be charged against the 10% tax. (Steering Committee, August 4, 1963)

XIV Press Relations All press releases on national projects must be cleared with the national office. (National Action Committee, January 26, 1962).

. . . . . .

The following policy decisions were made at various national meetings as indicated. They do not appear to be in the nature of bylaws, but should, in my opinion, be considered to reflect the policy of the organization.

Staff.

1. Rates and salaries paid to the staff are left to the discretion of the Steering Committee. (Convention 1957)

2. No person in the employ of CORE may receive personal gifts, either money, goods, or services for speaking, preaching or as personal contributions in any way connected with the employee's role in CORE; and any such gifts are considered as a matter of policy not to have been received by the employee individually, but by the organization as a contribution. The restriction is to include income received by employees from writing while they are employed by CORE. (National Action Council, November 1963 and Steering Committee, August 30, 1963)

3. All staff members should be sent into the field periodically. (Action Committee, July 25, 1963)

4. At least two annual staff meetings are to be scheduled. (Action Committee, July 25, 1960)

5. There shall be at least one annual visit by a field secretary to each CORE chapter. Where new groups are formed during the stay of one field secretary, it is desirable to have another field secretary make a subsequent visit. (Action Committee, October 1958)

CORE List. Normally the CORE list will not be exchanged with groups with similar purposes unless such action is authorized by the Steering Committee. (National Council, February 1959)

Chapter Policy.

1. No CORE group should support or give the appearance of supporting "separate but equal" facilities. (Convention 1959)

2. Each local chapter shall be requested to donate 20% of its gross income to the national office. (Convention 1949)

3. The national office may request that each local chapter submit its own mailing list to the national office so that a communication may be sent along with the first fall issue of the CORElator inquiring whether they wish to be placed on the national list. National CORE shall have the right to solicit funds from those persons replying no more than twice a year; such appeals would be coordinated with the local financial efforts, so that there would not be two appeals going out at the same time. (Convention 1949)

4. CORE will encourage college students to work first toward the development of community-wide chapters of CORE. Recognizing unique situations, we will consider the affiliation of autonomous campus chapters. Even when a community chapter exists, we will still consider autonomous campus affiliation if the students desire. In any case, students working in CORE should make the strongest efforts at close working cooperation with the adult community. It is generally agreed that the staff should work toward increased activities on college campuses both North and South. We should investigate the possibility of having a staff representative concentrating on increased student participation in CORE. It is also suggested that the CORE staff

develop an informal, consulting committee of student leaders from non-CORE organizations to share student concerns. It is also deemed desirable to hold student conferences on a regional or even on a nation-wide basis. (National Council, February 1962)

5. Any affiliated local chapter can ask the national office to transmit a request for supplementary assistance from other affiliates. (Convention 1958)

Miscellaneous Policy.

1. It is strongly urged that at least one month before a National Convention, the National Director submit to at least three officers of all local chapters a proposed Convention agenda and any proposed constitution or policy changes proposed by the national office or by a chapter. Local CORE groups shall forward their recommendations to the national office at least six weeks prior to each Convention. (Convention 1960)

2. The Steering Committee is authorized to set up branch offices as the need arises, with the advice of representatives chosen by the region under consideration. First consideration in setting up a branch office should be given to the West Coast. (Convention 1960)

3. On pamphlets other than the basic literature, the names of writers are to be given; this permits some personal expression of opinion. (Convention 1958)

4. The national office is authorized to ask national associate members to write letters, etc., either on national race relations matters or in aid of a particular project. (Convention 1958)

5. The Steering Committee shall procede with promotion of holiday cards. (Convention 1957)

6. National CORE is empowered to make an award, the nature of which to be determined by the National Action Council of the Steering Committee, to any CORE chapter at anytime upon completion of a project that it is felt is deserving. (Convention '51)

7. The CORElator shall be printed, if possible, but it shall have last priority on national funds. (Convention 1949)

8. The Statement "In Regard to Communism" was approved at the 1948 Convention. It will not be reprinted here.

9. Policy that CORE may not endorse political candidates on either local or national level reaffirmed. (National Action Council, November 1963).

10. CORE shall make an annual contribution of $1,000 to the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. (National Action Council, November 1963)

11. The national office and the national treasurer shall have no authority to authorize loans to individuals. (National Council, February 1959)

September 1, 1964

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL

NATIONAL OFFICERS

Floyd McKissick National Chairman	213½ West Main St. Durham, N.C. Area Code #919 Bus. 682-8106 Home 682-6576
Rudolph Lombard 1st. Vice Chairman	1600 E. Genesee St. Syracuse 10, N.Y. Area Code #315 Bus. GR 8-0843 Home 474-3467
Wilfred Ussery 2nd Vice Chairman	2338 Pine Street San Francisco, Calif. Area Code #415 YU 1-1555
Ruth Turner Secretary	1740 Crawford Road Cleveland 6, Ohio Area Code #216 Bus. 791-2111
Alan Gartner Treasurer	148 Kirkstall Road Newtonville, Mass. Area Code #617 527-5963

NATIONAL DIRECTOR

James Farmer	165 Park Row New York 38, N.Y. Area Code 212 BE 3-0536

REGIONAL VICE CHAIRMEN

NORTH EAST

Robert Curvin	106 Huntington Terrace Newark, New Jersey Area Code #201 Bus. MI 3-2300

NORTH CENTRAL

Ralph Rosenfeld

16244 Birwood
Detroit 21, Mich.
Area Code #313 Bus: BR 3-8305
Home: 341-7373

WEST

Harold Brown

762 Bollenbacher Street
San Diego, Calif.
Area Code #714 Bus: 234-2586
Home: 262-0292

SOUTH CENTRAL

Oretha Castle

917 N. Tonti Street
New Orleans, La.
Area Code #504 WH 3-2621

SOUTH EAST

John Due

401 Simpson Terrace, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.
Area Code #404 627-8458

REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVES

North East

Chris Sprowal

40 Avenue D., - Apt. 5-G
New York City
Area Code #212 Bus: OR 3-1590
Home: OR 7-4630

Shirley Lacey

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Englewood, N.J.
Area Code #201 LO 7-2138

North Central

Sam Riley

4152 West 19 Street
Chicago, Ill.
Area Code #312 762-0454

Loretta Hall

1510 Biddle Street
St. Louis, Mo.
Area Code #314 MA 1-1190

West

Virginia Burton

1450 Acton Crescent
Berkeley, Calif.
Area Code #415 TH 9-0139

Richard Rapp	P.O. Box 7011 Denver, Colo. Area Code #303 AT 8-6292

South Central

Earl Allen	% Tulsa CORE P.O. Box 6158 Tulsa, Okla. Area Code #918 LU 3-1631
Julia Lewis	405 Robertson Street Lexington, Ky. Area Code #502 Bus: 254-0251

South East

Joan Drake	P.O. Box 1094 Chapel Hill, N.C. Area Code #919 Bus: 929-2360 Home: 968-8651
Gloria Montgomery	1908 N. 16 Street Fort Pierce, Fla.

CO-OPTED MEMBERS

George Wiley	329 Westcott Street Syracuse, N.Y. Area Code #315 GR 2-0896
Mark Dodson	71 Scooter Lane Hicksville, N.Y. Area Code #516 PY 6-9871

From: Eric Mann December 1, 1964
To: James Farmer, Lou Smith, Marvin Rich
Re; CORE's position vis a vis discriminatory unions

After having been involved with the Trailways situation for over a month, I had come to a point where I was looking for new levers to try to remedy some of the problems which had arisen. The history of Negro workers with their union, The Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees of America, Local 1112, had been a fruitless one. During the period of over a year during which CORE had negotiated with Safeway Trails, the union had played a passive role, and during the first series of negotiations, November and December 1963, had upheld the company's claim that equal opportunity existed in the Trailways operation. Grievances such as the harassment of Negro porters who were fired for insubordination were processed, but not actively pursued. The attitude of the Negro workers towards their union was one of alienation, and information I received from Mr. Louis Zimmerman of the City Commission on Human Rights, and John Somers and Roland Watts of the Workers' Defense League had validated the opinions of the workers. I also found out that the union was not very popular among the white workers, and during 1963 a petition had been signed by a vast majority of the workers in the local to disaffiliate with the union. (I am not sure of the technicalities of such an action, but apparently the workers are still governed by the union contract, but do not pay union dues and are able to bring in a new bargaining agent at the end of the union contract's duration.)

In view of this past history of lack of cooperation, and the overall vulnerability of the union, I wrote a letter to Mr. Andrew Peretta, President of the local which has jurisdiction in the New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington terminals. (The union's jurisdiction does not include the drivers and the people who work in the shop; mechanics, helpers and floormen). In light of the poor results we had had with the company in terms of the implementation of agreements, I felt that a more forceful approach would be in order with the union. I wrote to Mr. Peretta, apprising him of the fact that there was widespread discontent among the workers, Negro and white, in the New York terminal, and that the union had been remiss in processing the grievances of its Negro workers, and in general had been unresponsive to their problems. I then told Mr. Peretta that we hoped to be able to work out an amicable solution to these problems, but if such a solution was not forthcoming CORE would attempt to 1. bring in another union which was more responsive to the needs and desires of the Negro workers in the terminal or 2. establish a "freedom union" which would represent the workers, white and Negro, in an attempt to establish true equality in the Trailways operation. I received no reply to this letter.

This past week, while I was in Washington working on the Trailways boycott, I met with Mr. Walter Davis of the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO to discuss the possibilities of putting pressure on the union to negotiate with us. To my surprise he produced a copy of the letter I had sent to Mr. Peretta, and expressed his dissatisfaction with the statements pertaining to the establishment or recruitment of a rival union. The meeting was quite amiable, but Mr. Davis made it clear that trade union support for the civil rights struggle was dependent on our behaving ourselves when it came to dealing with the unions. I asked him if he could suggest ar

effective counter-measure which could force a recalcitrant union to change its policies, and he averted the subject. At that point he told me of the long history of cooperation between the labor movement and the civil rights movement, emphasizing the financial support which we received. He told me that my letter was very controversial, and in view of the fact that it was not official national policy he asked if I would let him "bury" the letter. I agreed for the sake of expediency, preferring to discuss the matter with Marvin Rich and James Farmer before committing the national office to a policy which was not officially determined. Mr. Davis is awaiting a letter from me which was sent today, in which I have stated our demands of the union. As soon as he receives it he will set up a meeting between myself and Walter J. Bierwagen, and International Vice-President of the union.

Observations

I have written this report in an attempt to discuss certain conflicts and contradictions in our relationship with the trade union movement. Despite the fact that there are certain groups within this movement who are very favorable to our goals, it is quite apparent that as Mr. Davis described himself, they are labor union people first, and civil rights supporters second. Thus, Mr. Davis became upset about my statement, not because he was convinced that the situation was such that it didn't warrant such a move, but rather that as a union official he saw such policies as inimical to his primary interests. Secondly, there are many individuals and groups within the labor movement who are openly hostile to our goals. In both these cases I feel that we should use the same yardstick that union leaders employ, that is: using other groups to advance our position, not to tie our hands.

In the specific situation with the Amalgamated Transit Union, Mr. Davis, I believe, was not fully accurate in his presentation of the problem. He told me that it was illegal for one union to interfere with the jurisdiction of another at all times. My information to the contrary came from Cleveland Robinson, an official of District 65, who gave me specific information on how such a situation was possible. Realistically, I doubt whether CORE at this time is in a financial and administrative position to undertake an extensive program of establishing freedom unions, but the union's contract does not come up for over a year, so that some future developments could alter this situation. But the latter possibility, that of encouraging another union which is already established and more willing to advance the principles in which we believe, seems quite practical, especially since we will have over a year to carefully plan such a program. I definitely feel that I was remiss in stating such a position so candidly, but I was in a position where very few, if any, effective levers existed in working with a recalcitrant union. I think it is important to formulate a position paper on our official policy towards the discriminatory unions within the labor movement, to discuss various forms of pressure which we can exert on them,. and to weigh the advantages and shortcomings of incurring the wrath of some labor people if we did adopt a policy of challenging an established union by bringing in or establishing a rival one.

MEMORANDUM

TO: George Wiley, Associate National Director
FROM: Clora Coleman, Office Manager
RE: Telephone bills and air travel bills, June - December, 1964

TELEPHONE

National Office - including credit cards

June	$ 4,052.95
July	4,996.31
August	5,554.83
September	3,835.62
October	3,284.33
November	3,416.89
December	2,901.27
	$28,042.20

Western Office

June	$ 749.47
July	224.39
August	403.07
Sept. & Oct.	657.08
November	439.47
December	459.98
	$2,933.46

Northeast Regional Office

October	$ 63.77 - includes installation charges
November	135.71
December	98.35
	$297.83

CREDIT CARD CALLS CHARGED TO NATIONAL CORE

Oct.-Nov.-Dec.

Baines, Bruce	$ 28.65	Lesser, Mike	$ 80.20
Carey, Gordon	117.47	Lockett, Winston	126.15
Coleman, Val	1,191.46	McCain, Jim	12.65
Cox, B. Elton	7.90	McKissick, Floyd	188.76
Dennis, Dave	352.21	Moore, Ronnie	------
Duncan, Chet	130.60	Rachlin, Carl	243.20
Farmer, James	162.20	Reynolds, Ike	100.16
Gore, Robert	179.56	Rich, Marvin	54.12
Gordon, Spiver	1,095.66	Robinson, Frank	9.40
Haley, Richard	57.55	Smith, Jerome	334.15
Hollander, Ed	315.39	Tournour, Eugene	47.60

NATIONAL CORE AIR TRAVEL

June - December 1964

June	$ 5,826.95
July	5,688.14
August	5,833.09
September	5,955.11
October	4,366.99
November	1,014.82
December	1,006.02
TOTAL	$29,691.12

2446 North 4th Street
Columbus, Ohio

FIELD REPORT

To: Jim McCain for transmittal to George Wiley and N.A.C.
From: Mike Lesser
Subject: Activities for the period of November and December, 1964; summary of expenses and projected needs; projected activities through February, 1965; Evaluation and Comments
Date: January 24, 1965

1. Activity: November-December, 1964.

Since arriving in Ohio in September I have been attempting to visit, and spend time with each of the chapters in the state. None of them had seen a field secretary, on other than a "passing through" visit, for over a year. This task was completed during November and December including all affiliated and un-affiliated groups with the exception of Dayton, where the CORE group was disaffiliated, and Springfield, where the chapter is now defunct. Following is a list of chapters and group visited, and the amount of time spent with each group during November and December;

Columbus CORE.....10 days
Trumbull Cty. CORE(Warren)..4 days
Toledo CORE.....10 days
Cincinnati CORE.....5 days
Akron CORE.....5 days
Kent State Univ. group.....2 days

Other activities included a state metting of Ohio chapters in Columbus, a weekend conference of S.D.S. community action projects in Cleveland and a Regional Action Council meeting in Chicago.

Summary of chapter visits:

Columbus. After a faction fight which was very disruptive, this group has been trying to get back on its feet with a new chairman, and move into the ghetto area of Columbus. With them I have run workshops on canvassing, organizing; and advised on reorganization of chapter administration and revision of their constitution.

Warren. On visits to Trumbull Cty CORE observed operation of the chapter, and dicsussed finances, projects and membership with the membership in preparation for a recommendation on affiliation, which was submitted prior to Dec. 19 NAC meeting at which the group was affiliated.

Toledo. Toledo CORE is a recently re-organized chapter with new leadership and relatively inexperienced personnel. Have been meeting with each officer and committee chairman to discuss functions, and have been helping direct a project aimed at organizing neighborhoods to fight school problems they are having. Also planning an office operation in the downtown ghetto and program workshops.

Cincinnati. This chapter has been enduring faction problems, personality problems, reorganization and lack of programming. I have spent time there orienting a new chairman and attempting to help the group deal with those problems.

Akron. This is a young but stable chapter beginning to work in the ghetto community. Most of the work here is to develop program competence and content through workshops and discussions with officers and membership.

Kent State University. This is a university group which has been in existence for over a year, but is not affiliated. They have had trouble organizing on campus and are not ready for affiliation. In discussion with the leaders of the group we have worked out possible projects for building membership and support. There is some hope for them to build a useful program in their area.

II. Projected Activity.

Chapter visits:

In this area it will be necessary to do two things in the next couple of months, as well as past that time: 1. Spend more time with those chapters which have already been serviced in Ohio. As noted, most have internal problems and/or program needs, and these needs cannot be coped with effectively in one or two visits, but need periodic attention to help development. Long visits of up to a month's duration would be advantageous, but are impractical under present conditions. 2. Visit groups which have not yet been serviced. I hope, by the end of February, to have serviced the groups in Lawrence, and Kansas City, Kansas, Elkhart, Indiana, Charleston, West Virginia and Louisville, Kentucky. Also, there is reported resurgence of activity in Dayton, Ohio, and I want to get there soon.

Work-Study project:

I have had recent contact with the director of the new work-study program at Wilberforce University, and the head of the Sociology department there, with the idea of developing an internship program for Negro social science students to spend their work periods as full time employees of CORE chapters and as Summer "task force" workers with chapters in Northern urban communities in order to: 1. develop, over a period of time, professionally competent workers, and 2. fill the needs that chapters have for full time personnel. Contacts are also being made with Central State College and an Antioch College in the same area. I hope to develop a firm program by March.

Other:

By the end of February I hope to be sending out a series of mimeographed memos to area chapters on chapter operation, fund raising, programming and committee functions.

III. Expenses.

Because I am compiling this report while on a visit to a chapter, I do not have all my past expense reports, and cannot, therefore, give a complete breakdown of all expenses. I will attempt, however, to provide summary information.

Average expenses:

Working from five recent expense reports, which I do have on hand, my average expenses for one week work out as follows:

Lodging.....	$00.00
Transportation.....	12.20
Meals.....	13.86
Miscellaneous.....	2.56
Total weekly avg.....	$28.62

Although this average is not exact, I would think that the amounts are fairly representative.

Projected expenses:

My expenses for the next few months should run pretty much the same as above. The only difference would be an increase in travel costs when I start going to Kansas, Indiana, Kentucky and West Virginia. But, because I am now driving a car instead of taking Greyhound buses and local public transportation, costs should lower accordingly-enough to compensate for the increases in distance.

IV. Evaluation and Comments.

Because I had been away from the North for almost two years when I began to work in Ohio this Fall, there was a gap in my understanding of program needs, goals and chapter operation, and I had to, in a sense, give myself a cram course in what to do and how to do it. The National Office was very little help in that regard. There was no training or orientation program, and very little literature in the office to draw upon. This I had to search out for myself, for the most part. Fortunately, experience in the South had prepared me pretty well in organizing technique. There I think we are more knowledgeable than Northern CORE groups.

In working in Ohio I find that the chapters have problems resulting from inattention by National, which could be solved if the attempt were made.

Programming and direction:

The chapters have had little direction in determining their role in the community, and almost no help in programming. For my part, aside from personal help, I have had to direct them to literature sources other than CORE for help. While it is the role of the field secretary to assist in this area, it is necessary that general direction be provided by National as well as tools, so that the field secretary has a framework to use and the chapter to follow.

Communication and responsiveness:

Most chapters I have visited feel hostility toward National for other reasons also. They have a terrible time getting the literature, buttons and other material they request, or getting letters answered promptly. Some have given up writing to National and find they can get their needs attended to only by long distance phone.

Lack of relevant literature:

In terms of developing community awareness, for fund raising and for membership education CORE literature is out of date. It does not relate to chapter activities. More topical literature is urgently needed.

MEMORANDUM

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
[illegible]
New York, New York 10038

TO: All NAC members

FROM: James Farmer, National Director

First, let me apologize for the lack of communication from the national office these past few weeks. In our current state of financial crisis we have all been paying our fullest attention to meeting bills and raising funds.

In brief, our financial position is perilous. For a number of reasons we have not been able to provide sufficient funds to meet our programmatic desires. There appear to be four primary factors which have led to our financial impasse: 1) an assumption that we could continually plan new program and automatically expect our fund raising ability to keep step; 2) the easing of public attention to civil rights matters with the passage of the civil rights bill; 3) the negative impact of the summer riots; and 4) funds which might have come to civil rights, but were diverted into the election.

At present we have outstanding $181,000 in obligations. For the past several months we have been living on loans rather than income. We are now in the position of having to raise funds not only to continue to operate, but in order to pay back some of the old loans which are falling due.

We have taken a number of steps to meet this situation. A curb has been placed on new expenditures. Steps have been instituted in order to cut down on administrative expenses. Some retrenchment has been necessary. In all, over $120,000 on an annual basis has been trimmed. However, many of the reductions will take some weeks before we experience relief, since employees who have been released are entitled to notice, severance pay, and accrued vacation benefits. We are seeking additional sources of funds - both loans to "tide us over" and more important gifts. The period of greatest need is now. It will be February before our regular Brotherhood Appeal goes out.

At the same time that we face a financial crisis, we are involved in serious internal reorganization. Structurally, George Wiley will begin full-time as Associate Director on January 15th. However, George's part-time appearances have already had an impact on the office and I look forward to considerable organizational "tightening up" with George here full-time. Programmatically, we are working with many chapters on new and challenging developments for CORE.

I am leaving this evening for a trip to Africa sponsored by the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa, for whom I will visit Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia, Ethiopia, Ghana and Nigeria. I believe that the trip is an important one, both as an expression of the increased importance of African affairs in the lives of American Negroes and as part of the increased role which American Negroes have taken in influencing American foreign policy relative to Africa.

In consultation with Floyd McKissick, I have set the weekend of February 5-7 for a full National Action Council meeting, to be held here in New York City (our computations indicate that this is the cheapest location). This meeting will be held as a matter of the highest organizational urgency, and I hope that all of you will be able to attend. By that time I trust that George Wiley will have established himself in his new position.

We have been working for some months now to put ourselves in a sounder financial position. This should show some results by the meeting, and I believe that we will have detailed proposals for the NAC then. Further information on our financial situation will be sent to you shortly.

December 30, 1964

CANTON CORE, JANUARY, 1965
CANTON, MISSISSIPPI
GEORGE RAYMOND, DIRECTOR

POLITICAL PROGRAMS: THE FREEDOM VOTE

The MFDP attempted to get the names of Mrs. Annie Devine, Mrs. Victoria Gray, and Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer and Aaron Henry placed on the official ballot of the state of Mississippi to run for congresswomen and senator on an independent ticket. The attempt failed, so the Negro had no way to express himself about whom he wanted to represent him. So the MFDP decided that they would have a mock freedom election that would take place October 30,31, Nov. 1, 2. In Madison County the representatives of MFDP accepted the freedom vote. They got together and set up polling places all over the county in the churches, homes, grocery stores, and other places of business. However, the number of votes cast was considerably less than in the previous freedom vote. The majority opinion of the Canton staff on the reasons for this was that not enough political education was involved and the people could not be impressed by the significance of what they were doing because they were given no chance to understand it. In other words, the emphasis was too much on getting as many signatures as possible in almost any way possible. Not only did this prove ineffective on the people, but also demoralizing for the staff.

POLITICAL PROGRAMS: THE CONGRESSIONAL CHALLENGE

After discussing the congressional challenge with some people from around the state and with officials of the FDP, it was decided that we would attempt to get 1000 Negroes to go to Washington the day the 89th Congress opened, when, Mrs. Devine of the 4th Congressional District, Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, Mrs. Victoria Gray of the 5th Congressional District would challenge the five congressmen elected in Mississippi. In deciding this it was said that we would go back into our local communities and explain the challenge to the people, and attempt to get them to raise their own money and means of transportation.

The program was explained to the people and within the three month period the people of Madison County raised enough money to rent a bus for $450 (but the bus broke down before it got out of the state). There was enough money left over for gas expenses. About fifty people went from Madison County, Mississippi.

Depositions are also a part of the congressional challenge, and while this is being written lawyers are busy talking to witnesses who will give open testimony in relationship to being denied the right to vote, police brutality, etc. These people will testify in support of the three FDP candidates. This testimony will be given Jan. 25, 1962.

POLITICAL PROGRAMS: community organization

The staff in Madison County are in the process of a continuous organizational program. The method they are using is setting up house meetings, church meetings, precinct meetings, etc, with the sole purpose of getting people to talk about local problems, their problems, and anything they would like to talk about in hopes that somehow they can see that their various problems are somewhat related and that usually the solutions can be obtained with similar methods. We are really trying to get a program developed with the community saying exactly what it will be. This will provide them with the feeling of "I planned this and I'm going to work to see whether this program succeeds or fail. You see, we feel from talking to the

local people and to the staff that people are tired of people telling them what to do, because this has happened all their life. We feel that in Madison County at this point we must be advisory without a premade program.

FEDERAL PROGRAMS: THE ASCS ELECTIONS

In November Federal Programs in Canton became chiefly concerned with preparations for the ASCS elections. These preparations were initially thwarted by transportation limitations. The whole job of getting Negro candidates' names on the ballots was muffed because staff workers were unable to attend the meetings at which candidates' petitions were to have been drawn up. Finally, though, cars were rented, and as the December 3 election date drew nearer the entire Canton staff began to function with unprecedented coordination and sense of direction.

Staff workers moved into each of the 8 communities in Madison County (community boundaries were drawn by the ASCS) and began organizing for the campaign. The method of organization followed these lines: the staff worker contacted a few community leaders and spent a good deal of time making sure that they understood the voting procedure (which involved write-ins), the nature of the ASCS and the gains that a victory in the election could mean. The community leaders in turn began to organize canvassing teams among their neighbors to spread the word about the election and to get people committed to going to the polls Dec. 3. Staff workers met frequently with these canvassing teams and also attended other meetings about the election which community leaders called. The staff tried in most cases to act purely as resource persons.

The results of this approach are hard to measure. In the first hours of election day the Negro voter turnout looked more promising than the staff had expected in most communities. However by the time the polls closed - after 4 arrests, several physical threats, one injury and innumerable instances of voters being deprived of their full voting rights -- the odds had turned against the Negroes except in one community where a Negro committee chairman was elected by a slender margin.

Since then various avenues of protest have been tried: we filed a report of the physical intimidation and violence with the Justice Department and another with the Civil Rights Commission. About 15 voters complained on their own to the state ASCS committee and about 1 had hearings before that committee; the results of the hearing were unfavorable. However those who did not have hearings received word that hearings were unnecessary because their votes had been investigated and determined valid after all. We also spent considerable time and some postage communicating the USDA, inquiring about formal channels of complaint. It seems, however, that there are no precedents for challenging an ASCS election, and we were left hanging in some confusion. We supported an abortive program, originating in the Jackson COFO office, to send a delegation of farmers to Secretary of Agriculture Freeman immediately. Our delegate was ready to go, suit case literally in hand, when Jackson called to say the trip had been cancelled; other counties had not come through. About 3 weeks ago USDA investigators finally appeared. They have been supplied with a thick folder of affidavits and reports (affidavits, incidentally, are still coming in) and through them George Raymond drafted an official complaint, copies of which, with a covering letter, are circulating all over the United States, hopefully increasing Mr. Freeman's mail-intake.

FEDERAL PROGRAMS: THE FARMERS LEAGUE AND MADISON COUNTY COOPERATIVE

At present there is no one in Canton carrying on federal program war. This is unfortunate not only because of all the untapped potential in this area, but also because the promising products of past work are being neglected. The most serious neglect is of the Farmers League and the Madison County Coop. The first, which has been the most dynamic local organization Madison County Negroes have ever seen, is slowly settling into stagnation; the second is on the verge of losing its charter for want of a business manager or someone with a lot of time to spend and a lot of experience and technical knowledge to back him up.

WELFARE

Madison County periodically receives large shipments of clothing and food from northern supporters. These are supplemented, too, by small boxes which frequently come in the mail from various individuals. Occasionally, too, the county receives part of the shipments which are sent into Jackson COFO. There is no question about the need which such supplies can partially fill. But there is an overwhelming question about how they should be distributed. The Canton staff unanimously agrees that distribution from here on out must be the responsibility of the local community, not only because there are insufficient staff workers and facilities to handle it, but also because the Freedom House should not become a symbol of do-gooder-give-aways. We have begun conversations with local people and are planning a meeting in the immediate future to formulate a county-wide welfare program. We anticipate that several large problems will develop: one will concern the places of storage and distribution, none of which the staff wants in the vicinity of Freedom House; another, very touchy one will concern the merits and disadvantages of using clothing and food to "encourage" people to take part in the movement. Whatever the solutions and final decisions, this is a pressing issue which the staff is determined to see resolved soon.

VOTER REGISTRATION

No organized approach to voter registration has been tried since the end of the summer project. This is mostly because energies have been channelled into the MFDP programs, the ASC elections, and, most recently, the staff's work on grass roots community organization. In one community where a staff worker has been living for about a month, holding small "tea parties", discussions with the local people a locally-initiated, locally-planned voter registration campaign is taking shape: nothing dramatic, no freedom days (the people have explicitly vetoed them, in fact), just a few people a week going to the Court House and perhaps (this is still in the discussion stage) the setting up of preparatory workshops. Here, the Canton staff believes, is an example (and there are others) of how the local people can sense and meet their own needs in their own ways, fully understanding what they're about and why it's important -- a picture far preferable to that of staff workers telling them what is good for them and leading them through the paces without even giving them a chance to grasp the nature and significance of what is happening.

INCIDENT REPORT

Except around ASCS election time the frequency and degree of harassment have dropped off considerably. Martha Wright did spend a day in jail during the freedom vote. She was picked up for "distributing leaflets without a permit," but her case was dismissed on the grounds that it was her first offense (interesting, since the prosecuting attorney knew it to be her 2nd offense -- she has a trial in the federal courts on the same charge from this summer). Around the same time Bill Forsythwas given a traffic ticket for illegal parking when his jeep stalled on him; he pleaded to guilty, was his own defense, and won the case ! The same day George Raymond was jailed for interfering with an officer when he pulled up to see what kind of trouble Bill was having. His case has been removed to federal court.

Just before the ASCS elections a local canvasser, Mr. Cleophus Luckett, was shot at from a passing car while walking down a country road. He was unharmed. Also, Tom Ramsay, who was coordinating the elections, received 2 illegal traffic tickets in the week before the election. In one instance police tailed him out of town to charge him with speeding, even though he was driving 5 miles under the limit. Then, on election day, 4 persons were arrested on charges of "disturbing the peace in a public place," disobeying a police officer," and "trespassing." Three cases have now been removed to federal courts. The fourth, George Raymonds, was tried in absentia found guilty, fined $109. He has now appealed the case.

Also on December 3 Marv Rich had his nose broken by a small mob at one of the polling places. Martiss Crawford was threatened at gun point at another; Eric Orr was hit in the face at another; Earnest Chanes received threats at the polling place where he worked, but they didn't marerialize. Also, at leat one voter was threatened with arrest if he voted for the Negro candidate.

Since the election a bullet has been fired into the home of another of the chief canvassers, Mr. Welton Stokes, and a phone call to Freedom House reporting the beating of the successful Negro candidate was made, but it turned out to be a hoax.

THE COMMUNITY CENTER

The Community Center in Canton is closed and has been closed for about two months. The staff met and felt that it was best to close the center. At that time, Martha Wright and Jo Ann Goiman were working there daily. Some of the problems they encountered were the unruliness of the young people, who are the determining factor of whether the center succeeds or fails. Through long staff meetings and discussions with local people and staff people, it was a concensus that the only way the community center would succeed and progress in Canton would be through the people themselves not only showing a desire for it, but also doing most of the work in constructing and building it. And this has not been the case in Canton. The center was merely a place where they could come and have dances and steal what they could. However, there were a few kids who used the library effectively. A few young people and several adult community leaders are presently discussing what should be done next. The staff is hoping that their decision will call for much more community involvement.

REPORT ON RANKIN COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI

Staff: Sears Buckley Jr. - CORE
Martha Wright - CORE
Sandy Watts - CORE
Myrtis Evans - COFO work study: CORE

First I must explain that Rankin County is somewhat of a new project. The 4 people began working with and staying in the community around December 10, 1964. Prior to that I, George Raymond, had begun a series of meetings in people's homes, talking out the immediate situation that they are confronted with, to attempt to make them aware of the need for people to get together and discuss these types of problems, so that they may see the basis for organizing. This worked very well; these meetings went from the homes to the churches (from 5 people to 400 people when James Farmer spoke there during the Freedom Vote).

After the staff moved in they began working closely with the people in meetings and in canvassings. During the freedom vote no staff people were there other than for meetings. The local people themselves went out and got more than one thousand votes, which I feel is good. The FDP decided to undertake a congressional challenge, where Mrs. Devine of the Fourth District, Mrs. Gray of the Fifth, Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of the Second would challenge the seating of the five Mississippi Congressmen, and they wanted Mississippi Negroes in Washington to give evidence to support the challenge. This was explained to the people in Rankin County. And they said they would like to work on it. Within a three week period the people got together and bought a bus costing $500. They also had enough gas money to transport the bus to and from Washington. And they got 35 people who were willing to make the trip, understanding that they might face jail when they returned to the state. (incidentally, the bus broke down before it made it out of the state).

On January 4, 1964 the first freedom day took place in Rankin, about 20 people showed up, but they were not able to register because the sheriff and deputy said the registrar was busy helping the judge select the jury because court would open in a week. The next day two people were able to fill out applications for registration.

After these two attempts the people came together and discussed what had happened and what was their future plans. After the people returned from Washington, D.C. they got together and decided to go back to the court house in mass to attempt to register once more.

Since the first freedom day harassment from local white and police started. More than 8 people have been arrested, tickets have been given on a mass scale. Close to $900 in bond and fines have been paid. Local people raised and paid the money themselves.

The Rankin County movement is starting out as truly a movement of the local people who are eager and able to carry on pretty much on their own, using the staff only as advisors and resource people. Their plans for a community center, for example, are solely theirs and when they build their building we don't anticipate the kinds of problems developing that have closed down the Canton center.

FIELD REPORT

Project Jurisdiction: State of Louisiana
Author of Report: Ronnie M. Moore, Senior Field Secretary
Date of Report: January 19, 1965
Period covered by report: September, 1964 - January, 1965

I. Program

Objectives: The Louisiana project is primarily centered around voter registration with emphasis on politically oriented community organization. Communities are being organized through freedom schools, voter registration drives, clothing distribution, implementation of the new civil rights law, attainment of fair hiring and labor union practices and through general endeavors to meet the immediate needs of the community involved.

Permanent organization is the product of a program that is meaningful not only to our staff, but to the people. We are organizing people around their every day needs and at the same time we are attempting to direct such organization toward a long range goal of political recognition and representation.

Activities: Our activities for the above period included the following:

1. Voter registration campaigns in fourteen (14) parishes of the fifth, sixth, eighth, and second congressional districts of Louisiana. The voter registration increase was approximately 1,200 from September to November 4, 1964; little progress has been made since then.

2. Testing the compliance of public accommodations and public facilities with the 1964 Civil Rights Act in Jackson, Ouachita, East Baton Rouge, Rapides and East Feliciana Parishes.

3. Establishment of freedom schools at Jonesboro, Clinton and Plaquemine.

4. Servicing CORE chapters at St. Francisville, Clinton and Donaldsonville.

5. Protest of labor union discrimination and discriminatory practices at Olin-Mathieson Chemical Corporation at West Monroe. The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and the Louisiana Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission held hearings and are investigating complaints from our plaintiffs.

6. Drafted (now revising) plans for a community center in West Feliciana Parish.

7. Attempts were made to organize farmers at St. Francisville for ASC, FHA and anti-poverty bill participation.

8. Began taking a community survey in Ouachita, East Baton Rouge, East Feliciana and Iberville Parishes. This survey should reveal the basic needs of these communities. Precinct meetings will be called to discuss such needs, and precincts will be organized around the needs. The organization should, when possible, be directed toward political activity.

Note: The proposed Summer Project of 1965 is broad enough both [illegible] to lay a firm foundation of community organization which can be easily directed toward effective educational, economic and political aims.

II. Staff

Name:	Age:	Position:	
Oretha Castle		Field Secretary Covering 4th and 5th Congressional Districts	
Henry Brown	27	Task Force Worker	
Sharon Burger	22	"	
Alvin Culpepper	20	"	
Cathy Culpepper	19	"	
Claudia Edwards	22	"	
Charles Fenton	24	"	(volunteer)
Joyce Johnson	22	"	
Kenny Johnson	17	"	
Steve Miller	19	"	(volunteer)
Judy Rollins	24	"	
Ronnie Sigal (Miss)	22	"	(volunteer)
Christine Wright	24	"	
Bill Yates	36	"	

All Task Force Workers work in the field; specific duties depend on the community or area to which they are assigned.

III. Facilities

Offices: State office - Ronnie M. Moore
1501½ East Boulevard
Louise Street Station
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
(504) 342-8388

North Louisiana office - Oretha Castle
103 North Tenth Street
Monroe, Louisiana
(318) 325-7610

Alexandria office - Judy Rollins
1406 Ninth Street
Alexandria, Louisiana
(318) 442-7642

Residential headquarters are set up in Jackson and East Feliciana Parishes:

Charles Fenton
General Delivery
Jonesboro, Louisiana
(318) 7316

Bill Yates
General Delivery
Clinton, Louisiana
(504) 683-5401

Autos:

Two (2) 1964 Chevrolets leased by CORE from National Car Rental Monroe (one to go Shreveport)

One (1) 1964 Comet owned by Louisiana Project (resumption of $71.71 monthly payments) Alexandria

One (1) 1964 Ford station wagon owned by Louisiana Project (purchased by community of Clinton and National CORE) to go to Jonesboro

One (1) 1965 Plymouth owned by volunteer worker Steve Miller of Antioch College (gas, maintenence, etc. paid by owner) Clinton

One (1) 1964 Valiant owned by volunteer worker Ronnie Segal (gas and maintenance paid by CORE) Baton Rouge

Major items of equipment:

Four (4) typewriters owned by CORE

Two (2) file cabinets owned by CORE

Two (2) tape recorders owned by CORE

One (1) record player owned by CORE

Two (2) mimeograph machines owned by CORE

10,000 volumes (freedom school and library storage room)

1,000 volumes (stationed at freedom schools)

IV. Budget

Please see attached supplement

V. Evaluation

The desegregation of public accommodations at Monroe, Alexandria, Baton Rouge and Plaquemine may be listed as a major accomplishment. Other accomplishments include the desegregation of the library at Jonesboro, a school desegregation attempt at Alexandria, and getting plaintiffs to testify before the Louisiana Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

One of our failures is that we have not developed approaches in our voter registration program in order to keep the people interested and active. We have not been able to properly train staff and therefore we have not been able to really organize communities as we should. Progress is being made in this area, however.

The racial ratio of staff is out of proportion. We have five (5) whites and eight (8) Negroes on the task force. More Negro staff members are needed. Staff needs training in community organization and in general in order to cultivate creative thinking and programmatic implementation.

I readily agree that the year round project approach to the problems of various communities may not produce CORE chapters designed for the purpose of extending the structure of National CORE. Community units set up by the project may not be labeled CORE, but their objectives and accomplishments are those of CORE.

If we in Louisiana are in the field to organize communities to fight on their own, then the organizational vehicle must be flexible in label, structure and immediate goals but directed toward the same long range goal.

VI. Recommendations and Remarks

Recommendations for Louisiana are as follows:

1. Regional training workshops for staff and chapters

2. More staff in Louisiana in order to insure the setting up of Congressional and party challenges in 1966 and 1968.

3. More staff for the 1965 Summer Project than is indicated in the prospectus.

4. Immediate payment of bills on demand.

This report is general, but I hope it serves a few of the purposes for which it was requested. I will be glad to write supplementary statements to answer any specific questions.

B U D G E T

Amounts spent in November and December, 1964:

	Nov.	Dec.
Rent		
Baton Rouge office	$60.00	$65.00
Jonesboro residential headquarters	25.00	25.00
Phone		
Baton Rouge office	57.11	62.25
Monroe office	18.70	41.69
Baton Rouge "Freedom House"	9.87	7.60
Auto		
Payment on Comet	71.71	71.71
Auto Operation		
Repairs	55.55	14.94
(Due to financial situation of project, credit cards were used for gas and minor repairs in November and December. Estimate maximum of $5.00 per day for four (4) cars - two (2) leased from National Car Rental and two (2) owned by Louisiana Project)	600.00	620.00
Air travel and other travel - None		
Supplies		
Office supplies	208.04	27.48
Other expenses		
Utilities at Baton Rouge "Freedom House"	18.39	14.57
Total.....	$1,124.37	$950.24

B U D G E T cont.

Estimates for January and February, 1965:

	Jan.	Feb.
Rent		
Baton Rouge office	$48.00	$40.00
Jonesboro	20.00	20.00
Rapides (Alexandria)	20.00	20.00
Baton Rouge "Freedom House"	20.00	20.00
Phone		
Baton Rouge office	50.00	50.00
Monroe	50.00	50.00
Jonesboro	25.00	25.00
Alexandria	25.00	25.00
Clinton	25.00	25.00
Auto		
Payment on Comet	71.71	71.71
2 Leased cars (National Car) Auto operation (excluding car owned by Steve Miller)	250.00	250.00
Gas - $5.00 per day for five (5) cars	815.00	770.00
Maintenance	125.00	125.00
Air travel and other travel - None		
Supplies		
Office supplies and postage	75.00	75.00
Other expenses		
Miscellaneous	100.00	100.00
Total.....	$1669.71	$1616.71

B I L L S O N D E M A N D
January 19, 1965

Office rent:			
Baton Rouge office.	$ 65.00		**Dec. 12
Baton Rouge office.	65.00		**Jan. 12
		$130.00	
Office supplies and equipment:			
Pelican Office Supply, Baton Rouge	$659.81		*Nov. 27
Standard Office Supply, Monroe.....	89.46		*Dec. 28
"Royal Furniture Co., Baton Rouge.....	53.32		*Nov. 1
		$802.59	
Automotive:			
Payment on Comet.....	$ 71.71		**Jan. 30
Robinson Bros. Inc., Baton Rouge....	48.31		*Dec. 28
Moran Motor Co., Baton Rouge.....	36.88		*Nov. 20
Bolds Two-Stop Service, Jonesboro...	4.00		*Nov. 2
Long's Service Station, Monroe.....	9.37		*Sept. 3
Rose Oil Company.....	15.28		*Dec. 20
		$185.55	
Workers:			
Gulf States Utilities.....	$ 19.23		*Jan. 15
Spiver Gordon.....	5.97		
Ronnie Moore	42.47		
Ronnie Moore.....	20.45		
Christine Wright.....	10.49		
Sharon Burger.....	10.10		
		$108.71	
Miscellaneous:			
A & A Print Shop, Monroe.....	$ 11.70		*Nov. 30
Admiral Blueprints, Inc., Baton Rouge	6.95		*Nov. 6
Western Union, Baton Rouge.....	3.04		*October
East Feliciana Community Relief Fund..	250.00		***Nov. 28
Mrs. Gladys Jackson, Plaquemine.....	97.50		***Oct, 26
		$369.19	
Total.....			$1,596.04

* last billing date
** date payment due
***date last payment made

Chronology on Jonesboro

Jackson Parish

July 7, 1964 - Ronnie Moore and Mike Lesser were driving from Jonesboro to Monroe when three cars of whites tried to detain them on the highway. Moore was driving and was able to get away from the three cars by making a u-turn and slightly knocked against one of the other cars. Then there was a chase back to Jonesboro at 105 mph. Moore and Lesser got to where the CORE workers were staying at Jonesboro. The three cars passed back and forth in front of the house. The Chief of Police was called along with the Sheriff but they did not respond until the FBI was contacted through Marvin Rich in New York. Then the Sheriff's deputies arrived along with the Chief of Police. The next day in Monroe, James O. Smith filed a warrant for Moore's arrest on the charge of reckless driving and hit-and-run. Moore later filed the same against James O. Smith.

July 10, 1964 - While canvassing Talbot Street in Jonesboro, threats of intimidation from the Sheriff's deputy and construction workers who told CORE workers to abandon work on voter registration in that area.

July 11, 1964 - Cathy Patterson, Robert Weaver, Bill Yates, Calvin Williams, Fred Brooks, and a local worker Doris Davis were apprehended by three Jackson Parish Deputies, one Lincoln Parish Chief Deputy, and one Louisiana State Trooper on U. S. Highway 167 and held for approximately two hours. They were made to pose for pictures taken by one of the officers, while standing outside of their car which was impounded by Jackson Parish Sheriff, although the incidents occurred in Lincoln Parish. The group received threats from these authorities when they refused to cooperate. Workers, Yates and Miss Davis were held under arrest by Jackson Parish authorities pending investigation of their identification, but were released without charge.

July 13, 1964 - Three white youths stopped at the Freedom House and engaged in a conversation with CORE workers and policemen. Upon becoming rude they were asked to leave, but only after they had made threats on the lives of the occupants of the Freedom House and Robert Weaver in particular.

July 30, 1964 - The KKK members burned crosses throughout Jackson Parish and nearly 50 or more Klansmen marched through the Negro section of Jonesboro, Louisiana holding burning torches in their hands lead by a sheriff's patrol car. The Negro section witnessed this and organized a group called the Deacons of the Defense of Justice.

November 15, 1964 - A cross was burned about two blocks from the Freedom House Saturday morning at 2 O'clock and five shots were fired around the House. Reports were made to the FBI. An investigation was made by the FBI and the Justice Department, Thursday evening.

In Early December - Jackson Parish library system was desegregated.

January 4, 1965 - Talking plans were made to desegregate public accommodations in Jonesboro, and three ministers agreed to allow their churches to be used for voter registration purposes.

January 17, 1965 - Sunday morning at 1 a.m. two of these three churches were burned. These churches are Pleasant Grove Baptist Church in Pleasant, Louisiana and Bethany Baptist Church in Bethany, Louisiana.

NEW YORK CORE EMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE January 1965

REPORT ON THE BALLANTINE BEER BOYCOTT PROJECT

BACKGROUND

The Ballantine Boycott is part of the fight to overcome descrimination in hiring in the entire brewery industry in which less than 1% of those regularly employed in production and distribution are Negro.

This boycott is a continuation of the fight against the Shaeffer Brewing Company which was reactivated by NY CORE, after Negro workers complained that union rules were rigged by Teamster Union locals to keep them from becoming union members, even though they had worked for Shaeffers on a temporary basis for years. The Shaeffer boycott was called off after National CORE assumed control of negotiations with the company.

Ballantine was chosen by the Employment Committee of NY CORE as the taget for a boycott because it is the biggest selling beer in Harlem and because the same pattern of descrimination in hiring exists. Less than 17 out of 1800 production workers are members of the union and regularly employed. The union contracts are similar. (The lawyer for the teamster unions in Metropolitan New York, Mr. I. Philip Sipser, is also the lawyer for the unions at Ballantine)

Before starting the Ballantine Boycott, the Employment Chairman contacted the Harlem Negro American Labor Committee andwastold that the boycott would be undertaken jointly. This agreement was later withdrawn.

PROGRESS

The boycott which began on Saturday, December 5th with about 20 CORE members involved, concentrated on picketing supermarkets and bars.

26 press releases were prepared and sent to all newspapers, radio andtelevision stations. Regional CORE took responsibility for involving the otherchapters in the NewYork area in the boycott. Arrangements were made to contact other civil rights groups and the unions involved.

On December 8 the Employment Committee was informed (after the start of the boycott on December 5) that West Essex CORE was already negotiating with Ballantine. On December 9 Cyril Harvey and Hugh Frankenthalyer met with West Essex CORE representatives Dave Anderson and Del Earisman. The West Essex men said they were on the verge of an important break though. At this meeting they stated that the boycott in Harlem by NY CORE was strengthening their hand.

The Employment Committee met with representatives of Ballantine on December 22 who said that they were also concerned about descriminatory hiring, pointed to their charitable activities in Harlem, and indicated that their hopes for an end to descrimination were based on increased sales, early retirement incentives and longer vacations. They admitted that since June 1964 when 17 Negroes became regular members of the New Jersey unions (The first Negroes at Ballantine to do so), no other Negroes at Ballantine had gotten in. Ballantine representatives indicated that they expected NY CORE to be patient and understanding and to give Ballantine credit for their efforts in achieving less than 1% integration among regular production workers. They also felt that NY CORE should give credit to the teamster locals for cooperating in this achievement.

The representatives of Ballantine reacted negatively to the idea that the unions involved should sit in on the negotiations, finally agreed to contact them and recently informed the Employment Committee that the union representatives had refused to meet with NY CORE.

The representatives of Ballantine have said nothing to the NY CORE Employment Committee about negotiations with WestEssex CORE or about a new "break through" against descrimination. Instead, The Employment Committee was given to understand that Ballantine was responsible for the "breakthrough" of the 17 Negro workers, that they had started working in this direction in 1962, achieving the less than 1% integration of regular production and distribution workers in June 1964.

The representatives of Ballantine also said nothing about the front page story scheduled to appear that week in The Amsterdam News which played up the achievement of regular status of the 17 Negroes (to make it appear of recent date) and which credited West Essex CORE with negotiating this accomplishment.

NY CORE Employment Committee met with a member of Bronx CORE who had sat in at a meeting of NALC and the New York Breweries Association (December 15, 1964) as an observer for National CORE. He informed the Employment Committee that Negroes at Shaeffer accused CORE of "selling them out." He also informed the Committee that a program to train Negroes to become truck drivers had been agreed upon at the NALC - BREWERIES meeting and expressed the hope that this would provide jobs for Negroes. On this basis, he asked The Employment Committee to call off the boycott and enter into these negotiations.

The Employment Committee refused to call off the boycott and instead arranged for a meeting with Bronx and Brooklyn CORE to extend the boycott beyond Harlem and this meeting was called off without consulting the NY CORE Employment Committee. (December 22)

RECENT EVENTS

At the last membership meeting (December 23) the representatives of Regional and National CORE accused the NY CORE EmploymentCommittee of unethical conduct and violation of the rules for action, in that they did no research or undertake negotiations with Ballantine before calling a boycott and with disregarding West Essex CORE's letterof complaint. Regional (CORE) representative reported that James Farmer had recommended that NY CORE suspend the boycott ponding meetings with Ballantine and West Essex CORE.

After hearing the Employment Committee, the membership voted to continue the boycott while holding discussions with James Farmer, West Essex and other CORE chapters.

A meeting was called composed of NY CORE Chairman Clarence Funnye, representatives of the NY CORE Employment Committee and National and Regional CORE representatives, and West Essex CORE, which was supposed to attend and did not. ((December 29, 1964) A telegram from James Farmer wasread at this meeting instructing NY CORE to stop all public activities against Ballantine until after meeting with West Essex CORE and Ballantine, and also ordering the NEW YORK CORE to coordinate all future activties against Ballantine through Lou Smith, the Regional CORE representative, or suffer the possible penalty of disaffiliation and loss of their membership in CORE. The Employment Committee was to "evaluate its achievements" and not go into the community for a week ponding meetings with West Essex CORE and Ballantine.

The Employment Committee rejected this approach and voted to continue picketing and other public activities on behalf of the boycott, (as directed by the membership of NY CORE on December 23). This Employment Committee meeting was held on December 30. After the meeting some of the members of the Employment Committee was phoned by Clarence Funny and told not to go out to the community as per instructions from Mr. Farmer. Pending a clear decision by the membership on James Farmers telegram, the Employment Committee agreed not to picket nor pass out leaflets; to confine their activities to collecting statics from the supermarkets and grocery stores in Harlem as to the affect of the boycott.

DEMAND

The Employment Committee of NY CORE has demanded that 200 Negro workers (now classified ascasual, many of whom have been in this category for years) be admitted to union membership and placed on a regular employment status immediately.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Estimates of the effect of the boycott in Harlem were that the past 6 weeks Ballantine has lost one half to two-thirds of its business in grocery stores and supermarkets, and a substantial amount

of business in bars. Ballantine's represnotatives admit that the boycott has hurt their sales in Harlem.

WEAKNESSES

The boycott was confined to Harlem and did not receive a word of publicity in radio press nor television despite the 26 press releases sent out by the NY CORE Employment Committee. The Amsterdam News, by carrying the story planted by Ballantine, and by ignoring the Employment Committees news releases, weakened the effect of the boycott in Harlem.

Telephone calls to National, Regional and NY CORE asking whether the boycott was still in effect were either not answered or the callers (supermarket supervisors and bar managers) were informed that the boycott was off.

Attempts to involve the other CORE chapters in the boycott were stopped.

Involvement of other civil rights organizations was not accomplished.

ISSUES BEFORE NY CORE

Should an agreement by a local CORE Chapter, with an employer, for "token" integration, be permitted to bind other chapters?

Should a company doing 25% of its total business in the Negro community be permitted to continue token employment of Negroes?

Should a conservative labor aristocracy be allowed to try to solve problems of automation and unemployment in the brewery industry at the expense of black workers?

Should white workers be pitted against Negroes for a shrinking pool of jobs or should they be encouraged to fight in cooperation with black workers for a shorter work week at no cut in pay?

Should a boycott which has shown its effectiveness despite all obstacles and weaknesses be ended on technacalities, or should it now be extended and strengthened to force a real break-through for jobs for Negroes in breweries?

FOLLOW UP

On January 9, 1965 the Employment Committee of New York CORE met with the West Essex CORE group(Mr. and Mrs. Dave Anderson, Del Earisman and Edythe Jones in the Robert Tree Hotel in Newark, New Jersey. No agreement was reached because West Essex CORE remained unswerving in their opinion that the provisions attained by P. Ballantine & Sons were adequate, and New York CORE Employment Committee remained adament in their opinion that the provisions were merely "tokenism." However, everyone agreed that the pressure on P. Ballantine & Sons should be broadened to affect the 42 states serviced by Ballantine.

Surveys have been made every Saturday (January 2,9,16, & 23) by the Employment Committee to evaluate the effect of the boycott on Ballantine sales in Harlem. (Estimated 66 2/3% sales dropoff) Also, store managers were given reassurance by providing them with information that eradicated erronerous facts presented to them from unknown various sources. On January 16 the Employment Committee resumed picketing with placards and passed out leaflets while on the surveys, as per permission granted by Louis Smith. However, previous picketing (Saturdays, December 5, 12, and 19) was evidently sufficiently successful so that it was decided that very little future picketing was necessary to get results.

At the same time Lou Smith granted permission to resume the boycott activities he urged us to contact West Essex and adhere to Bob Kervin's original suggestion to broaden the boycott to the 42 states, to plan a more comprehensive program that would include white collar workers as well as blue. During the week of January 18 Mr. Harvey tried to contact Mr. Dave Anderson of West Essex CORE to arrange for such a meeting. As of date no response.

Approximately 70 stores and bars have been under surveillance -- all have been visited by the Employment Committee, and most have received a letter reassuring them that we are still promoting the boycott.

January 2, 1964

Survey of Grocery Stores: Harry Tanser and Hugh Frankenthaler

8th Ave.	A & P (124th) 10027	2304 8th Avenue	3-4- cases on shelf we did not come around Dec.26 to contradict Ballantin's rumor that boycott was off.
	GARDEN MARKET Mr. Parker	2364 8 Ave. 10027	no Bal. beer on shelves
	PIONEER 129th	2403 8Th Ave. 10027	Bal. beer on shelves and in refrigerator
	EASTERN MARKET	2413 8th Ave. 10027	15 cases in refrig. and shelves
	A & P (131st)	2437 8th Ave. 10027	3 week period: over 500 cases were cut because of boycott. Cans moving slowly
	CAROLINE MARKET Mr. Klatt	2443 8th Ave.	8 or 9 cases were cut out of sales. 5 cases in refrig.
	NATIONAL GROCERY STORE 127th	2453 8th Ave.	600 dropped to 200 this week 8 cases in refrig.
	FLAGG'S SUPER MARKET 130th 10030	2468 8th Ave.	4 cases in refrig. were put back on Thurs. Dec. 26 no publicity from CORE. Bal. beer still moving.
	Manager called NYCORE, referred to B. Criswell said boycott was over.		Lou Smith - received no info -
	MIDTOWN SUPER MARKET Larry Overton said it was settled.	2518 8th Ave,	6 cases in refrig. 50 cases a week cut back.
	FINAST Mr. John Pidgeon 136	2535 8th Ave.	5 cases on shelves ½ case in refrig no orders were placed for three weeks, New Year Eve: brot up beer. 15 - 20 cases ordinarily per week

SURVEY January 2 Grocery Stores

Harry Tanser
Cyril Harvey
Sydney Bridgeman
Ivan Ceasar

FOOD FAMILY 2243 7th Ave. (132nd) 10 30

Frank Esposito manager
Rosenbloom - district manager

Balantine has lost
$1000 in 3 weeks -
$500 by store
usually sells 300 cases a week
Dec. 23 - no news - beer up
Jan 2. - beer off per our visit

GARDEN DAITCH SHPWELL 10 30.
448 Lenox Ave.
(132nd) AU 4 9645
Manager - Mr. Walsh

$600 loss

January 9, 1965

Cyril Harvey
Harry Jaffe
Hugh Hamilton

Sydney Rubinowitz

SuperMarket 2367 8th Avenue

✓ A & P 131st St. 8 th Ave. "Please give straight lodd down"

✓ Flagg's 2468 8th Ave. Funnye (Manager) "everybody confirmed boycott was off - even NY Times"

complaint: no communication
effort on wrong place
boycott no good - no CORE Members around

2243
FOOD FAMILY - 132 & 7th Ave. FO 8-8560

Big Apple Bar & Grill - 283-9240 137th & 7th Ave.

January 16

Hugh Ryan Deputy Chief
Cyril Harvey
Sydney Pidgeon

D Garden Super Market (Daitch) 309 W. 125th

Spoke to manager: Lou Smith hadtold him there was a truce between NY CORE and W.Essex CORE and Balantine: so Balantine beer wasput back on shelves. C. Harvey tol them boycott was still on, beer was to be taken off shelves, and all the other Daitch stores were to be notified.

A & P. 124th & 8th Avenue - Small amount of beer on shelves, advised that boycott wason, and assurred that beer would come off shelves.

Garden Market - 8th Avenue and 126th Street Sandy - manager

Advised and assured beer would be removed

National Grocery - 2453 8th Avenue - 127th

advised of boycott, assured that beer would be removed

Flaggs 8th Avenue 130th Street

sme as above

Finest - ~~8th~~ 2535 8th Avenue Mr. John Pidgeon

sme

Carolina 2443 8th Ave. Mr. Glat

sme

January 23, 1965

Cyril Harvey, Lynn Robinson
Chcuk Wilson, Roger Aaron
Harry Tanser, Hugh Frankenthaler
Sydney Bridgeman

Garden 309 W. 125th

A & P 124th & 8th Ave.

Sports Inn Bar 124th Street & 8th Avenue 2308-8th ave UN 4-8323

Roman Cafe " "

Charles Bolliti of Capri Bar & Restaurant 515 Lenox Ave.

Jack Kirsch 2095 Eighth Avenue

Fada Restaurant, Inc.
c/o Harlem Grill 2401 8th Ave. 12)th

Pioneer 2403 8th Avenue 129th

Maxwell Cafe 129th

Mike Milligan 2308 8th Avenue

Fountain Blue Bar 2500 8th Avenue 134th

Super Market: Midtown 2518 8th Ave.

Joe's Super Market 2528 8th Ave.

Ansonia Bar & Grill 2513 8th Ave. AU 3-8576

Finest 136th & 8th Avenue

Supermarket 906 St. Nicholas Avenue W. 155th

~~Finest 1016 St. Nicholas Avenue~~

Finest 135th Street & Lenox Terrace — 10030

Food Family 756 St. Nich. Ave. 148th

Mr. John Myers mgr. 1016 St. Nichoals. Finast

Soans Sup. Markt 162nd & St. Nich.

Pioneer Food Store 118~~th~~ West 125th Street UN 5-0300

" 4405 Broadway 10032

Sloan's Mr. Jules Rose 4290 Broadway SW 5-5600

" Bill Jackson Mgr. 1033 St. Nicholas WA 8-9638

MEMORANDUM

TO: Joyce Ware, Regional Office, CORE Date: January 11, 1965

FROM: Stanley Sterling, Social Workers for Civil Rights Action

RE: Social Workers in Their Professional Roles

This memorandum briefly summarizes the activity of our organization, Social Workers for Civil Rights Action, with special reference to the activities of "social workers in their professional roles".

BACKGROUND

During the Summer of 1964, moved by events in Mississippi and New York City, some social workers came together to raise funds for volunteers in Mississippi and circulate petitions for civil rights. Interest was solidified when three civil rights workers were murdered, and Social Workers for Civil Rights Action was created. At a rally in the Community Church on October 22, 1964, attended by 650 social workers, a three-point program was adopted:

1) To establish the Michael Schwerner Memorial Fund to continue to provide social work services on behalf of civil rights in the South,

2) To organize and develop opportunities for social workers to volunteer professional services to established civil rights organizations, and

3) To participate as citizens in community civil rights activities.

PROGRAM

To implement opportunities for social workers to volunteer professional services to civil rights organizations, contact was made with CORE and a basis for organizing social work tasks was devised. At the center of the program is the belief that chapters would improve their "staying power" by shifting some of their attention from broad city-wide policy issues to more direct work on neighborhood problems as they are experienced daily by residents. Further, a chapter's interest in broadening the base of participation of neighborhood residents requires its concentration on problems as the residents experience them.

Thus, the central foci of work would be:

1) Offer concrete help on day-to-day problems of neighborhood residents (Department of Welfare, housing, narcotics, medical care, education, etc.)

2) Development of groups of neighborhood residents having the same problems, to work toward group solutions where possible.

3) Development of a systematic approach toward influencing institutional service patterns in the ghetto communities.

4) Increase indigenous leadership potential of chapter members.

In developing a working relationship between a chapter and our group, two major conditions should be built in:

1) Tasks assigned to the social workers should be specified as precisely as possible, and

2) Time limits should be established around all assignments.

Thus, the chapter leadership could be assured that the social workers are not redefining the chapter's function and goals, and that the social work group's life in the chapter office is based on the chapter's periodic decision to extend it. We believe that this understanding can help both the chapters and the social workers develop and maintain a relationship in which neither group feels imposed upon.

The general types of social work activity anticipated at this time might look like the following:

1) Social Service Desk:

A scheduled availability of a "Social Service Desk" in each chapter office, to which residents could be directed for help with any problem.

This work will generally emphasize a service negotiation function wherein the worker will represent the resident as "a social worker from CORE". It is anticipated that problems of bureaucratic inequity and red-tape will be most prominent. Short-term counselling, referral and referral follow-up is expected to be other forms of work required.

2) Group Meetings:

Meetings will be organized on a scheduled basis around specific types of problems. For example, a meeting about the welfare "system", focused on mutual education and problem identification could be held at regular intervals, with neighborhood residents being encouraged to attend for both learning and direct help.

These activities might form the base of the over-all social service program in a chapter. Other activities might include helping groups of residents having a similar problem with a community institution (welfare centers, clinic, etc.) to work on finding group solutions to problems that appear to be less amenable to individual solutions.

In addition, an on-going system of recording will be devised that could help to locate clusters of similar neighborhood problems around which groups may be organized. This can also form the basis for collecting data on a city-wide basis regarding problems common to many neighborhoods, reflecting a need for action at a higher level of policy formulation.

Specific tasks that a social worker might find himself engaged in are:

1) Interviewing: helping a resident carve a workable problem out of the large mass of problems that brought him into the chapter office.

2) Short-term counselling: for those problems needing no more than two or three interview sessions.

3) Referral: to agencies in the community appropriate to deal with the problem brought in by the resident.

4) Follow-up of referral: to check that the service for which a resident was referred was obtained. In general, this aspect of our work will be emphasized with a view toward building the chapter as a meaningful source of accountability for the availability and quality of services offered by neighborhood institutions.

5) Recording: simple, a log-style recording of who came for what service, what was done about it, and what was the outcome will be required in order to coordinate the work and to develop services. These recording devices will need to await development and refinement by each group of social workers in their respective chapters.

Group Work: with small groups of people having a similar problem.

6) Training indigenous workers: training residents and chapter members to help individuals and groups around problems not requiring a high order of professional skill.

7) Developing manuals: helping chapter workers develop information manuals regarding housing, welfare, medical and educational services.

Although we are hopeful that this work by social workers can enhance the efforts of CORE chapters toward the aims of the civil rights movement, we are fully aware and concerned about the barriers to be overcome before these benefits can be realized. Coordinating the work of a group of volunteers in a chapter office; communications between workers in the same chapter; the necessity of one case being handled by more workers, etc., will require planning and innovation of the highest order. However, task is worthy, the motivation is high, and the skills necessary for the task are available. We now need only begin.

Stanley J. Sterling

SJS/cf

Western Regional Office
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
2085 Sutter Street
San Francisco, California

TO: George Wiley
FROM: Wilfred T. Ussery
SUBJECT: Western Region and Western Regional Office
DATE: January 25, 1965
Period covered by report: September, 1964 - January, 1965

I. PROGRAM - There does not exist in the Western Region, any programs that can be described as Western Regional Program. Most activity in the Region is the result of chapters pursuing or implementing programs which they develop.

A. Objectives - The current objective which now receives the most attention is the organizing of the Regional Action Council. This is viewed to be important because of the belief that a working, broadly-based regional action council can solve many of the problems that are facing chapters in the Region. The most important of which is that of providing direction and training.

The Western Regional Convention, which was held recently in Los Angeles, found a strong need for servicing of chapters, etc. It is as a result of that strong expression by the chapters that the primary objective of Regional leadership is to resolve problems of chapter servicing, which our chapters do not get because of the absence of a field secretary and because of lack of money.

B. Activities - See attached resume of chapter activities.

II. STAFF

NAME	AGE	POSITION	DUTIES
Shirley Mesher	39	Community Relations Assistant	Nat'l & Reg. Fund Raising and Publicity
Lois Rogers	33	Office Secretary - General Office Work, Bookkeeping, Assisting RAC	
Bill Brown	21	Task Force - Composing training manuals for chapters	
Bennie Holmes	25	Task Force Worker - Composing training manuals for chapters	
Diane Callaghan	26	Volunteer - Reviewing chapter files, compiling manuals and General Office work	
Herbert McCanlies	62	Volunteer - Typing	
Debbie Frankle	28	Volunteer - Assisting Shirley Mesher	
Pam Gerould	22	Volunteer - Assisting Shirley Mesher	
Hugh List	22	Volunteer - " " "	
Pat Murphy	25	Volunteer - " " "	
Mary Comer	38	Volunteer - " " "	

III. FACILITIES - Western Regional Office, 2085 Sutter Street, Room 310, San Francisco, California - JO 7-3430

A. Autos owned - none

B. Equipment

1. IBM Electric typewriter - rented at $25.00 per month
2. 2 Underwood Electric typewriters (loan)
3. Repco Copy machine (Donated)
4. Smith Corona manual typewriter (donated)
5. 1 file cabinet, letter size

North Florida Citizenship Education Project
Route 3, Box 428-F
Quincy, Florida
Phone: 627-8458
January 15, 1965

To: George Wiley, Associate Director, Richard Haley, Southern Director
From: Spiver W. Gordon, Florida Field Secretary
Subject: Field Report for North Florida Project
Period Covered by Report: September 1, 1964 to January 15, 1965
Project Jurisdiction: Gadsden, Madison, Jefferson, Leon, Liberty, Lafayette and Suawannee Counties

1. Program: September 1, to October 3, 1964 The project was entirely devoted to voter registration and much emphasis was placed on developing local leadership.

October 3 to November 3 The project was concerned with voter registration, arranging election day details, and canvassing to get out the vote on Nov. 3.

November 4, 1964 to January 15, 1965 The vows of the project changed somewhat with the continuation of voter registration and the beginning of community organization programs, Freedom Schools, community Centers and the establishment of a Voter Group. An attempt has been made to implement the anti-poverty program in North Florida. In Liberty and Lafayette Counties, an Education class has been set up and is doing well.

2. Staff: September 1 to November 8, 1964

NAME	POSITION	DUTIES	AGE
Rev. B. Elton Cox,	Field Secretary,	Direction (Returned to N.C.)	
David S. McVoy,	Asst. Director,	Direction (Left Project)	21
Stuart Wechsler,	Task Force Worker,	Field Work	22
Sidney Daniels,	Task Force Worker,	Field Work	19
Sadie Jones,	Task Force Worker,	Field Work	22
David Dukes,	Task Force Worker,	Field Work	18
Scott McVoy,	Task Force Worker,	Field Work (Left Project)	20
Doris Rutledge,	Task Force Worker,	Field Work (" ")	20
Laura Geison,	Volunteer		

3. Facilities: Office and Centers
State office--20-B S. Adams St., Quincy, Fla., Phone: 627-8458 (includes Freedom Library)

Havana office--Palace AME Church, Havana, Fla., Phone: 539-6236
Chattahoochee Center--338 P. O. Box, River Junction Station, Chattahoochee, Fla.

Autos
one 1965 Plymouth, owned by Spiver Gordon, financial arrangement by CORE, 7 cents a mile when able, at this time, out of his salary
one 1959 Simca, owned by Laura Geison, financial arrangement provided by project (now broken down beyond repair)

Major Items of Equipment
one old typewriter, one file cabinet (one drawer type), one old desk, one television set, five hundred books in library, one rented mimeo machine, one slide projector, owned by local CORE group

4. Budget: (figures are approximate)

	Nov. '64	Dec. '64	Jan. & Feb. '65
auto expense	$ 57.	$ 50.	$ 50.
rented cars	$400.	$ 25.50	--
phone bills	$140.	$ 75.	$ 50.??
rent, utilities	$115.	$115.	$ 75.
mimeo supplies	$175.	$150.	$150.
salary and expense advance	$ 60.	--	--
travel expense	--	--	--
rent of office (state office in Quincy, Fla.)	$ 40.	$ 50.	$ 50.
rent of offices in other counties	--	--	--
Totals	$987.	$465.50	$375.

Debts owed locally by project, money for which is needed NOW! (no record at national office.)

gas bill -- 2 months	$150.
telephone bill -- 2 months	$200.
rented mimeo machine	$200.
rent of office -- 3 months	$150.
Total	$700.

5. Evaluation: Major accomplishments
1. The project in North Florida bas had the highest number of Negro voters (increase) in the entire South (about 7,000 in 7 counties).
2. Perhaps the most successful get-out-the-vote campaign in the State.
3. We witnessed and aided the fall of all-white voter registration (for the first time since reconstruction days) in Liberty and Lafayette Counties.
4. A beneficial atmosphere was created by the Task Force Workers in their respective areas whereby tenant farmers realized that FREEDOM is not just a word.

6. Failures:
1. The project has had something of a failure in its efforts to find strong leadership in a few counties.
2. There has been a lack of communication between whites.
3. It has been difficult to arrange communication between Negro groups separated by great distances.

7. Problems:
   1. Staff limitations (number of workers)
   2. Financial limitation
   3. Legal arm
   4. Lack of equipment
   5. Constant police harassment
   6. Reprisals by white employer on farms and elsewhere

8. Recommendation:
   1. Prompt payment of $700. in debts.
   2. An additional car (lease $125/month plus $150 operating expenses).
   3. One mimeograph machine.

January 15, 1965

TO: George Wiley

FROM: Marvin Rich

RE: Expense Projection, Community Relations,
January 1, 1965 through May 31, 1965

				COST
1.	Brotherhood Appeal - 70,000 to CORE list half may come in January, but probability is that all bills will come in February			$ 7,000
2.	Outside Appeals			
	a. Jan-Feb-Mar (Church Burning)	300,000		
	Jan.	$ 2,500		
	Feb.	15,000		
	Mar.	6,500		
			$24,000	
	b. Apr-May Appeal - 150,000			
	Apr.	$ 4,000		
	May	8,000		
			$12,000	
				36,000
3.	COREIator 70,000 per issue costs us $1,000 per month			6,000
4.	Special Fund Raising $1,500 per month (includes fees, printing, travel)			9,000
5.	Associate Membership Campaign (Feb. & Mar.)			3,000
6.	Publications, brochures, reprints, mimeo material			3,000
	TOTAL			$64,000

These bills may not come in exactly as scheduled but the new obligations, exclusive of staff, will be approximately as indicated. However, postage must be available when needed for appeals if we are not to reduce our income.

This is a bare meat and bones budget. There should be provisions for a film and for more publications.

About 60% of our income comes from direct mail appeals. We have developed the CORE list so that it brings in money directly from appeals and can be used successfully in exchanges with other organizations. The balance of our funds comes from personal solicitation and from rallies, benefits and organizational contributions.

CORE List Appeals

By February 27, 1964, we had received $107,336. from 8,138 contributors on our Fall budget card appeal. This was an average contribution of $13.22. As of January 22, 1965 (not a directly comparable period), we had received $97,609. from 8,590 contributors to our 1964-1965 budget card appeal. This was an average contribution of $11.14.

We plan to mail our Brotherhood appeal to 70,000 persons during the first week of February. Last year -- 1964 -- we had received $59,000. from this appeal by August 31. However, the great bulk of the money, $48,000., was received by the end of April. Since the appeal was mailed later last year than this, we expect that we shall begin receiving money earlier this year.

Outside Appeals

We are now working on an outside appeal to approximately 300,000 names. This should begin going into the mail by January 29. It is my estimate that we should receive about $45,000. in income from this appeal at a cost of approximately $24,000. If this appeal appears successful, we will follow up with approximately 250,000 additional names in April and May.

A number of union leaders have expressed an interest in honoring Jim Farmer at a testimonial dinner late in the Spring or in the early Summer. This project could result in a very substantial amount of income for CORE at a very critical period. However, the prolonged strike at the New York City Department of Welfare has made it difficult for me to get this project rolling, since some of the union leaders are involved in that strike.

I'd recommend a memorial meeting on June 21, on the anniversary of the death of James Chaney, Mickey Schwerner and Andrew Goodman. We would make this a simple and dignified meeting and would present a book to the families of those involved. This book would be later published and sold. W. W. Norton Co. has agreed to donate to us their share of the profits. Mrs. Levy has secured a volunteer coordinator who would secure a list of prominent authors who would contribute articles to the book. We have a file of photographs taken by Mickey Schwerner in Mississippi that would make up one section of the book.

The following fund raising areas require some development and additional attention. The federal government has a number of programs which could conceivably support our projects both in the South and in the North. Some of these are the Anti-poverty program, Manpower Development and Training and some educational programs. We must explore these more intensively. We have discussed this possibility with a volunteer who is experienced in this field.

The Associate Membership Campaign has not been a great success in the past. We carry the campaign because it does involve joint chapter/national fund raising and because it gives us an entree to the Negro community which we do not get from direct-mail. This program should be gradually beefed up by use of additional publicity materials, speaking tours, and support from NAC members. This year, James Farmer, Mrs. Chaney, Barbara Moss Chaney and John Henry Faulk have agreed to speak for us. We are working to secure other speakers.

Public Information

Our public information program is centered on statements by Jim Farmer, our press releases, and the CORElator as well as occasional pamphlets and reprints. We also secure the publication of articles in outside magazines and journals. We maintain a file of photographs which is generally available to us, for pamphlets and fund raising, to our chapters and to publishers.

Farmer continues to do a magnificent job of interpretation of CORE policy and of responding to events of the day. We do a relatively poor job of securing the necessary background information for him. I hope that this can be done better partially by organizing a group of university people who will do research on particular problem areas.

Our weekly press releases are very widely carried in the Negro press. However, they could be still more effective if we secured real cooperation from chapters and staff so that we receive material from the field. Jim Peck has great difficulty in this area. He has particular difficulty in securing photos from the field.

The CORElator is mailed to associate members of CORE and serves a public information and fundraising function. Recent changes in paper, self-mailing and postal rates have allowed us to mail a six-pager for considerably less than we formerly spent on a four-pager. The CORElator is our major printed face to our supporters. As such, it can be very effective -- but its effectiveness depends upon the quickness and thoroughness with which we receive reports of action from the field.

The idea of a southern newsletter, mimeographed or offset, on a twice-weekly basis is a good one. It might help develop a news sense and a regular system of reporting from the South. To do this and to generally improve our P.R. situation there requires the assignment of a task force worker to this function in the New Orleans office. It also requires at least a workshop session (including news criteria, servicing the media and photographic techniques) with a few workers from each project area. The southern staff workshop on January 21-23 was a start in this direction.

Our pamphlets tend to be large runs of larger pamphlets for use with our entire list. I believe that it might be wise to experiment with smaller runs of say 10,000 for use with our larger contributors, our chapters and special lists. These would be of small-size pamphlets on a particular aspect of program or project. Such a piece designed for the Brotherhood Month appeal on the Freedom Schools is enclosed. Reprints of magazine articles are an inexpensive way of publicizing program. They have the disadvantage of not necessarily representing our exact approach, but this isn't fatal.

We hope to work with the department of organization in preparing training materials. These would be looseleaf manuals on community organization, public relation, fund raising, and specific programs such as the poverty program, negotiation techniques, etc.

Staff Development and Training

Our fund raising training program is going well. Fund raising is a difficult art, requiring skill, understanding and experience. The training program will not develop a competent staff overnight, but it will permit us to function and to expand with a force of workers on salaries far below the going professional rates. We should probably train one or two other people in this trogram now.

We have made use of professional volunteers on an ad hoc basis for major projects. We should begin to organize them into functioning committees to give us advice, do special jobs and secure discounts and entree to particular situations.

STENCIL SECTION

Staff

Peter Windsor
Susanne Hawkins
Laura Wynder
Dorothy Warren
Isel Rojas

Functions

Changes of addresses for actives and specials
type new stencils
filing new stencils
entering contributions on stencils
geographicalize all membership envelopes
pull TBD's out of master files
process daily deposits
process the contact list once a week for new and changes and drops
address press list once a week
addres contact list when needed
address chapter chairman list when needed
processing the following lists
- MOW
- student
- parents for summer volunteers
- legal department lawyers list
- New York area lists

address these lists when requested
address exchanges and rentals
address the CORElators every two months
mail receits and mail press weekly and other mailings
address appeals when due
packing and shipping and receiving for department
cross checking lists to confirm typing done outside is correct
confirming deposits with Babbette and Brenda

Inner-Office Memorandum January 27, 1965

To : George Wiley, Associate National Director

From : Robert Gore, Assistant Director, Organization Department

RE : Chicago

The project is under the jurisdiction of Winston Lockett. The program involves the operation of three "Freedom Centers" in Chicago's North, South and West Sides . The program is geared towards organizing the ghetto communities for meaningful action to provide the basic necessities of political, economic and social urban life.

Activities since September 1964 have included rent strikes, demonstrations regarding the lack of a viable education system, job referrals, classroom activities, work with the Illinois Democratic Clubs, and other varied CORE-type activities.

Presently, Winston Lockett is the only paid staff member working in Chicago. His duties are to coordinate the activities of the centers in addition to his general field work in the Mid-West region.

There are, as stated above three centers run by CORE in Chicago. They are currently financed totally by Chicago CORE, through local contacts. Formerly, the centers were financed by National CORE to some extent, but the feeling there is that the local chapters can now finance and staff all three centers.

Major accomplishments of the program thus far are in those areas where CORE has been able to establish a good working relationship with the people who live in the communities surrounding the centers. On the West Side, for example, for the first time in recent Chicago history there is real concern on the part of the community people for organized action. In each of the centers, persons from the affected community have become involved with the operation rather than relying solely on CORE members. Predictably, these Freedom Centers will be the foci for many activities which will benefit the movement in Chicago.

Previous problems which are now being worked out with some degree of satisfaction have been relations with some local chapters. Because of a bit of misunderstanding during the early phases of the program, local chapter support was not as strong as desirable. At this point, however, all units of Chicago CORE are helping--in fact, they are carrying the whole program.

Recommendations would be that National CORE maintain closer contact with the Chicago project in order that previous misunderstandings will not occur. Also, National CORE should support the community center project in Chicago vigorously in a programmatic way. Although the program is moving along well, any assistance we can give would be helpful.

To: Mr. George Wiley, CORE Associate National Director

From: Benjamin A. Brown, Staff Associate, CORE Southern Education Project

Subject: Recapitulation of C.S.E.P. Operations

As the supervisor of theMembership Department I organized the clerical volunteers originally into an ad hoc committee called "CORE Books for Mississippi Committee." The purpose was twofold: 1) to involve these workers in meaningful non-actionist activity that would advance the program of CORE; and 2) to cement their relations with the National Office in a way as to guarantee continued group production of clerical services to reduce the cost of office operations.

Systematic organized mass appeals were made through mass letter writing appeals to manufacturers, dealers, trade unions, churches and publishers asking for contributions of books, equipment and funds to help us equip new CORE centers in the deep South. Although some scepticism was voiced by some staff people, the campaign proved immediately successful. We obtained enough supplies from our efforts to fully equip two centers: Canton and Meridian. Letters came from the South indicating that new centers were in the making despite funds shortages, so, expanding our activities: fund-raising and solicitation of supplies, we changed our name to CORE Southern Education Project, and set about to fulfill their needs. Simultaneously we launched campaigns to have the public ship supplies direct to the South. These campaigns were successful even beyond our expectations. After a year of operations we could report to the National Director that we had shipped over 50,000 general books and specialized books about Negro and African life and history, plus enough mimeographs, phonographs, tape recorders, typewriters, sewing machines, etc. to meet at least the basic needs of all centers functioning in the South. Total value of all books and equipment shipped as of 10/22/64 was estimated at $27,584.79 by the C.S.E.P. auditing committee.

Concurrently with our book/equipment campaign we organized small scale fund-raising programs: talent programs, recitals, a Harlem rally with Jim Farmer and two art shows. Due to the National Office's desperate financial situation we contributed an approximate total of $1200.00 to it.

Preently, along with our book/equipment efforts, we are presenting an AFRICA NIGHT program of songs, dances, music and dinner. Also we are issuing an all occasion greeting card with a poem written for us by Langston Hughes and a drawing done for us by Tom Feelings. Moreover, responding to the many requests from South and North, we are compiling bibliographies of Negro history, literature and culture, which will, we hope, be the most comprehensive collection in existence. When it is complete we plan to produce an illustrated CORE GUIDE TO NEGRO HISTORY AND LITERATURE with synopses of the most outstanding books, and with brief references to lesser and less significant books. With the approval of the organization we plan to have this booklet printed (including appropriate statements by CORE leadership and/or staff) and made available as a popular fund-raising project for CORE. We urge the endorsement of this project at a time when The Negro Personality, our history and culture have become basic factors in the freedom movement.

Moreover, we urge that more greeting cards with the Negro image, however projected, are produced for sale by CORE. Finally, there is a great demand today for books about the Negro people. Cannot we profitably include such books as John Hope Franklin's FROM SLAVERY TO FREEDOM, the anthology, NEGRO CARAVAN, Dr. Carter G. Woodson's NEGRO MAKERS OF HISTORY, the works of Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, E. Franklin Frazier, et. al. for sale to our associate membership? Surely such contributions to Negro culture are obviously vital to our many-sided struggle for freedom, dignity and equality in America. Incidentally, publishers offer us a 40% discount, and such an undertaking could be a profitable venture for CORE.

In summary, I think that we can learn from the experiment of the C.S.E.P. that clerical volunteers can be effectively utilized in sustained interest by involving them in vital educational and fund-raising activities when this endeavor is undertaken by experienced and patient direction. I have found that there are thousands of sympathetic people willing to make a contribution to civil rights short of direct action. I suggest that this vital energy, which has saved the National Office at least 1/3 of its working man hours under my direction for the past 2½ years be tapped across the country. Similar ventures could be launched from Chicago and the West Coast.

Much credit for the success of the C.S.E.P. must go the the following volunteers, past and present, who have contributed so much to our pilot program: Mary Buckley, my wife, Robert Daniels, June Corbett, Virginia Hood, Ashley King, Iris Smith, Samuel Akesson, Marily Einhorn, Virginia Talarico, Peter Windsor (staff) Willie Mae Webb, Rose Gordon, Pamela Day, Carolyn Goslin, Peggy Howard, David Holderidge, et. al.

Since the first C.S.E.P. report was issued we have shipped over 25,000 additional new books South, acquired an estimated $4,000 worth of art works contributed by participating artists in our two exhibits, and acquired about $800.00 worth of equipment for shipment South.

M E M O R A N D U M

January 28, 1965

TO: GEORGE WILEY

FROM: CLORA COLEMAN

RE: JOB DESCRIPTIONS, ADMINISTRATIVE DEPT.

James Farmer----------National Director
George Wiley----------Associate National Director
Ed Day----------Business Manager
Clora Coleman----------Office Manager

Ben Brown, Staff Associate
(Coordinator of CORE Southern Education Project)

Nancy Mutarelli, Staff Associate
(Coordinator of appointment and travel schedules and supervisor of Secretarial staff in offices of National Director and Associate Director.

Annie Page-----Secretary
Mildred Thomas---"
Carolyn Frierson-"

A. BOOKKEEPING

JENIS WILLIAMS -----Head Bookkeeper

(1) Enter cash receipts & disbursements daily.
(2) Prepare depositary work sheet -monthly
(3) Prepare work sheets and copies for Disability and Compensation Unemployment.
(4) Prepare form 941 for Internal Revenue Service.
(5) Make General Ledger entries.
(6) Prepare work sheet form 941- quarterly

BRENDA THOMPSON --Assistant Bookkeeper

(1) Prepare daily deposit.
(2) Prepare deposit work sheet.
(3) Code Special contributions.
(4) Maintain chapters sub-ledger.

EARTHA QUINTANO-- " "

(1) Keep accounts payable ledger up to date.
(2) Keep bills paid in check number order.
(3) Keep petty cash accounts in order
(4) Check writing when necessary.

CONT.

BOOKKEEPING (cont.

JEAN JONES----------Assistant Bookkeeper

(1) Prepare payroll.
(2) Reconcile payroll totals.
(3) Reconcile individual payroll sheets.
(4) Check writing when necessary.

ARVIND BLAUSER ----- " "

(1) Reconcile bank statements
(2) Reconcile expense accounts
(3) Enter expense reconciliations in sub-ledger.

BARBARA CODE---------Figure Clerk

(1) All filing department.
(2) Prepare bank statement for reconciliation.
(3) Check additions on expense reports.
(4) Billing.

B. SWITCHBOARD

MARIE SIMMONS

(1) Receive and place calls.
(2) Take messages when necessary.
(3) Determine nature of calls and refer to proper party when necessary
(4) Function as receptionist.
(5) Miscellaneous clerical duties (very limited)

C. STOCKROOM PERSONNEL

CARLOS ROJOS
ALEX MIGUEL
JULIO FIGUEROA (part time)

STOCKROOM DUTIES

(1) Pickups and deliveries.
(2) Fill bulk literature orders -books, records, hats, buttons, etc.
(3) Stock inventories.
(4) Organize stockroom and basement storage.
(5) Operate postage, mimeograph and folding machines.

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Dr. George A. Wiley, Associate National Director

From: Edwin A. Day, Business Manager

Subject: Report on Physical Reorganization and Renovation of National Office

In the interest of a much needed, major increase of national staff efficiency, productivity, and morale, I have proceeded with all due haste on the long contemplated physical reorganization and renovation of the National Office.

Major objectives of this renovation are: 1) development of more "useable" floor space within the limits of the present office, 2) better functional location of office, 3) better traffic control and a reduction of congestion, 4) improved lighting, heating and ventilation, 5) reduction of noise level, 6) improved telephone and inter-office communications systems, 7) increased privacy for professional staff, 8) development of a visually more attractive work environment.

Although initial cost estimated from consulting contractors and our consulting architect place remodeling expenses at between $3,000 and $5,000, we are at present meeting the same specifications for an anticipated total cost of less that $500 through the use of cost-control measures, re-use of existing materials, solicitation of used furnishings, and the use of volunteer labor.

In view of the over $30,000 presently being expended each month for the services of national office personnel, a projected twenty to twenty-five percent increase in staff productivity as a result of the remodeling should yield a substantial return on this relatively small investment.

Demolition of outmoded walls and construction of new wall dividers were accomplished for the most part while the office was closed for the New Year's weekend. Plastering and painting have been completed on both the main volunteer work area (which can now also serve for press conferences, NAC meetings, and staff meetings) and the reception area. Work is presently under way on the individual offices.

Members of the office staff, both clerical and professional, have participated on the renovation work. Office morale is steadily improving concurrent with the reality of and prospects for a substantially improved work environment.

Additional space on the 9th floor of 38 Park Row has been acquired to house the recently expanded direct mail-stenciling operation.

All major goals of the reorganization and remodeling are being achieved.

M E M O R A N D U M

To; Dr. George A. Wiley, Associate National Director

From: Edwin A. Day, Business Manager

Subject: Job Specifications /Present and Projected Activities -

The function and task of the National CORE Business Manager is that of 1) within the policy guidelines of the annual CORE Convention and the National Action Council, and 2) within the limitations of present available funds, DEVELOPING, PROCURING, AND MAINTAINING THOSE PHYSICAL FACILITIES AND WORK ENVIRONMENTS MOST CAPABLE OF FACILITATING THE HUMAN RESOURCES OF CORE TO ASSERT THEIR GREATEST COLLECTIVE EFFECTIVENESS.

As a matter of logistics and designated need, first priority has been assigned to the operations of the National Office, with the projection that, with the attainment of a more tolerable level of effectiveness in this office, the Business Manager will be able to actively extend his work to include regional and field operations.

Within the context of the present financial situation, emphasis is being placed primarily in the "defensive sphere": cutting costs while at least maintaining, if not improving, productivity. Hopefully, once operations have achieved a more tolerable balance between actual funds and actual program and a more tolerable level of internal organization, emphasis may be shifted to the "offensive sphere.": 1) increasing productivity while maintaining costs, or 2) increasing productivity within the context of a decreasing productivity/ cost ratio.

Present operation priorities for the Business Manager are:

1) Renovation and reorganization of the National Office in order to maintain (and most probably improve) present levels of productivity while substantially diminishing total employment and total payroll.

2) Reorganization and substantial upgrading of the bookkeeping department in order to develop effective and long over-due records, checks and controls over financial outlays and commitments.

3) Cost analysis and cost reductions in the areas of purchasing and supplies.

4) Cost analysis and cost reductions in the areas of services and staff expenses.

Priority #1 is at present well under way. Due to the increasing needs for action on priority #2, action in this area is slated to commence immediately, concurrent with the completion of priority #1.

SPECIAL STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING — JANUARY 15, 1965
National CORE Office

Members present: McKissick, Brown, Ussery, Hall, Burton, Rosenfeld, Gartner, Peck, Turner, Curvin, Lacey, Sprowal

The meeting was called to order at 10:10 by the chairman, Floyd McKissick. The agenda for the meeting was announced:

1. Affiliations and disaffiliations.
2. State of CORE report - by Wiley, Rich, etc.
3. Communications between staff and NAC including the following suggested items for discussion announced in the call for this meeting:
   a. "The Dept. of Finance shall submit monthly statements of income and expenditures in addition to monthly budget projections for income and expenses to NAC members and key Staff personnel. The Dept. of Organization shall submit monthly reports to NAC members on all national, regional and chapter projects authorized by the NAC. Activity and plans for staff recruitment and training, as well as chapter servicing will be included in this report."
   b. "That the Associate Director also submit monthly reports and note in them the disposition of all directives from NAC to staff."
   c. "That minutes of staff meetings be promptly sent to NAC members and key staff personnel."
4. Staff issues, including the following suggested items announced in the call.
   a. "That much more information be made available to the NAC about persons being considered for openings so that intelligent decisions in line with the NAC's repponsibilities in hiring can be made."
   b. "The serious absence of direction for program reflects the need for a program assistant in the department of organization. Every effort should be made to fill this position as soon as possible."
   c. "That the fund-raising and community relations departments should be separated. A committee of the NAC and staff was appointed to study the question of fund-raising nation-wide August 8 and 9. This committee should either be vitalized or abolished."
5. National program
6. Regional Action Councils, including the following item suggested in the call: "That the RAC be recognized as a significant level of organization and be strenghthened and encouraged in every way possible. That the Dept. of Organization set up again the regional conferences that were discontinued last year and make its resources available to the RAC for their org. and development.
7. Allocations and priorities, including the following item suggested in the call: "That the NAC set up priorities for the allocation of funds and another set of priorities for cut-backs when they become necessary. It is our further recommendation that the training institute be given top priority in the plans for new expenditures."
8. National Director's overseas trip, including the following item suggested in the call: "That in the future no extended trips be planned by the National Director outside the country without prior approval of the NAC or its Steering Committee."

9. The National Convention
10. The next NAC meeting

The Steering Committee accepted by common consent the resignation of George Wiley from the NAC. Dr. Wiley is now serving as associate director.. It was ruled by the chairman that Dr. Wiley in his new position does not have a vote in this session of the Steering Committee since there are no constitutional provisions to that effect.

Affiliations and Disaffiliations - James McCain

The following chapters were recommended for affiliation by the Director of Organization:

Tyler, Texas CORE
Gainesville, Florida CORE
West Ascension, La. CORE
West Feliciana, La. CORE
Davenport, Iowa CORE
Westchester, NY CORE (New Rochelle, N.Y.)
Utica, NY CORE
Warren, Ohio CORE
De Ridder, La. CORE

Motion- that the chapters be affiliated (Ussery, Gartner). Passed unanimously. It was further recommended that the following chapters be disaffiliated: San Fernando Valley CORE and Santa Monica Bay Area CORE. According to the West Coast NAC members, the latter chapter voted to disband itself. Motion - that the latter chapter (Santa Monica Bay Area CORE) be disaffiliated but that action on the former be deferred pending an up-to-date report by the Second Vice Chairman (Gartner, Ussery). Motion passed unanimously.

State of CORE Report - George Wiley, Marvin Rich, Etc.

General discussion

The Associate Director described his views on the priority needs of CORE at this time---to take hold of the organization with respect to organization's problems, thus bringing the internal house into order, and to deal with the question of staff training and the direction of the program. He noted that some changes have already been made. Mr. Edwin Day, past executive secretary of Syracuse CORE, has been brought into the National Office as Business Manager. Mr. Day's initial assignment is the physical reorganization of the office, to oversee business functions (e.g. bookkeeping dept.), to improve the lines of communication within the organization, and to implement such economy procedures that are necessary to make the operation of the office more efficient.

Financial situation

Mr. Wiley commented on theproblem of making decisions without adequate information and the need for a good picture of the state of the

organization. The information needed to complete such a picture is not presently available for a number of reasons (e.g. lag in bookkeeping dept., absence of adequate reports from field staff personnel) but a report will be able to be compiled by the week preceding the Feb. 6 NAC meeting. (Reports are being requested from all personnel in the Dept. of Organization by Jan. 25 in order to make the completion of such a report possible.)

A summary of the growth of the national organization was given:

Year	No. on staff	Annual budget
1959	7	$ 62,000
1960	14	125,000
1961	17	240,000
1962	42	617,000
1963	49	525,000
1964	92	900,000

CORE faces however serious financial problems, so serious in fact that the problems of retrenchment must be dealt with.

DEBTS

	12/20/64	1/15/65
Bills/supplies	95,200	85,593
Legal	21,047	6,000
Loans	41,667	71,667
Staff	5,350	9,377
Chicago Project	8,100	5,000
Western office	2,000	1,000
Taxes	6,000	6,000
Southern Project	2,700	3,000
CURRENT	182,000	187,000
	Cash in hand	30,000
	DEBT	$157,000

The Financial Crisis

It was explained that presently the amount of staff time involved in dealing with creditors is unconscionable. It will take at least a year to get out of this kind of debt; a budget must be projected that will achieve this goal. In the month of January, as the result of personal contact, $25,000 has come into the office thus far but this does not necessarily represent an increase in overall income (since some of these funds would have come in normally at a later date). The Scholarship, Education and Defense fund is getting off the ground and is a bright spot. In some areas it can absorb expenses. It has established a legal defense budget of $77,400 annually. These have been-

a voter registration campaign in South Carolina which now is in the $9,000 -- $10,000 range. Their next priority is for leadership development and training. After that they will explore freedom schools and community centers.

Our changing financial situation is reflected in the fact that we have no longer been able to obtain interest-free loans as we once were, reflecting the frequency of borrowing attempts in recent months.

As the result of a number of problems (e.g. staff inadequacies and lack of adequate administration), the bookkeeping dept. is far behind in its work. The audit for the fiscal year ending May, 1964 was just begun at the beginning of January. The new business manager's next assignment is to put that dept. back on its feet.

A serious item among the debts owed is the amount of taxes owed to the government. This must be a top priority item for repayment for obvious reasons.

The budget must be projected within income and in the light of the debt owed. Mr. Wiley assessed that a monthly budget of $65,000 would be appropriate in view of the above discussion.

Retrenchment and priorities

In view of the fact that a full financial statement is not available it was decided by common consent that discussion on retrenchment and the priorities for cutbacks be postponed until such information is available with the understanding that this information will be in the hands of the NAC before its next meeting.

Associate Director's Job Priorities

The Associate Director outlined his own job priorities as follows:

1) Next 10 days - prepare "state of the organization" report for the NAC.
2) Southern staff conference next weekend. It is important to work out accounting procedures with the southern office, so that a more accurate financial statement from that region can be compiled.

Administrative changes

There have been certain administrative changes in the office:

1. Phone bill cut from $5,500 to $3,500 monthly through controls and some change in the crisis situation of the South. Educational procedures on the use of the phone are being worked out.
2. The stencil department and the membership department have been combined. All contributors and internal lists are handled by the combined department. The new system has resulted in a reduction of the office staff by three clerks.

3. The office is being renovated at minimal cost ($300-$500) through the efforts of several volunteers and Mr. Day.
4. There have been a number of resignations in the office (out of 6 persons on balance), but the retrenchment is not yet sufficient and more will probably be needed.
5. There has been a net loss of about 7 field staff in the South and 1 in the North as the result of retrenchment.

Hiring and firing

When asked for his interpretation of the NAC's authority in the question of hiring and firing, the Associate Director stated that in his opinion hiring was subject to review by the NAC but in the case of firing the question was less clear and the NAC had less authority. Discussion followed.

Marvin Rich's Resignation

Marvin Rich announced his resignation to be effective in the spring. Motion - with extreme regret the NAC accept Mr. Rich's resignation; this regret is tempered, however, with the knowledge that he will be working in his new position of the Executive Director of a fraternal organization, the CORE Scholarship, Ed. and Defense Fund (Gartner, Ussery). Motion to table - (Ussery, Lacey). Motion passed.

Communication - NAC and Staff

George Wiley explained that a memoranda was to be sent out Dec. 20 but was delayed. The minutes of staff meetings, which will be held weekly, will be sent out from now on. Motion - This Steering Committee direct the Associate Director to report on a monthly basis on the following:

1. State of implementation of previous NAC directives
2. Major staff decisions regarding finances, program and organization
3. General summary of departmental activities in the areas of finance, program and organization
4. Any other matters he considers important to communicate.

(Gartner, Ussery)

Motion passed, 1 against (Curvin)

By common consent it was agreed that Wiley will communicate to the staff such information that they must have in order to be kept abreast of the developments within CORE, recognizing that there are problems of communication there as well.

The Associate Director reported that the Business Manager will work on bringing the contact list up to date as a means of improving communication.

CLOSED SESSION

OPEN SESSION

Agenda

Motion - that the National CORE Convention plans and the mechanics of the next NAC meeting be discussed before breaking for the evening and that the Steering Committee divide itself into three groups to discuss program, community relations and the West Coast problem. (Turner, Brown). Motion passed.

Convention

The question was raised by Virginia Burton about Gordon Carey's functions in the two months after the last NAC meeting, since the convention was to be his main assignment. Motion - that the Convention Committee be free to look for other than campuses when selecting a site for the convention. (Brown, Turner). Motion passed. Motion - that the Convention Planning Committee bring in a report by the next meeting, even if they are able to communicate only by mail. (Turner). Motion passed.

Next NAC Meeting

By common consent the meeting will be held in New York February 5 to February 7, to be set up by Wiley and the administrative staff at a minimum cost. Tentative plans are being made for a Friday evening bull session. The probability of a cancellation of this meeting is near zero.

Steering Committee Meeting - January 15-17

It was recommended that the expenditures borne by Steering Committee members for this special call meeting, in view of the financial crisis of the organization, be borne on a volunteer basis by splitting up the cost and assessing it accordingly, Volunteers are Curvin, Lacey, Rosenfeld, Brown, Ussery and Turner.

Farmer's Trip to Africa

According to the staff, the trip was underwritten by [illegible] AMSAC, to be taken at this time. It was further suggested that questions regarding the timing of the trip should be referred to the next meeting, since the National Director feels strongly about his own time priorities. Rich commented that the time spent in Israel may be worthwhile financially. Motion - table discussion until such time as Farmer can be present. (Gartner, Ussery). Motion passed.

Church Burnings in Louisiana

Marvin Rich announced that there had been two church burnings in Jonesboro, La. It was suggested that a telegram should be sent to Katzenbach in the Justice Department on the need for significent increase of protection in Louisiana, in view of a number of recent incidents of violence in that state. Farmer should also bring attention to bear on the problem from Africa. Motion - instruct Marvin Rich to make whatever contact with the President and the press as seems appropriate to get action on the church burnings in Louisiana. Also that this body telegram its concern to the

Jonesboro community and finally that the staff take those steps it deems appropriate to get the churches rebuilt. (Gartner). Motion passed unanimously. By common consent it was agreed that the Director of Organization would communicate with the Southern Office and college contacts in order to involve students in the rebuilding of the churches.

California Fair Housing Fight

Motion - that the NAC send a telegram to the California authorities to protest any release of money for the building of California housing. That any appropriate additional contact to Weaver by the staff be taken to facilitate action. (Brown, Gartner).

National Program

The program subcommittee reported on its discussion of Saturday evening. Turner reported that much of the discussion concerned the question of membership training and education as a crucial first step to program development. Area conferences should become more disciplined training institutes for the development of second line leadership. Extensive memos should be sent on many program ideas so that chapters can choose the one or ones most appropriate to their own community needs. Suggested memo topics are:

1. The War on Poverty - a CORE interpretation
2. The CORE Community Center - how it differs from other social agencies, its purpose and function
3. Urban renewal - e.g., Trenton, New Jersey's experience
4. Target groups for organization by CORE; their problems and techniques for organizing them (e.g., veterans, mothers on public assistance, unemployed, people in public housing, unwed mothers)

If such a membership education program is to succeed, however, chapters must also communicate with the National Office, giving them up-to-date information on chapter membership lists and names of officers.

Discussion

The national training institute proposed by the NAC has not yet been financed (although the Scholarship Fund has made the institute a major commitment). The Department of Organization reported that certain memos are being prepared and articles on community organization are being readied for circulation. Shirley Lacey commented that the "what" of program is less important for chapters than the "how". It was the general feeling that national action projects such as the Freedom Rides are no longer what is required in order to rejuvenate CORE chapters and give them direction. Motion - instruct staff that the priorities of the NAC are as follows:

1. Develop a comprehensive series of local training institutes for more intensive training for leadership and program development
2. That a series of instructional memoranda be prepared and disseminated through the Department of Organization

3. Regarding national projects there are two priority items
   a. Development of a special South Carolina political program focused on the November, 1966, Senatorial election.
   b. The planning and development of a nationwide Mississippi boycott

(Gartner, Brown). Motion passed. Clarification of the motion - that the statement prepared by the National Director at Nyack be the first in the series of memoranda referred to in the motion.

Other suggestions for memos were tenant-landlord relations and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; what is needed in the reports is not just the advice of experts, but "gutsy" descriptions by CORE people. Motion passed unanimously. It was agreed by common consent that NAC members also prepare such memos on policy, program items and direction, to be turned in to Wiley by January 25.

The Associate Director informed the NAC of a leadership training program in community organization being conducted by Syracuse University with Poverty Bill money. Applicants are being sought now.

Community Relations

Jim Peck requested that chapters send information on their projects and activities to the CORElator for wider circulation. James Farmer will have a weekly column starting next week in the Amsterdam News. Marvin Rich reported that in the area of fund-raising, several years ago 100% of all income came through direct mail; now 60% comes in through direct mail. The rest comes through personal solicitation, rallies, benefits, associate memberships, etc. (There is a need for a competent, meticulous technician to handle direct mailing now.) One of the problems in the fund-raising area is that there is no separate fund-raising department, although CORE cannot really afford to pay a professional fund-raiser at the present time. It is hard to get volunteers to do fund-raising; training is needed for people in CORE who can learn fund-raising techniques.

Mrs. Eva Levy spoke of the relation of program to fund-raising; in the case of giving money to specific Southern projects, this can be problematical. There has to be an education of givers; in the Negro community, for example, there is no pattern of giving to CORE. New standards for giving have to be set. The problems of fund-raising in the Negro community were discussed at length. Suggestions were - to pressure national organizations such as lodges and fraternal organizations from the top as well as on a local level; CORE might also adopt a singing group and sponsor jazz or rock and roll entertainers. (There are special problems with entertainers, however--timing, arrangements, the artist's own preferences.) It is important for CORE to analyze its attitude toward the Negro community if it is to be successful in fund-raising there (e.g., accepting or critical). The income-cost ratio of any venture must always be kept in mind.

The Poverty Program

A number of questions were raised regarding CORE's role in the President's War on Poverty. Overtures have been made to CORE chapters across the country to get involved. Questions raised, however, are: what

are we organizing for? who are we organizing for? why the overtures to CORE? do we as CORE apply alone or as part of a community configuration? what are the possibilities of being bought off? There is a possibility of seeing the program as a short-term way to get a toehold, to develop a political base and train leadership, with the realization that the funds will be cut as soon as we get too militant. Motion - that there be a workshop session at the NAC meeting on the real "ins and outs" of the Poverty Program. (Turner, Rosenfeld). Motion passed unanimously. Wiley shall arrange it.

Meeting adjourned at 2:30 P.M., Sunday, January 17, 1965

NATIONAL CORE STAFF MEETINGS

January 19, 1965

George Wiley asked Staff to turn in reports for the February 6-8 NAC meeting by January 25th. He hopes to incorporate these into an overall report to be mailed to NAC members prior to the meeting.

The proposed Mississippi boycott will be discussed with the Southern Staff at the Southern Staff Conference.

It was agreed that CORE chapters should receive quarterly reminders of taxes due National, as well as reports on how monies are spent.

Bob Curvin and field secretary, Joyce Ware will be asked to represent the organization at a meeting of the Advisory Council on Public Welfare, February 18 - 19.

Carl Rachlin will represent the organization at the Leadership Conference meeting in Washington, D. C. (re Title VI of the Civil Rights Act) on January 29th.

George Wiley will represent CORE at the State of the Race Summit Conference called by A. Philip Randolph, January 30th.

Marvin Rich advised that between $5000 and $8000 would be needed for postage for appeals the week of January 27th.

George requested a breakdown of telephone bills, by credit card number, for the last three or four months.

January 25, 1965

In future, all authorizations for additions to Staff must come from Mr. Farmer and/or Dr. Wiley. Department heads may terminate employment within their departments.

The union rejected a request that Bob Gore be considered part of management, rather than remaining in the bargaining unit.

Gasoline credit cards are to be individualized for purposes of identification. Ed Day will request separate invoices for each card.

Total money spent with the Humble Oil Company during 1964 will be used as a basis for discussion of credit extended the organization by this company with one of its representatives (Day or Wiley).

Field personnel will be reminded that repairs on leased cars are to be paid for by National Car or from whomever said cars are leased, and not charged to CORE.

Carl Rachlin was asked to take immediate action on the matter of car insurance.

Wiley suggested that a form be distributed to all CORE centers, through Richard Haley, inquiring as to their needs for equipment, books, etc. It was also suggested that the possibility of new equipment be investigated

via mailings to dealers in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, and other metropolitan centers; also that there be an investigation of such gifts being given through SEDF, tax deductible. Wherever possible, equipment and supplies should be shipped directly from the donor to the Centers (Rich, B.Brown)

February 1, 1965

Marvin Rich advised that December, 1964 income was some $45,000 less than in December, 1963. January, 1965 in was about $48,000. February is projected at $70,000.

Clora Coleman will check out the possibility of purchasing airline tickets for the February 6 - 8 NAC meeting through Carl Rachlin's American Express credit card (Ambassador Travel will not extend further credit untill the balance owed is further decreased.)

Dave Dennis and Dick Jewett will attend the February 6 - 8 NAC meeting at the suggestion of George Wiley, approved by Richard Haley. Northeast and North Central Field Secretaries are being brought in for this meeting and for an all-day conference on Monday, February 8th.

In future, press releases and other items of general interest will be distributed to all departments in the office and to regional offices, field personnel, project directors, etc.

Wiley reminded Staff to adhere to the line of authority in hiring and expenditures. He pointed out that this need not always be so where "flow of information" is concerned, particularly if a bottleneck may be created by so doing.

Wiley, who attended the State of the Race Conference this weekend, reported that he had held out for a joint statement by the participating organizations which encompassed all areas of civil rights activity, including direct action, and had succeeded. He also asked that there be on-going discussions among the civil rights organizations represented. Political action and community organization were emphasized during the meeting. Wiley suggested that further thought be given to direct support by CORE for a broader minimum wage law - one of the issues discussed. He was advised by one of the participants that 70% of Negro workers are not covered by this law.

There will be a general Staff meeting for all National Office personnel, Wednesday, February 3, at 10:30 A.M. for reports and discussions on matters of general interest. All National Office Staff are also invited to meet and chat informally with NAC members Friday evening, February 5, beginning at 7:00 P.M. There will be a guest speaker, Mr. Karl Linn, on community organization, during the evening.

Next regular Staff meeting will be held Friday morning, February 5th.

MEMORANDUM

TO: National Action Council

FROM: George Wiley

RE: National CORE Debt as of February 1, 1965

DATE: February 2, 1965

Unpaid Bills (Operating Account)	$ 87,469.05
Unpaid Bills (Miss. Freedom Fund)	5,757.99
Withholdings (Fed., State & Unemployment Insurance)	19,960.14
Loans	61,667.00
Back Salaries Owed	3,488.98
Cost of Living bonus owed to Union employees	2,005.06
Legal Department Unpaid Bills	ca. 5,000.00
Expense Reimbursements owed (Hollander, Moore, Dennis)	3,980.74
Florida Project Unpaid Bills	ca. 700.00
Louisiana Project Unpaid Bills	1,596.04
Owed to Metro CORE for Chicago Project	ca. 5,000.00
January Social Sec., Unempl. Ins., & Disability Ins.	3,048.78
	$199,665.78
Current Cash Balance	--------
Net Debt	ca. $200,000

M E M O R A M D U M

TO: George Wiley January 25, 1965

FROM: James T. McCain

RE: Job Specification and Recent Activities (for NAC)

The Director of the Organization Department is responsible for the supervision of the field staff, including regional offices. He is thus responsible for recommendations for the hiring and dismissal of field personnel; assigning them to various CORE regions; maintaining and collating information about field staff, including field program reports and financial reporting.

Additionally, he is responsible for organizing and developing CORE chapters. This includes receiving and making decisions on the organizing of new chapters and the maintenance, servicing, affiliation and/or disaffiliation of chapters. The Director of Organization is, thus, the staff officer who makes final recommendations to the National Director or the National Action Council on the acquisition of personnel and the functioning of chapters.

Under the directives of the National Action Council, the Director of the Organization Department is responsible for supervising assistants in training and in program. These assistants develop, under his guidance, training and program which affect the total organization.

During the past months, in addition to the above duties, and travel tangential to those duties, I have spent a considerable amount of time studying the War on Poverty program and attempting to relate that program to CORE activity. Specifically, this has meant two things: (1) translating pre-existent federal programs to staff, and (2) interpreting new federal programs to staff. Eminent among these studies has been the literacy program being developed in the Bronx. Hopefully, this same kind of program can be used elsewhere.

.....

TO: Jim McCain January 18, 1965

FROM: Bob Gore

RE: Summary of Activities, Recent Months

In the last few months, my activities have centered around three main areas in addition to normal office routine: (1) chapter development, (2) inter-organizational development, and (3) development of training program.

CHAPTER DEVELOPMENT - I have visited chapters in Tucson, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Trenton, Kansas City and Chicago. In

Tucson there was a need for a four-day workshop. Originally, this was to be run by the West Coast field secretary, but at the last minute this was not possible. Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Kansas City were trips requested by the chapters for purposes revolving around difficulties in local organizing problems. Trenton involved meetings after the arrest of some of our staff there. St. Louis, Milwaukee and Chicago involved the "stamping out of fires".

INTER-ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT - We have always considered the relationships between CORE and other organizations to be important. On many occasions over the past months I have met with church agencies and other organizations concerned with civil rights. Specifically, I have met with persons from the NAACP, SNCC and other major civil rights organizations. I have met with persons at 475 Riverside Drive connected with the United Presbyterian Church, the United Church of Christ, the Methodist Church and the Episcopal Church. Additionally, I attended a week-end conference of Commissioners of Religion and Race in Cleveland and a week-long conference of the Methodist Student Movement in Lincoln, Nebraska. Next week I will attend a meeting of ministers from the Synod of Pittsburgh (Presbyterian) to map out a program with them regarding race relations and the local CORE group.

DEVELOPMENT OF TRAINING PROGRAM - While this was to have been an area of high priority for me, other things occurred to preclude the maximun effort. However, I have visited with officials of the National Training Laboratory in Washington to discuss aid they can give. I have talked at length with Michael Harrington and Walter Thabit, a housing expert, both of whom are willing to help wherever possible. I have also talked with Nicholas Von Hoffman in Chicago. He was formerly with The Woodlawn Organization and is now a reporter for the Chicago Daily News. He has agreed to do whatever he can to enhance our program.

I have drawn up a tentative outline for several regional institutes which will, hopefully, last for one week each. These institutes will have three aspects: (1) staff, (2) chapter leaders, and (3) potential community leaders. The major emphases will be organizational techniques, political history (so that we can view the movement in perspective), reasons for deeper involvement in the community, and (4) of course, CORE philosophy in relation to these.

We have been in constant consultation with CORE SEDF so that they will be apprised of our plans. They, in turn, will be able to transmit these plans in their own way to the SEDF Board.

January 25, 1965

TO: Jim McCain

FR: Louis S. Smith, Northeast Regional Director

RE: Field Report for N.A.C.
Period: Sept. 1964 - Jan. 1965

I. Program, objectives and activities.

After spending July in Mississippi, and most of August in Atlantic City with the F.D.P. challenge, I proceeded to begin the job I was originally hired for. I located and set up this office, hired field staff, and an office secretary, and drew up the following outline of procedure.

A. I broke the region into sections and assigned field secretaries to each.

B. Instructed the field staff to make short visits to each chapter so that we could get an overall picture of the chapters in our region. Armed with this information I could isolate the weakest chapters and concentrate on them first.

II. Staff.

Herb Callender-Field Secretary, assigned to New York State and has since been on loan to Trenton CORE to establish techniques for dealing with urban renewal.

Joyce Ware-Originally assigned to New England, but with the dismissal of John McDowell, I have been using her as a "floater". She is now assigned to New York City on some special pilot projects but she has also been used in areas outside of the city.

Eric Mann-Field Secretary, assigned to southern half of region and given the task of cleaning up Trailways which is a hangover project from previous National policy. (See V)

Judy Howell-Task Force, Youth Co-ordinator. . Presently working on the Remedial Reading Program. (See V)

We have an "unknown" task force worker with Brooklyn CORE. I became aware of this only last week. Apparently this position was arranged when rent strikes were the big thing in New York.

My feeling is that this worker should be supported by the chapter and not the National Office.

III. Facilities.

A. Regional Office located at 48 W. 125 St. Phones are EN 9-0100 and EN 9-0101

B. Automobile owned by me which is used in the field. The only financial arrangement is that I have an Esso credit card to be used only for the maintenance of this auto.

C. The only equipment we have that belongs to CORE is a typewriter (non-electric); the desks, files, and an air conditioner are the property of the landlord and their use is included in the rent.

IV. Budget

I have, to this date, not worked up a budget because this office handles no money, and aside from the expense reports turned in by field staff, the auto and its accompanying expenses, we have only the rent, $125.00 a month, and the phone.

All bills have been paid by the national office and the records of payments are on file.

We have no debts or obligations that are unknown to the bookkeeping department.

V. Evaluation.

Before attempting to evaluate the Northeast Regional set-up, I find it necessary to list the following major difficulties that had to be overcome in the five months of our existence.

A. No direction from above.
B. The breakdown of relations between the National Office and the New York chapters.
C. The lack of service given to the chapters outside New York City by the previous field staff.
D. My own lack of familiarity with the region.
E. Shortage of staff.
F. Lack of funds for travel.
G. Personnel problems.
H. Lack of a Regional Action Council.

Taking the sum of these problems plus the fact that many of our chapters have suffered in their attempts to change direction, it has been a miracle that we have accomplished what we have.

I do feel, at this point, that we will be, within the next month, in a position to be a real asset to the regional chapters. Within the next two weeks, I will make a tour of the New England chapters after which I will then be in a better position to assign the field secretaries to the chapters in most need. I expect, by convention time to have a complete and comprehensive report on each chapter with concrete recommendations.

We are now in a position to assist our chapters with programs centered around community organizing. An example is the report on Kingston CORE submitted by Joyce Ware (See her report). I have since been to Kingston, and using techniques learned through the Trenton project (Herb Callender's report), the chapter is moving and becoming a real force in the community.

Let me add, that we would have been much further advanced if it had not been for projects such as Trailways which were thrust upon us by previous National Office commitments.

We have been able to establish a chapter in Pittsburg, Pa. and Carlisle, Pa. Until now, we only had one chapter in the entire state, Philadelphia, and that was located in the far southeast corner which left the rest of the state free of any CORE activity. I plan to establish chapters in Harrisburg and Williamsport this summer.

We now have a group in Wilmington, Delaware seeking to join CORE. Either Joyce Ware or myself will be going there on the second of February.

We have no chapters in the state of Delaware which I find ridiculous as here is a state that still has the whipping post and probably all of the other factors of a society that will legally condone such an act as punishment.

I have also laid the groundwork for the establishment of CORE chapters in southern New Jersey where we have none, except for the chapter I established in Camden. I am working on a comprehensive report for you spelling out the reasons why civil rights activity is badly needed in the areas mentioned above, as some of the conditions are equal to the deep South.

VI. Recommendations and Miscellaneous Remarks.

A. That James Farmer spend more time in personal visits to his chapters.
B. That his secretary be instructed to give the CORE chapters adequate prior notice of Jim's appearances in their locale.
C. That N.A.C. members pay periodic visits to the chapters they represent and send reports to their regional office.

I remain,

Yours for freedom.

****

Trenton, New Jersey
Herb Callender-Field Secretary N.E. Region
January 21, 1965

From: Nov. 1964 to Present

Program:

A. Objectives:
To change present plans of urban renewal in Trenton so that there is:
1. Adequate relocation facilities in Trenton's John Fitch Way Project #3.
2. That there will be low rent housing built as part of the reuse of the Fitch Way area.
3. That out of this project there can be mobilization of South, East and North Trenton areas; to combat housing, education and employment problems.
4. The recruitment of these people would be for membership in the reorganized CORE chapter.

B. Activities: (See attached fact sheets)

1. Making contact in the John Fitch Way area.
2. Door-to-door informing of residents of their rights under urban renewal.
3. Meetings with city officials in Trenton to obtain information on plans for Fitch Way area.
4. Meetings with community in east, south and north Trenton.
5. Training of interested people for various positions; i.e. public relations, housing chairman, schools chairman, etc.
6. Picket lines (There have been two)
   a. City Hall
   b. Mayor Arthur J. Holland's home
7. Planning direct action project.
   (Scheduled for latter January)

Staff:

1.	Herb Callender	Age 31	N.E. Field Secretary
2.	Marva Amis	21	Volunteer Worker Phila.CORE
3.	Fran Crayton	21	" " Bklyn.CORE

Duties:

Field Secretary

1. Develop program for project
2. Participation in all organizational efforts
3. Arrange and attend all necessary meetings
4. Participate and supervise all direct action sub-projects
5. Document all information received on project
6. Arrange for rallies, fund raising affairs and speaking engagements.
7. Set up community office for Trenton chapter
8. Act as community and public relations man
9. Work with remaining members of chapter
10. Supervise community organization around present urban renewal movement.
11. File reports on projects with National and Regional offices
12. Keep NE regional chapters abreast of progress in Trenton
13. Train local residents for specific functions in a CORE chapter

Volunteer Workers:

1. Door-to-door mobilization of community
2. Assist in most duties of field secretary
3. Clerical and documentational work
4. Assist in workships and training programs

Facilities:

Auto: Owned by: Louis Smith N.E. Sr. Field Secretary
1960 Dodge Seneca
Good condition (after necessary repairs and snow tires)

Financial arrangement: CORE Esso Credit Card

Evaluation: (See attached fact sheets)

We were able to mobilize approx. twenty-five new members from the Negro community for chapter. There have been two picket lines,

City Hall and the Mayor's home, to dramatize the problems around the issue. In addition, there are current plans for direct action demonstrations, the first of which will be latter January and will involve chapters from N.Y., N.J., Pa. Civil disobedience as well as picket lines will be used to further bring to light the many problems around the issue. This will be followed by a reorganization meeting approx. middle of Feb. at which time a temporary formal chapter structure will be formed. Election of officers and program will be developed, at which time, we hope, the chapter will be a viable, independent unit.

The significance of the Trenton project as an example of what can be done with urban renewal problems stands out in the meetings that have been held with chapters in the NE region. To discontinue the activities here would be a tremendous defeat to a serious and effective organizational effort carried on by the NE region of CORE.

I would strongly recommend that National CORE continue to support this project and this chapter until the chapter is ready for independent activity. Trenton being the State Capital can truly set the example for many cities in the Tri-States as well as throughout other areas of the country.

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COPY Made 20 January 1965 (Original, Nov. 19, 1964)

TO: NORTHEAST REGIONAL CHAPTERS

RE: Trenton, N.J. and John Fitchway #3 Urban Renewal Project

FROM: Herb Callender, Northeast Regional Field Sec.

FACT SHEET #1

I. Background

The Negro slum area of Fitch Way has been chosen as the site for middle and upper income housing built with Federal funds under the urban renewal program. 256 families are to be moved out of this area. Of these 256 families, 77% are Negroes with low income. Therefore Trenton CORE has requested that a relocation office be set up in this area to aid these families in finding other homes, also that low income housing be built there in addition to middle and upper income setups. In effect, this would "kill two birds with one stone" in that it would give the families of low income a decent place to live and provide adequate schooling. We feel that this was significant in that both the neighborhood and the school would be integrated which after all is the basis for all CORE activity.

On 5 November 1964, accompanied by Trenton CORE, Lou Smith-Regional Director, Herb Callender-Field Secretary, Joyce Sherick-Bronx CORE member, Dave Crittendon-Regional Office Secretary, and Marva Amis-Philadelphia CORE member, attended the City Council meeting where approval of the Fitch Way project was very sensitive to the presence of

CORE, and responded by having Herb Callender thrown out of the meeting and subsequently arrested, charging him with disorderly conduct and disruption of a public meeting. The other CORE people including Mrs. Ruth Lewis, chapter chairman of Trenton CORE, were also arrested on the same charge, because they staged a sit-down demonstration outside the City Council doors protesting the present plans for Urban Renewal and the unjust arrest of Herb Callender. This was the first time any civil disobedience had occurred in Trenton and the "responsible Negro leadership" together with the City officials have responded by denouncing CORE and its actions. Expect no help from the local NAACP as some of their members are even expected to testify against us at our trial.

II. Urban Renewal

All Urban Renewal Projects must meet certain standards and have workable programs. John Fitch Way #3's workable program has 7 points, four of which directly concern us in this project. The four listed below were approved on 11/16/64 by the Federal Government.

1. Money available
2. Feasibility
3. Citizen participation
4 Relocation apparatus

In order to qualify for relocation, you must prove to the Federal government that you have clean, safe housing available. This project cannot do this as the amount of housing of this quality does not exist. Section 221 of the Special Financial Program states that the Federal Government will insure all housing built with Federal funds and buildings must have fire walls for FHA approval.

III. Facts on Trenton

I wish to reiterate that no action has occurred before in Trenton. The NAACP has not engaged in active programs concerning the needs of the poorer Negro populace. The "responsible Negro leadership" we feel is led by persons who have or are obtaining personal goals because of their inactivity on the issues of urban renewal and other relevant social issues. As an example of the status of this "responsible leadership", the husband of one of the responsibles heads the Redevelopment Bureau. Several others are involved in real estate sales and are closely linked to the power structure of the town.

IV. New York and New Jersey Chapter Support

A meeting was held on 11/16/64 at the Regional CORE, 48 W. 125 St. Numerous CORE chapters were present and were given the above details and were urged to support the Trenton chapter. They all promised to do their utmost to support any action planned. Chapters present were asked to send letters to the following political figures in Trenton:

Governor Hughes
Senator Case
Senator Williams
Mr. Weaver-Head of Housing Home Financing Agency, Wash.D.C.
Mr. Frank Thompson, Mercer County Congressman

Sample Letter:

Strongly request that you press for a Delay of the issuance of Federal funds for John Fitch Way Project #3 in Trenton, N. J., pending investigation of compliance with Federal standards.

TO: Mayor Arthur J. Holland, City Hall, Trenton, N. J.
Sample letter:

_____CORE wholeheartedly supports Trenton CORE in their efforts on John Fitch Way Project #3.

It is urgent that you send night letters or telegrams to the above-mentioned persons demonstrating your support for Trenton CORE. Please stand ready to give your support when and where needed for this Urban Renewal Project in Trenton. This project has great significance in that it will be a showcase for the type of effort CORE is going to endorse nationally on a program for integration through well designed urban renewal projects. The habit of rebuilding ghettoes must go and go NOW.

You will be promptly notified when any action has been formulated.

Yours for freedom,

.....

TO: Lou Smith

FROM: Joyce A. Ware, Field Secretary, Northeast Regional Office

RE: Report for NAC

PERIOD: September - January, 1965

First, I think what is necessary in this report is a description of the N.E. Regional Office. The office had four full time Field Secretaries and one Regional Director.

We the Staff did an analysis geographically of the region, taking into account the total numbers of chapters affiliated and unaffiliated. At that time we had staff persons to adequately cover the North East Region.

The area contained some 67 chapters of affiliated and unaffiliated status. At that time we divided the territory among the staff persons taking three and four states respectively. The intention was to visit each CORE chapter in the region, making a report as to its quality in terms of:

1. Is there a chapter?
2. What kinds of persons are in the chapter?
3. What are their potentials?
4. Can the chapter be rebuilt or can the chapter be strengthened?

I was immediately assigned to the states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut having some eleven chapters total.

I immediately went to the Worcester chapter of CORE in Mass. spending a week and half there with the chapter. The chairman of the chapter is Mrs. Ruby Jarrett, an ex-CORE member from Chicago. The chapter is young and has a great deal of potential. The program which we expounded was very general, in terms of getting a chapter to analyze the local situation around housing, education and employment before going into any set action. Also knowing the advantage of what kind of community you had, and which was more viable. In the midst of my visit to the chapter, a regional project was coordinated around the Mississippi situation. The emphasis of the project was the focus to get federal protection for the workers and the people in Mississippi who attempted to register. The techniques used were the focusing on the local offices of the F.B.I. with demands which were consistent in concern. The local chapter of Worcester had a sit-in inside the local office of the F.B.I. (I might add that this chapter was the first chapter or any interest group to actually get inside the offices of the F.B.I.) The demonstration lasted some ten hours before it ceased.

I left Worcester Sunday Oct. 18, and went to Springfield, Mass. to visit with the local chapter there. Essentially the same procedure was worked there in the major problem of most of the chapters, which is knowing the value of priority in the context of projects.

At Springfield, however, we did talk about the specifics of a program in which the chapter was participating, revolving around the school situation in Springfield with the NAACP. The chairman of Springfield CORE is Oscar Bright, and the chapter consists of about 15 other people, some of whom are also in the NAACP. Specifically, I was interested in ways to build a strong chapter made up of community people, and moreover having a sound and concrete program. That chapter visit lasted some four days at which time I departed.

Upon returning to New York City, I immediately became involved in the Trailways project which centered around a complaint from some 5 porters who worked at Trailways, and which Core had involved itself in a year ago. The involvement was very personal in that it specifically dealt with 5 porters, but moreover it dealt with the employment practices generally. (See attached sheet on the Trailway project.) Specifically, the job of a field secretary was to coordinate the activities that CORE chapters carried out.

In the midst of the Trailways project, I attempted to set up an Area Conference with the chapters in the New England area to be held the third week in November at which point we had received tremendous support from the chapters involved, because of the prospectus presented by James Farmer at the Nyack conference. We felt and so did the chapters that their own procedures and future should be discussed. The area conference was called off in the hopes of having a Northeastern Regional Conference under the direction of Bob Curvin and Shirley Lacey.

The Trenton project was underway in Trenton,N.J. and the First of December I was called to Trenton to work with Herb Callender to coordinate chapter

support and Ho research on the whole question of Urban Renewal. (See sheet of the Trenton project)

Before the Trenton Project, I visited the Kingston chapter of CORE and the attached sheet describes the chapter and the program which was worked out and is successfully working now. (See attached report on Kingston CORE)

At this stage of the game, we are presently coordinating with the local N.Y. chapter a program in working with the group of Social Workers, who call themselves the SOCIAL WORKERS FOR CIVIL RIGHTS. The emphasis of this program is to get workers into the offices of the chapters and man a desk for the purpose of giving services to the community which they would not normally receive.

The one other project which is under consideration is the setting up of an East Harlem project using volunteers to be coordinated under the Regional Office. However, we are not prepared at this stage to go into the meat of the project because it is still in the preliminary stages.

In consideration of expenses, my expenses have balanced out to about $60.00 per month.

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January 18, 1965

TO: Lou Smith

FROM: Eric Mann

RE: Field Secretary's Report for NAC

PERIOD: Sept. 1964 - Jan. 1965

During the period stated in the outline I have worked to some degree with the following chapters: Syracuse, Yonkers, New Rochelle, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Mount Vernon, and many of the chapters in New York City.

Trailways

The Trailways project brought me in contact with our chapters in Washington, Baltimore and Philadelphia, as well as the New York City chapters. I am presenting a very superficial report on Trailways because a detailed report on the subject will be forthcoming as soon as some form of conclusion to the project can be achieved. Nonetheless, some general conclusions can certainly be drawn at this point:

1. The project was unsuccessful. There were many reasons for this but the primary one seems inherent in the project itself. That is, having originated from National, then being followed up by Regional, and then brought to the chapters, the chapters felt no vested interest in the

project because they did not plan it, did not know about it, until their help was needed.

Also, the project itself was very difficult to pull off because of 1. the racial antagonism of management. 2. the size of the company. 3. the amount of work it would take to truly mobilize the Negro community in any way. 4. the lack of inherent emotionalism of the issue, which made it difficult to arouse the interest and enthusiasm of the "man in the street".

2. The project gave me some excellent insights into our chapter structure, and sharply focused some of the problems in several chapters.
3. The project involved CORE in a dispute with a discriminatory union and helped initiate some thinking on our policies in such a situation. Enclosed is a copy of a short position paper I wrote about our relationships with discriminatory unions.
4. The project involved the Philadelphia chapter in a dispute with the Philadelphia NAACP which has united the chapter, given it some excellent publicity, and in a small way changed the balance of power in the Negro community in CORE's favor.

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January 20, 1965

TO: Jim McCain
FROM: Judy Howell, Task Force
RE: Progress Report on the Progressive Choice Reading Program

It has been very difficult to organize the Progressive Choice Reading Program pilot projects. There have been four (4) main reasons for this difficulty.

1. This is the first time that the chapters have been confronted with a program of this type.
2. The young people that are involved with CORE usually are not and do not hang out with illiterates or drop-outs.
3. Some chapters in communities that need this help the most are completely uncooperative and uninterested in the program (i.e. N.Y.CORE).
4. The chapters that have a program already set up say they want to incorporate PCRP into it, but refuse to sit down and arrange testing date. (i.e. CCNY CORE)

The first pilot project was opened in the South Bronx at St. Anne's Church, 140th Street and St. Anne's Ave., on Saturday, Dec. 19, 1964. Dr. Woolman brought the Institute of Educational Research staff up from Washington to train 4 instructors. Brooklyn and CCNY observers voiced interest in the program.

A testing date was set for Sat., Jan. 9, 1965, at St. Anne's. National CORE brought testing materials for the young people. However, we had a very poor showing. Out of 50 young people contacted, 10 showed up. The tests were given and 8 people were found eligible for the program. There will be another testing period on Jan. 22, 1965. Harold Davidson of Bronx CORE has urged several community groups to help him assemble a sizeable showing at that time. I will be meeting with all of the interested chapters this week. My main concern is to get the actual teaching started in the South Bronx, so that it can serve as an example for the other chapters in the pilot area.

Richard Jewett
1714 Everett Avenue
Jackson, Missippi
January 26, 1965

The Mississippi Staff Salary Story

There are several different categories of staff workers as far as personal expenses go:

1) Married worker supporting a family.
2) Married worker supporting a separate household.
3) Married worker living in a freedom house arrangement.
4) Single worker living in a freedom house arrangement.
5) Single worker supporting a separate household.

And variations within these categories, depending on the location (rural, urban, etc.).

An historical accident, namely, whoever was at the Tougaloo COFO staff meeting in late summer, settled the names of those to be placed on Task Force this fall. Other people just as active who were not there for whatever reason were not considered. The original plan was to give $10 a week subsistence checks to those who were not on Task Force paychecks. This plan has not worked, however, because there has been no money to provide subsistence. As a result, there are some people working in the field who are receiving paychecks while working next to someone with as much experience and background who is not receiving a paycheck or any other form of subsistence.

In view of this inequity and because the staff feels that the present pay scale is higher than what is needed to actually meet expenses here in Mississippi, the staff has agreed on a sliding scale of pay, the scale to be set on the basis of financial need. The important aspect of any such scale is that it be open to review by the staff at any time and that there be a fairly clear distinction between categories. There should be a certain ability to make changes fairly quickly (moving out of a freedom house can raise the level of expenses overnight for instance).

Based on the present living expenses a first go-round on weekly salaries might be as follows:

	Proposed	Present
Annie Devine	$50	$40
C. O. Chinn	25	25
George Raymond	25	25
Theodis Hewitt	25	25
George Smith	25	25
James Collier	25	25
Richard Tinsley	15	25
Lois Chaffee	15	25
Jo Anne Ooiman	15	25
Karen Duncan	15	25
Martha Wright	15	25
Sandra Watts	15	25
Frank Wight	15	25
Judy Wright	15	25
Joe Morse	15	25
Eric Weinberger	15	25
Alan Schiffman	15	25

	Proposed	Present
Randy Glenn	$15	$25
Mary Ann Shupenko	15	25
Cathy Lucido	15	-
Elaine Delott	15	-
John Smith	15	-
William Forsyth	15	-
Dean Zimmerman	15	-
Phil Sharpe	15	-
Judy Hampton	15	-
Annie Pearl Clay	15	-
Nina Wojciechowska	15	-
Gunther Frentz	15	-
Linda Allenstein	15	-
Greg Kaslo	15	-
Sears Buckley	15	-

Total weekly payroll for Mississippi is thus $565. Sharpe, Hampton, Clay, Wojciechowska, Allenstein and Kaslo have good chances of obtaining outside support, thus having their names removed from this list.

As a total yearly budget now I see something on the following order:

Staff salaries	$28,600
Field Secretary	4,500
Fines and Misc.	600
Project fixed expenses	6,000
Contribution to Jackson	2,500
Transportation	28,080
TOTAL	$70,280

.....

Richard Jewett
January 23, 1965

JACKSON

II. Staff

Lois Chaffee	Age 25	Task Force	Statewide Community Center Coordinator
Cathy Lucido	20	Volunteer	Watts Line Operator and Secretary
Elaine Delott	21	Volunteer	Federal Programs
Liz Fusco	26	Task Force	Statewide Freedom School Coordinator
Dick Jewett	31	Field Secretary	

III. Facilities

1017 Lynch Street, Jackson: COFO Office Tel. 352-9788
Equipment: COFO-owned typewriters, mimeo machine, file cabinets
Auto: Part use of Schwerner 1957 VW; all bills to Mississippi CORE
(Mattie Dennis uses car part-time for personal use.)

IV. Budget

	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.
Rent	Absorbed by COFO			
Phone	COFO	$10	$40(RJ)	$40 (R.Jewett)
Auto (lease-2 for state)	$250	$250	$250	$250
Auto operation	CREDIT	CARD		
Air travel	NONE----------			
Other travel	75	50 (COFO paid both months)		
Supplies	COFO----------			
Other expenses	COFO----------			
Total	$250	$260	$290	$290

Jan. 24, 1965
Richard Jewett

The Mississippi Automobile Story

Available cars and their present condition

64 Chevrolet (National lease to Suarez) - Wrecked in Meridian, sold as junk by National, awaiting copy of lease to know how to proceed.
64 Chevrolet (National lease to Raymond) - Broke down in Canton, waiting to be fixed.
62 Pontiac (owned by C. O. Chinn) - Lacks insurance, needs some mechanical work.
61 Dodge Station Wagon (donated, registered in Frank Wright's name) - Lacks insurance (hopeful possibility in Jackson being worked on).
61 Mercury Station Wagon (donated, registered in Frank Wright's name) - Lacks insurence (hopeful possibility in Jackson being worked on).
57 Ford (COFO car, Sojourner insurance) - Broke down in Virginia on FDP trip; presently somewhere in Washington, D. C.
64 Jeep (belongs to Bill Forsyth) - Wrecked recently; presently in Canton garage impounded under court order.
57 Oldsmobile (registered in Raymond's name; insured by Sojourner) - Used by Andrew Green in Madison county.
56 Plymouth (registered in Sandy Watts' name, insured by Sojourner(?) - Broke down on FDP Washington trip; presently in shop in Meridian.
48 Chevrolet (owned by Theodis Hewitt) - Lacks liability insurance.
60(?) Dodge (owned by Bill Hamlin) - About to run out of insurance, but he can get more.
64 Chevrolet truck (in name of Charney Bromberg; insured in N.Y.)- Lacks Miss. insurance; can only be used for 20 more days on N.Y. tags.
57 Volkswagen (owned by Rita Schwerner) - Driven part time by Mattie Dennis, part time by Dick Jewett. To the allotment of cars add that one car is to be used by the field secretary for travel over all parts of the district. At present that car is the VW above, but the field secretary is expecting to raise a car out of the north within a month or so, thus retiring the VW.

Projected auto allotment and usage

Western half of 4th District
Neshoba County - 64 Chevrolet (leased)
Clarke County - 61 Dodge Station Wagon
Lauderdale County (Meridian) - 61 Mercury Station Wagon
Field car (opening up Jasper & Newton) - 64 Chevrolet (leased)

Eastern half of 4th District
Leake County - 48 Chevrolet
Rankin County - 56 Plymouth
Madison County - 62 Pontiac, Jeep and/or 57 Olds and/or 60 Dodge
Field car (opening up Scott & Simpson) - 64 Chevrolet truck

Junk the 57 Ford broken down in Washington.

Projected auto budget

Figure operating expenses @ $0.06/mile for each car
Figure 1000 miles/week as maximum usage
Figure 8 operating cars at all times

8 X 1000 X $0.06 = $480/week car maintenance

$480/week X 52 weeks/year = $24,960/year car maintenance

Add $60/week for car hoped for from the North, $3120/year for this car.
This makes the total Mississippi automobile budget $28,080 per year.

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Neshoba County (Philadelphia, Mississippi)
January 23, 1965

II Staff

Alan Schiffman	24	Task Force
Richard Tinsley	38	Task Force

III Facilities

Community Center
Hotel (with library, mimeo machine, typewriter, etc.)
1957 Ford - owned by COFO (presently lost in Washington)

IV Budget

	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	
Rent (hotel)	$70	$70	$70	$35	(Center and half of
(center)	30	30	30	-	hotel paid by community)
Phone	15	15	15	15	
Auto					
Auto Operation	50	100	50	50	
Travel	None----------				
Supplies	5	10	10	10	
Utilities, etc.	20	20	20	20	
TOTAL	$190	$245	$185	$130	

.....

Clarke County
Greg Kaslo
January 24, 1965

II Staff

Linda Allenstein	21	Volunteer (community supported)
Greg Kaslo	20	Volunteer (community supported)
Jim Collier	26	Task Force

III Facilities

Stonewall, Miss. - Office with functioning library; phone at local residence - Mr. W.C. Besler: 659-7232

Quitman, Miss. - Office - 15 room structure, yet to be operative; phone number unknown.

Equipment: 1 broken record player
2 donated typewriters, 1 staff typewriter
1 Dodge Station Wagon - donated - No ins. in F.Wright's name; working to get insurance.
Stonewall Library: 500 volumes
1 card file
2 filing cabinets - one for each office.

IV Budget

	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	
rent	$10	$10	$160*	$160*	(New office open 1/1)
phone	0	0	90@	70*	
auto	0	0	0	0	
auto operation	10	10	10	credit card	
air travel	0	0	0	0	
other travel	10-bus	10-bus	10-bus	5	
supplies	45	10	60*	20	
TOTAL	$75	$40	$330	$255	

*NCC pays ½ of bill for Quitman office.
@Deposit for 2 phones & bill for other.

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Leake County
Harmony Project
Report covers Sept.,1964-Jan.,1965
January 23, 1965

II Staff

Theodis Hewitt	26	Task Force
Annie Pearl Clay	20	Volunteer
Nina Wojciechowska	25	Volunteer

III Facilities

Harmony Community Center, Route 3, Box 83, Carthage, Mississippi
Major items of equipment:
2 record players
1 movie projector (donated by CIO & SNCC of Davenport, Iowa)
5,000 book library
1 piano
1 kitchen stove
1 typewriter (electric); 2 typewriters (manual)
Auto - 1948 Chevrolet, owned by Theodis Hewitt; upkeep and gas expenses covered by CORE.

IV Budget

	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	
Auto operation	$40	$20	$35	$45	
Auto insurance			60		
Rent (for A. P. Clay)	28	7	28	28	
Rent (for N.Wojciechowska)			28	28	
Typewriter repair		15			*Overhaul motor
Auto repair		6	8	70*	
TOTAL	$68	$48	$159	$171	

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Meridian, Mississippi
Judy Wright

II Staff

George Smith	21	Task Force
Judy Wright	25	Task Force
Frank Wright	25	Task Force
Joe Morse	22	Task Force
Gunther Frentz	23	Volunteer
Barbara Moss	22	Volunteer
Eric Weinberger		Task Force

III Facilities

Office - 513 25th Ave., Telephone: 485-9286
Community Center - 2505½ 5th St.
One Mercury station wagon donated to CORE. No insurance as yet, so cannot be driven. Gas paid from CORE credit card.

Equipment: 1 mimeograph machine - good condition
Huge library - rooms full of books
2 typewriters - one works, one doesn't
2 working phonographs, 1 not working
file cabinet
tape recorder

IV Budget - Office

	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.
rent	$50	$50	$50	$50
phone (dimes in pay phone)	$20	$20	$20	$20
auto registration	None	$42	None	None
auto operation 1000 miles/week	Credit Card	Credit Card	Credit Card	Credit Card
air travel	None	None	None	None
other travel	? Very Little	? Very Little	$60 3 meetings	
supplies	$25 ?	$25 ?	$25 ?	$25 ?
other expenses	$ 5	$ 5	$ 5	$ 5
utilities (office and freedom school) gas, water, elec.	$30	$30	$30	$30
TOTAL	$130.00	$172.00	$190.00	$130.00

Budget - Community Center

	Monthly Expenses
rent	$40
utilities	$25
running expense	$30
TOTAL	$95

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Rankin County
Martha Wright
January 23, 1965

II Staff

Sears Buckley, Jr.	19	Volunteer - to Task Force
Myrtis Evans	21	SNCC - Work Study
Martha Wright	25	CORE Task Force
Sandra Watts		CORE Task Force

III Facilities

Offices - None
Centers - None
Autos - 1 1956 Plymouth, owned by Task Force worker (presently not in running condition - will be repaired by community people). Gas money paid by staff workers.
1 used school bus, owned by community - $150 repair bill owed, plus needs insurance and license plates. Gas paid by community people.

Equipment: 1 short wave car radio
2 sewing machines
1 record player
1 mimeo machine

IV Budget

	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.
rent	0	0	0	0 - building for library to be donated.
phone	0	0	0	$12 - pay phone to be installed in local person's home and paid for by comm.
auto lease or rental	0	0	0	0
auto operation and repairs	0	$50	$100 ($20 paid by comm.)	$75 gas $100 repair bill to be paid by comm. for our car
air travel	0	0	0	0
other travel	0	0	0	0
supplies	0	$ 5	$ 15	$15 - local
other expenses	0	0	$ 10	$10
TOTAL	0	$55	$125	$212

Madison County
(Canton, Miss.)
JoAnn Dorman
January 23, 1965

II Staff

Eartiss Crawford	22	Volunteer
William Hamblin	25	Volunteer
Johnnie Smith	18	Volunteer
William Forsyth	20	Volunteer
Patricia Packard	18	Volunteer
JoAnn Dorman	22	Task Force
Karen Duncan	20	Task Force
George Jalbert	19	Volunteer
G. Dean Zimmerman	22	Volunteer
Philip Sharp	25	Volunteer
Judith Hampton	22	Volunteer
George Raymond	22	Staff
Andrew Greene		SNCC
Annie Devine		Staff

III Facilities

Office - 838 Lutz, Phone 859-9944; also Valley View Office, Sharon, Miss.
Defunct Community Center - 832 Lutz
Autos - 1 pick-up truck with N.Y. plates - just turned over to the project. Ownership not yet determined.
1 jeep - recently cracked up by its owner's son, William Forsyth. Estimated $800 of repairs - will be paid for by owner.
1 1962 Pontiac owned by C. O. Chinn used by the project - no insurance.
1 1957 or 58 Oldsmobile used by A. Greene in Valley View, insured under Sojourner Motor fleet. Gas and minor upkeep on all cars currently paid via CORE credit card.

Equipment: 1 record player - donated from East Lansing, Michigan
4 radios - one in the Canton office, one in the jeep, one in Valley View office, and one in Oldsmobile
3 file cabinets - 2 small ones in Canton; one in Valley View
2 mimeograph machines - one broken; the other donated by Tarrytown
1 ditto machine - in Valley View

IV. Budget

	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	
Rent - V.View	$10	$10	$10	$10	Local
Canton	75	75	75	75	"
Phone	50	80	20	20	"
Auto rental	CORE has records of this				
Auto operation	Credit card----------				
Air Travel	None----------				
Other travel	None----------				
Supplies	30	30	20	30	"
Other	80*	80*	80*		
Loans&		40			
Groceries+	(back bill)	50	40	40	
TOTAL	$245	$365	$245	$175	

*Community center rent; to be taken over by the community - back rent also.

& Fine paid for McComb worker arrested in Madison County. Madison Co. never reimbursed. Similar expenses occur from time to time.

+ Money comes out of Task Force checks and contributions occasionally received by volunteers from the North.

N.B. Rent in Valley View is paid by local people. The December Valley View phone bill also paid by local people.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Dr. George Wiley January 28, 1965

FROM: Carl Rachlin

RE: Legal Department (Report for NAC meeting February 6, 1965)

I. Program

A. During the last few months we have been involved in:

(a) U.S. Supreme Court - Cox v. Louisiana, argued early in October. The case was decided in our favor on all counts on January 18, 1965.

(b) Brown v. Louisiana - new case being prepared for the U. S. Supreme Court.

(c) Work on the CORE Legal Conference. This is being paid for by SEDF, but all time and preparation are being done in our department.

(d) Brewery matters and related employment problems, involving much correspondence and time spent in negotiations.

(e) Preparation of a long memorandum entitled "A Hard Look at the Civil Rights Law" discussing what the law does not do. This will go out shortly.

(f) Trailways matter - legal advice and supervision as well as negotiations in Washington with Federal agencies, coordination with CORE Northeast Regional Office, Philadelphia CORE chapter, attorneys.

(g) Cooperation with LCDC (Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee), helping to keep it going for summer use particularly and in connection with this.

(h) Preparing Dennis v. Johnson, an important Mississippi case challenging the constitutionality of many Mississippi laws.

(i) Negotiations with President's Committee for Civil Rights under Law

(j) Completing memorandum on Rent Strikes sent to all chapters.

(k) Developing further our now substantial network of lawyers all over the United States. This means

(l) giving assistance to Tucson attorney in Civil Rights Law case

(m) Supervising Milwaukee case

(n) Same in Tulsa - sending volunteer, close CORE associate Marvin Karpatkin to Tulsa to work there on important court case.

(o) Similar in Omaha, Camden, Chicago

(p) Supervising the case in Trenton involving most of our NE Regional office as well as assisting them there in their ongoing activities with regard to Urban Renewal.

(q) We are still optimistic (less so) for an adjudication on segregated school bonds. We are still pushing this with the attorneys-general of the States of Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York.

(r) Work on a library desegregation case in Louisiana and a school case in Miss.

(s) There are several cases at the appeal stage here in New York:

(t) 3 important sit-in cases in the N.Y. Court of Appeals

(u) Very important so-called "loitering" case of Chris Sprowel to be appealed.

B. (a) As General Counsel of CORE, I deal with various internal legal matters, corporate and tax problems. These we handle, although shorthanded, as they develop. There is heavy involvement on the telephone. In large part these are local matters, some crackpot, some irrelevant, but all meaning much too much time. Because the National office is in New York, and because the Legal Department is supposed to be a repository of vast and diverse information, all sorts of inquiries are sent our way, many unnecessary, but all time-consuming. We also have fairly heavy correspondence to deal with all over the U.S. on Civil Rights matters, etc. Needless to say, our work involves coordination with the activities of Chapters and Regional Offices, and, often, participation in CORE workshops.

We were instrumental in the creation of CORE Metropolitan Legal Defense Fund, which we are in the process of setting up as a tax-exempt corporation. This group should start to be active in both fund-raising and in processing certain types of incoming calls and correspondence (e.g. police brutality) in the New York metropolitan area, thus relieving the National office of dealing with NY cases, at least at the preliminary stage.

(b) Other activities include university relations:

(i) participation in civil rights activities of universities such as helping conduct graduate seminar on civil rights for Columbia University Law School next semester.

(ii) Sit on Board as CORE Counsel of New York University Law School Hays Civil Liberties Center.

(iii) Stimulate law schools on the other hand to engage in long-range civil rights activities on our behalf such as University of Michigan and Boston College Law Schools whom we have asked to prepare a report on a new approach to landlord-tenant relations.

(iv) Maintaining close relations with and sit on Board of the Law Student Civil Rights Research Council for assistance in research problems and entree to students in many law schools in the U.S. such as Columbia, Pennsylvania, Howard, Harvard, Chicago, California, etc.

(c) Furthermore, I supervise 3 students (SEDF scholarship students) as part of their continuing legal education. They help us and it is my view that we play an important role in their legal education and their future in the civil rights field.

(d) In recent months I made trips to New Orleans (Pierson v. Ray), Washington (to argue Cox), Cleveland and Chicago (chapter problems). Of course trips to Washington were also made on other CORE business.

(e) I must attend conferences and meetings of such organizations as American Jewish Congress (member of board of their Committee of Law and Social Action), American Civil Liberties Union, LCDC (as member of the board), Workers Defense League (member of the board), Law Students Civil Rights Research Council (Advisor). After twenty-five years as an attorney I have finally become a member of the American Bar Association and hope

to serve on a new committee that is being set up in the realm of constitutional law. I hope to reach many more attorneys in this way and interest them in working for CORE.

(f) Occasionally cooperation with attorneys in preparing civil rights cases other than CORE cases.

(g) Maintain a constant correspondence with numerous government agencies such as

(i) Defense Department - We have several matters pending before them and successfully handled others.

(ii) F.B.I. - while this is difficult and delicate, it is also often very useful - such as at Jonesboro where it was their help that was important.

(iii) Justice Department - ditto

(iv) Post Office

(v) Civil Rights Commission

C. Program for the next few months.

Under this heading I will outline the relationship of the legal work to program and our plans for activities in the next few months. Needless to say, activities outlined under A. and B. will continue to be part of our every-day work. The anticipated expenses related to these activities will be listed under the section entitled "Future expenses.")

It is in the areas relating to program that we have our greatest frustrations. Most of these come about because we do not have lawyers in the field at important centers to take the legal steps necessary to promote civil rights in an affirmative manner; (for that matter, as in Northern Florida, we do not always have a lawyer to defend people arrested.) Northern Florida and Southern Georgia is a particular area where we could use this assistance -- SEDF has appropriated this money and I have been interviewing people for this vacancy.

Louisiana is fairly well covered. Mississippi for some time has needed a lawyer with our philosophy. Obviously, it is important that CORE take as much charge legally as is possible. Some of our internal problems might disappear. In the event of any major program undertakings in Miss., one man will not be anywhere near sufficient. And we are currently faced with the question of Henry Aronson's resignation from CORE. However, our close ties with LCDC are proving a great advantage. They have just hired a full time lawyer for Mississippi, Alvin Bronstein, who will work in close cooperation with us. This will not cost CORE anything. Other major activities will require the assistance of LCDC which, of course, is its main function. For example, we are beginning soon an interesting reapportionment case in Mississippi which will be undertaken by LCDC.

With a regularized group of lawyers in key areas I could plan important legal activities instead of merely acting in an ad hoc fashion, and this will be of greater use to the men in the field, task force people, etc. There are lots of things that I have in mind for such purposes, one of which a big action, in advance, to step off the Plaquemines Parish program, if it developes as discussed.

Presumably, if we can get our bills paid in Louisiana, there are lots of legal problems to be developed, including a very interesting case of admission to Louisiana Tech which is rapidly progressing, and other school, employment and public facility matters, as well as certain injunctive type cases to protect our workers in the field. In Northern Florida we can try with one man, together with additional help from other sources. I have a statewide school case in mind for Louisiana, Florida and South Carolina. So far as Mississippi is concerned, it is a little more difficult, mainly because of the gross number of things to be tried. In South Carolina we have the difficulty of having no lawyer of whom we can be certain. A year ago we prepared a complaint in New York in a school board case which never got off the ground because NAACP put pressure on the plaintiffs to withdraw. The role of our lawyer in this has never been clear.

We must not neglect South Carolina where I would like to have a man as soon as our program gets going, or establish such local assistance as will cover us.

Problems do develop in areas where there are no lawyers, and if travel money were a little more available, I have competent men here to send to places such as Tulsa, etc. who have gone previously.

Hopefully we are getting New York problems under control. We need to do this in San Francisco, where there are lawyers but, because of the money, I have not been able to go there and try to see if it can be put in order, and what money would be needed to keep it on an even keel. I tried with a volunteer, Wester Sweet, of San Jose, but this did not work out. Also, this is essential in New Jersey, where there are lots of volunteers, but not enough coordination because the man who has been handling it is a volunteer. New Jersey illustrates the difficulty of relying too much on volunteers for trial work. In a recent Trenton matter two lawyers absolutely promised to be available and then were not. All one can do is bite one's nails since the men were volunteers.

II. Staff

(a) In the office itself there are only myself and a secretary. We have the part-time help of three law students on scholarships from SEDF. We have developed a mailing list of over 900 persons, of whom approximately 700 are attorneys all over the country able in one way or another to work for CORE. Almost all of these are volunteers.

(b) Our leading volunteers are:

(1) Marvin Karpatkin, in New York, who helps me with national affairs, such as the Cox defamation case, Tulsa injunction case, etc.

(2) George Schiffer, for New York affairs, who works very hard (e.g. all the World's Fair cases). SEDF gives him a substantial sum for the use of his office, telephone, equipment, etc. and also for the assistance of Jules Zalon, a young lawyer.

(c) Our leading attorneys on retainer are:

(1) Messrs Collins, Douglas, and Elie, who receive $400 per month plus expenses. This may go higher at the rate of $10.00 per hour when their work gets out of hand. As it is, they have not received their retainers or been reimbursed for expenses for the last 6 months of 1964.

(2) Floyd McKissick in North Carolina who receives $250 per month.

(3) We have other lawyers in Louisiana with a fixed rate ($10 per hour) but only for time actually spent. This is very reasonable and will help us in Louisiana for the future.

III Budget

Since the beginning of September the outstanding bills of the Legal Department have consistently stood at around $20,000. This does not include office or travel expenses for myself, which National CORE assumes. While we have managed to pay off a few bills, new ones have come in to bring it back to that amount. We have tried to keep our expenses at the absolute minimum, but even so, we have had to incur certain new expenses. Our department has been a serious victim of CORE's financial plight in recent months. Numerous volunteer attorneys have paid large sums out of their own pocket with the understanding that National CORE would reimburse them, and after six months (some longer) many are still waiting. Court stenographers who have prepared records for important cases have not been paid, and the effect of this is that many people who previously worked for us with enthusiasm are at the point where they are less than enthusiastic. We have done our best to plead their indulgence for the sake of the movement but we are in danger of losing their good will. Court stenographers have gotten to the point where they demand payment in advance. In the case of bail bondsmen...especially in the South...this presents a serious problem. This state of affairs is seriously hampering effectiveness on the legal front.

Fortunately, SEDF has come to our rescue. I met with Ann Singer of SEDF recently and went over each bill with her. Most of these bills are in an area whereby they could be picked up by SEDF. The only question is their finances. Not more than $5,000 or so would remain for National CORE to pay if they picked up all that they can pick up.

Future expenses

(a) Retainers for Collins, Douglas & Elie and for Floyd McKissick, as of January 1, 1965, are being paid by SEDF.

(b) SEDF has established the following annual budget for CORE Legal activities:

$20,000	- Louisiana
14,400	- Mississippi
14,400	- Northern Florida
3,600	- North Carolina
3,000	- Legal Conference
12,000	- Northern projects
$67,400	Total

This includes the above mentioned retainers, and covers the expenses of George Schiffer in New York and one attorney's salary in his office.

(c) Office expenses at CORE National Office:

(1) Telephone - about $125. a month

(2) No additional employees at this time, but special clerical assistance is needed from time to time, at an estimated $300 - $500 through May. This could be reduced by the use of competent volunteers if available. Additional help on work involving the Conference will come out of the SEDF grant for this purpose.

(d) Travel expenses:

(1) I hope to hire a lawyer for Northern Florida shortly and should spend a little time there helping him get started and planning.

some major efforts. Two trips.

(2) Two to three trips to Mississippi.

(3) Two to Louisiana.

To some extent some of these can be combined. But our plans for active legal programs in these areas necessitate this.

(4) I should go to South Carolina and lay the groundwork for setting up a group of lawyers to work with us in our forthcoming campaign. Two trips.

(5) One trip to Oklahoma and Texas

(6) One trip to West Coast. This latter is important particularly in light of the Chet Duncan situation and to show our interest in their problems, etc.

(7) One or two trips to Chicago.

These last three could also be combined if carefully planned.

(8) Three to four trips to Washington, D.C.

(9) One trip to Boston early in February to make a speech at Boston College Law School.

(10) One trip to Syracuse (housing rehabilitation matter)

Total travel expenses are estimated at approximately $1,500.00. Perhaps this figure can be reduced if it can be planned carefully.

(e) Other expenses:

(1) Based on previous experience, and assuming active national programs, we will need for bail bonds.....$3-4,000.

(2) Appellate work is hard to estimate, e.g. we have just received a request from Charles Oldham on the Jefferson Bank case, handled in large part from St. Louis, but with some assistance from us. This appeal would cost at least $5,000.00.

Any case that goes to the U.S. Supreme Court will cost us several thousand dollars. We can expect a couple of these per year. Currently we are awaiting word on our petition for a writ of certiorari in Callender v. Florida and Brown v. Louisiana. In large part these should be met by SEDF.

(3) We will have some printing bills, but they should not come to more than $1,000 unless, of course, cases not previously born rear up.

(4) We hope to have two lawyers plus clerical assistance for the South soon, but SEDF will pay this.

(5) Legal Department news letter - important service - no budget as yet.

(6) Special memoranda from time to time(including soon-to-go-out memorandum entitled "A Hard Look at the Civil Rights Act.") - $500-1,000.

(7) Legal texts and journals* - $200-250. We still hope to get U.S. Supreme Court Reports as a gift.

*This does not include important matters such as United States Supreme Court Reports, etc., and arrangements should be made for General Counsel to join the City Bar Association for its library and to be on its active Civil Rights Committee.

Thus, in addition to the budget for the full year of $67,400 from SEDF and assuming they will pick up about three-fourths of our outstanding bills, in summary:

Balance of outstanding bills	about $5,000.00
Telephone expenses - 5 months (Jan-May)	625.00
Clerical (emergency)	300 - 500.00
Travel expenses	1,500.00
Bailbonds (rough estimate depends on activity)	3,000- 4,000.00
Appellate work	5,000.00
Printing bills	1,000.00
Newsletter	???
Memoranda (including postage)	500 - 1,000.00
Reference books	200 - 250.00
	$18,875.00

Obviously, without assistance from SEDF, the use of volunteer attorneys, and close cooperation with LCDC, Law Students CR Research Council, etc., etc. this figure would more likely be in the neighborhood of $100,000.

SEPARATION RECORD

The following nonmanuscript items were removed from the C.O.R.E. papers and have been sent to the division and section indicated, either to be retained or disposed of there. Any items Manuscripts wishes returned are clearly marked.

BOOKS (Library)

PAMPHLETS (Library)
Toward Social Justice
Report of the Addisons Walk Group

NEWSPAPERS (Library - Newspaper Section)

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS (Library - Government Publications Section)
Civil Rights Under Federal Programs

BROADSIDES, CIRCULARS, AND PRINTED ADS (Library)

PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS (Museum - Iconographic Section)

ARTIFACTS (Museum)

OTHER Magazines - Current - Dec. 1964
Buffalo Law Review - Fall 1964

JUL 21 1966

CORE

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY / 701 NEW YORK AVENUE, COLUMBUS, OHIO

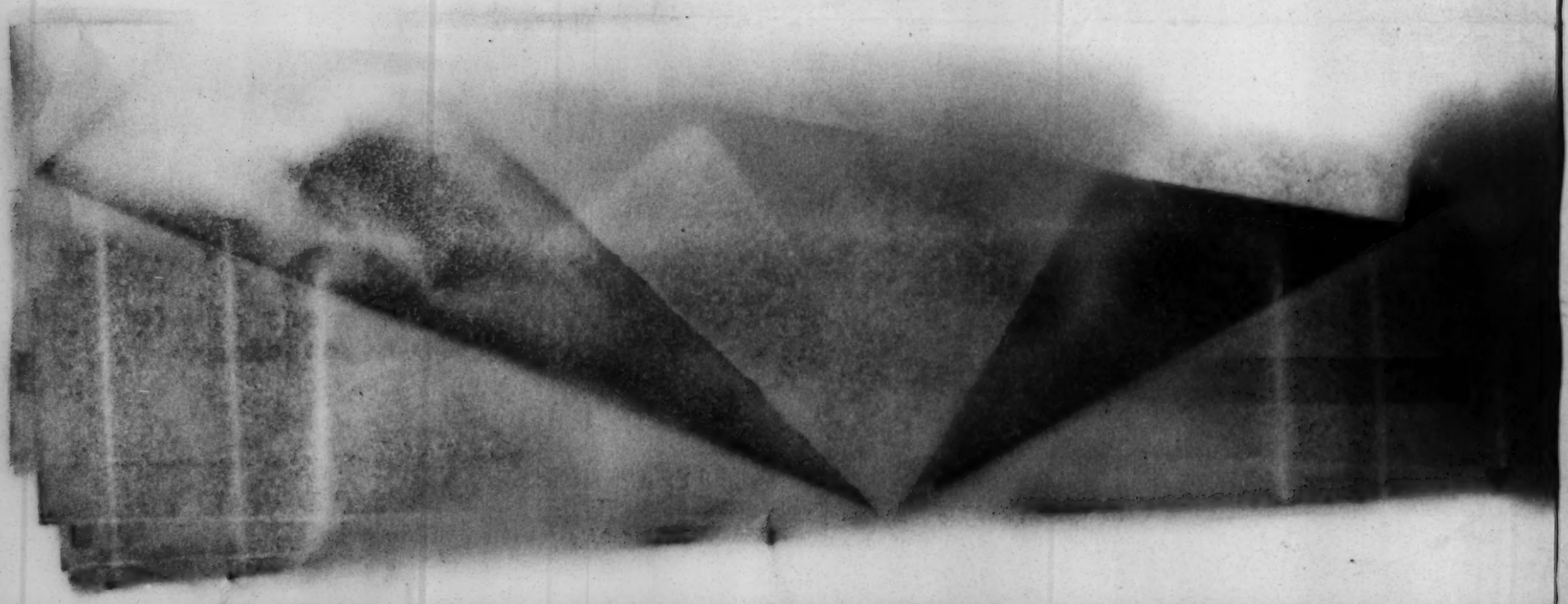
Dear Herb.

Sorry I Did not make it to the convention , but I would like to know is the trip to Israel still on and if it is when are going to leave. I really do need this information as soon as possible . So that I can get things readyk for the trip.

Also If you could give me the names and how i can get ijn touch with them of all Celebrities that have offered to do benefits for CORE and those who have sympathized with us in the pass Well As I said this was just a Quick letter so please excuse all the errors.

Yorus for Freedom

Von Eugene Rhea



COFO PROGRAM (Winter 1964 - Spring 1965)

The Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) is extending its Mississippi Summer Project into a year round project. Both volunteers and paid staff will be used to implement the programs. The following programs are planned as part of the project:

1. Freedom Democratic Party and voter registration. Suits filed by the Justice Department have opened up several counties in the state to the possibility of registering large numbers of Negroes. Emphasis will be placed on these areas, but voter registration will continue to form the basis for much of the community organization throughout the state. The Freedom Democratic Party experience of the summer has provided a basis for extensive voter education. This work will be carried on by local voter groups in different parts of the state. The Freedom Democratic Party operations may be worked out of offices distinct from the COFO offices, but there will be close connections in both staff and planning between the offices.

2. Freedom Schools. The Freedom Schools will be continued in all areas where possible, but their scope will be somewhat limited as the majority of students will be in regular school full time. Freedom schools will concentrate on late afternoon and evening courses. Content will be Negro history, political education, modern languages--all not available in the regular schools--as well as remedial math and reading and writing. In some areas freedom schools will serve to intensify regular studies. In some areas freedom schools may serve in place of regular schools in the event of trouble in the regular school system.

3. Pre-school education. Plans are underway for pre-school day care centers in several areas of the state. This program will attempt to provide nursery school enrichment programs to better prepare children for school. The program will provide working mothers with a place to leave their children under supervision during the day.

4. White Cimmunity Project. Contacts in the upper middle class and power structure will be continued, but these will be on a limited basis. Emphasis will be placed on trying to organize in the lowest classes, attempting to bridge the gap between the white and Negro communities.

5. Federal Programs. The project will attempt to implement various federal programs that are available for the Mississippi rural poor. Emphasis is being placed on programs for farmers, cooperatives--both housing and consumer, public health programs, and implementing the anti-poverty bill.

6. Community Centers. During the summer community center programs began in many areas of the state. Lack of buildings and trained staff delayed implementation of a permanent program. During the year the National Council of Churches will take on increased responsibility for some of the community centers. Emphasis in program will be on day care, citizenship, library, literacy, health program, and specialized programs arising out of skills of a particular applicant.

7. Literacy Program. The state-wide literacy program will be continued. Several different systems (each one, teach one, classes, self-help, etc.) are being used.

8. Medical Programs. The Medical Committee on Human Rights, a cooperating group, will expand its work. The programs will be partly connected with the freedom schools and the community centers. The actual content of the programs will depend on local need and available personnel, but the minimum desired program will include public health, dietary guidance, first aid, pre-natal care, and instruction in available federal, state, and local aid.

9. Legal Programs. Legal assistance under the Lawyer's Constitutional Defense Committee and the Lawyer's Guild will be continued. Lawyers will be permanently stationed in the state and will work with visiting lawyers here on a short term basis.

10. Audio-visual Program. A variety of movies and slides will be shown in different parts of the state.

11. Food & Clothing Distribution. Food and clothing is being distributed to people who have suffered harassment for movement activities or who are economically destitute for other reasons. The food and clothing is collected in other parts of the country and sent here. This distribution is done in cooperation with other interested agencies.

12. Mississippi Student Union (High School Student Organization). Chapters of this state-wide movement organization are established in many areas. Other chapters will be added. The organization serves as a focus for all civil rights-connected activities on the high school level.

13. Libraries. Usually libraries will be a part of a community center program. In some areas there may be buildings only large enough to house a library. In other places mobile libraries may be used. The libraries are simple and are only sketchily catalogued. Emphasis is placed on training local people to run the libraries.

OPERATING LOANS OUTSTANDING

DATE DUE	AMOUNT
2-4-65	$10,000
3-5-65	6,667
3-12-65	3,000
3-15-65	2,000
4-12-65	3,000
4-15-65	2,000
5-12-65	3,000
5-15-65	2,000
6-12-65	3,000
6-15-65	2,000
7-15-65	2,000
8-15-65	2,000
9-12-65	1,000
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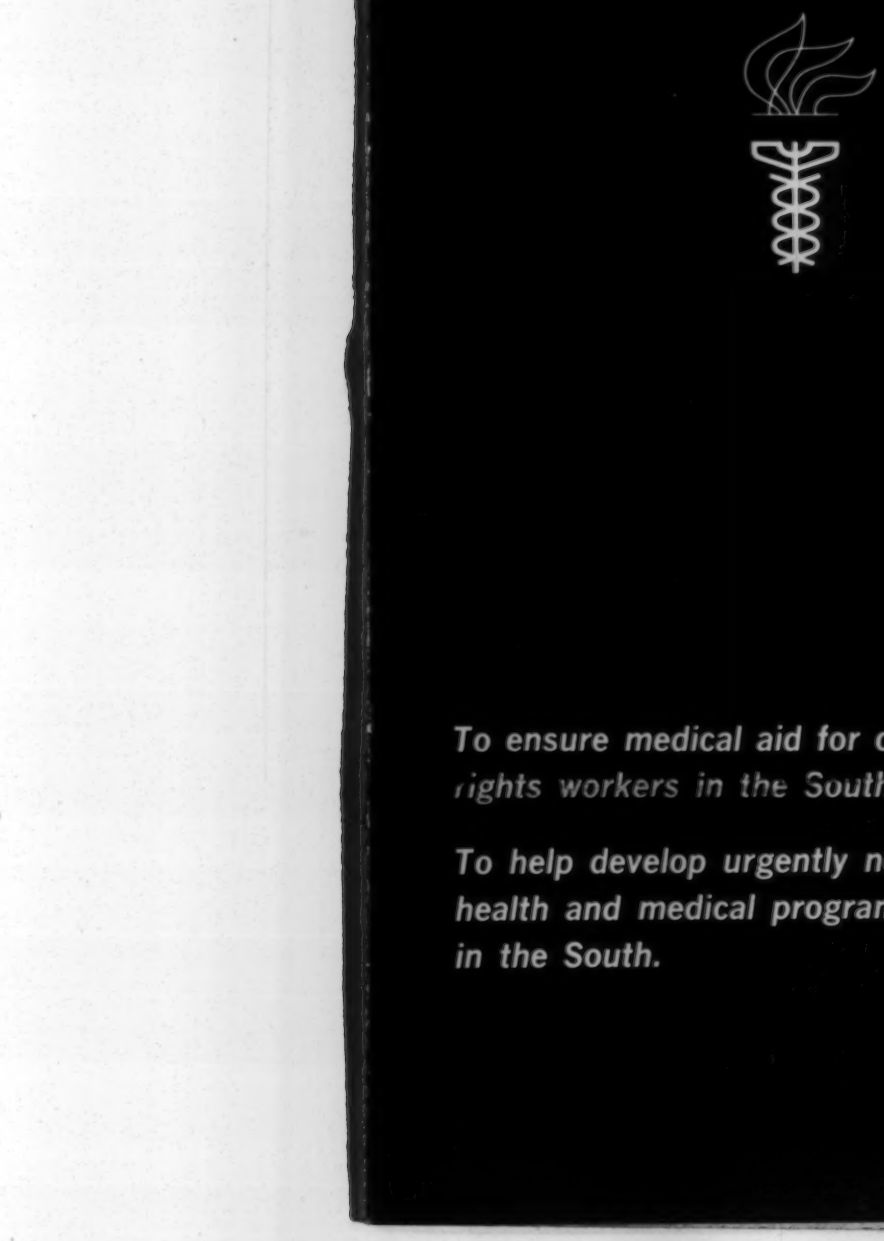
10-12-65	3,000
10-15-65	2,000
11-12-65	3,000
11-15-65	2,000
12-12-65	3,000
12-15-65	2,000
1-8-66	10,000
1-12-66	3,000
TOTAL	$71,667



To ensure medical aid for civil rights workers in the South . . .

To help develop urgently needed health and medical programs in the South.

The Medical Committee for Human Rights

In 1964 . . .

more than 100 doctors, nurses, dentists, psychologists and social workers volunteered their services as the supportive medical arm of the civil rights movement in Mississippi.

Serving without pay, teams of doctors and nurses provided emergency first aid for student workers beaten or attacked . . . arranged for local medical care and hospitalization of sick or injured Mississippi Project volunteers — and provided, above all, the presence of sympathetic medical personnel in a hostile atmosphere.

The committee established contact with white and Negro physicians throughout the state to facilitate the health care of civil rights workers; launched a rest and recreation program for workers with "battle fatigue" — and took first steps to survey and help local Negro communities meet some of their major unfilled health and medical needs.

In 1965 . . .

Close to two thousand volunteers will work in the intensive drive for voter registration, adult education, Freedom Schools and related programs this summer in the South. Central offices and field stations at which our medical personnel can help protect the health of civil rights workers and assist in the development of local health programs must be ready and prepared.

To help secure urgently needed medical and health care for Negro citizens, the MCHR, in cooperation with the National Council of Churches, is assisting a local community health association to establish the first of a series of rural health centers in Mississippi. In cooperation with Mississippi Negro and white physicians, MCHR public health nurses and health educators will seek to lower excessive maternal and infant mortality rates, and undertake other programs to help local communities raise their health standards.

The Medical Committee needs volunteers — doctors, nurses, dentists, psychologists, social workers — who are willing to spend time in the South this summer.

If you cannot go-Give

If you cannot go — GIVE!

- *To help protect the hea*
- *To help local communi*

A Medical Committee doctor assists a student beaten by hoodlums in Mississippi. Since most MCHR physicians are not licensed to practice in Mississippi, they do not provide medical care except in emergencies.

An "on-the-scene" medical presence is urgently needed.

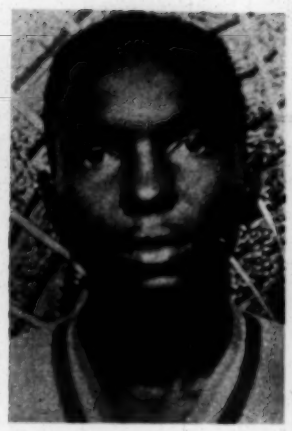
When a civil rights worker is jailed, the first person to see him is often a Medical Committee physician. Frequent visits by physicians, local and MCHR, help ensure the well-being of the workers.

In cooperation with local Negro doctors, the Medical Committee aided in medical examinations of student civil rights workers and helped maintain the health of the volunteers. The Committee established contact with white and Negro physicians throughout the state to facilitate health care of civil rights workers—the beginning of a "bridge of communication" between Negro and white communities in Mississippi.

There are only 57 practicing Negro physicians in the state of Mississippi. They carried the largest share of the burden of treating the civil rights workers, as they

All Medical Committee teams serve without pay. Those who go are encouraged t and/or living expenses; the Medical Committee will pay for those who can

t the health of civil rights workers in the South.
ommunities plan for and obtain medical care.



Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner, James Chaney—three who gave their lives for civil rights.

An additional autopsy performed by a Medical Committee team at the request of Mrs. Chaney provided important additional evidence and new facts in the tragic Philadelphia, Mississippi, murders.

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have for years in treating Negroes of Mississippi. Some white resident physicians responded.

We hope more will in the future.

uraged to provide their own transportation who cannot. Funds are urgently needed.

The Medical Committee for Human Rights

was formed, in July, 1964, at the urgent request of civil rights leaders in Mississippi, as an emergency medical service for civil rights workers in the Mississippi summer project.

Organized for members of the health professions who are deeply committed to the civil rights movement, the Committee has become a permanent national volunteer health corps.

Its program includes protection and care of student civil rights workers; development of rural health centers and mobile health units; health education; aid to community workers in developing health and medical programs; surveying medical needs and documenting discriminatory patterns in health services in the South, to provide a basis for change.

This vital medical project must continue. YOU can guarantee its survival.

$6,000.00	pays all expenses of a public health nurse for one year.
4,600.00	pays for a mobile health unit.
300.00	pays the hospital bill of a badly beaten volunteer.
150.00	sends one MCHR volunteer to Mississippi.
100.00	pays the drug supply bills for one month.
100.00	rents a station wagon for one month.
50.00	pays for the room and board of a volunteer for 2 weeks.

IF YOU CANNOT GO — GIVE!

Miss Rita Charin - Secy.
Mrs. Esther Smith - Social Worker Freedom Rides

The Medical Committee for Human Rights

OFFICERS

NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, Aaron O. Wells, M.D.
VICE CHAIRMAN, Jerome Tobis, M.D.
SECRETARY, Stanley E. Nelson, D.D.S.
TREASURER, Alfred Moldovan, M.D.

SPONSORS

Alan Aisenberg, M.D.
S. J. Axelrod, M.D.
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David G. Miller, M.D.
David Pomrinse, M.D.
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Lewis Philip Rowland, M.D.
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Joseph Stokes, M.D.
Louis W. Sullivan, M.D.
Albert Szent-Gyorgi, M.D.
Paul Dudley White, M.D.
Felix Wroblewski, M.D.
Edward L. Young, M.D.

NATIONAL OFFICES:

Broadway Congregational Church
211 West 56th Street, New York, N. Y. 10019
Phone: 582-1661

To: **Medical Committee for Human Rights**
211 West 56th Street, New York, N. Y. 10019

I enclose my contribution of .....

... I am available to go to Mississippi or to work in the offices of the Committee.

... Send a speaker to appear at a fund-raising meeting.

... Send me literature and progress reports.

... I wish to contribute .....on a monthly basis.

Name.....

Address.....

Affiliation.....

City.....State.....

CHAPTER 931

AN ACT to amend the public health law, in relation to the control of atmospheric pollution, and creating an air pollution control board in the state department of health

Became a law April 28, 1957, with the approval of the Governor. Passed, by a majority vote, three-fifths being present

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1. The public health law is hereby amended by inserting therein a new article, to be article twelve-A, to read as follows:

ARTICLE TWELVE-A

Air Pollution Control

Title I. General provisions and public policy (§§ 1264–1267).
II. Air pollution control board (§§ 1268–1276).
III. Procedures (§§ 1277–1284).
IV. Violations; penalties (§§ 1285–1288).
V. Variances (§§ 1289–1292).
VI. Scope and construction (§§ 1293–1298).

TITLE I

General Provisions and Public Policy

Section 1264. Short title.
1265. Declaration of policy.
1266. Statement of purpose.
1267. Definitions.

§ 1264. Short title. This article shall be known as the "Air Pollution Control Act".

§ 1265. Declaration of policy. It is declared to be the policy of the state of New York to maintain a reasonable degree of purity of the air resources of the state, which shall be consistent with the public health and welfare and the public enjoyment thereof, the industrial development of the state, the propagation and protection of flora and fauna, and the protection of physical property and other resources, and to that end to require the use of all available practical and reasonable methods to prevent and control air pollution in the state of New York. It is further declared that this can be done most effectively by focusing on goals to be achieved by a maximum of cooperation among all parties concerned and that codes, rules and regulations established under the provisions of this article should be clearly premised upon scientific knowledge of causes as well as of effects.

Explanation — Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [ ] is old law to be omitted.

§ 1266. Statement of purpose. It is the purpose of this article to safeguard the air resources of the state from pollution by: (a) controlling or abating air pollution which shall exist when this article shall be enacted and (b) preventing new air pollution, under a program which shall be consistent with the declaration of policy above stated and in accordance with the provisions of this article.

§ 1267. Definitions. When used in this article, the following words and phrases shall have the meanings ascribed to them in this section.

1. "Board" means the air pollution control board which is created by this article.

2. "Person" means any individual, public or private corporation, political subdivision, agency, board, department or bureau of the state, municipality, partnership, association, firm, trust, estate or any other legal entity whatsoever which is recognized by law as the subject of rights and duties.

3. "Air contaminant" means a dust, fume, gas, mist, odor, smoke, vapor, pollen or any combination thereof.

4. "Air pollution" means the presence in the outdoor atmosphere of one or more air contaminants in quantities, of characteristics and of a duration which are injurious to human, plant or animal life or to property or which unreasonably interfere with the comfortable enjoyment of life and property throughout the state or throughout such areas of the state as shall be affected thereby; excluding however all conditions subject to the requirements of the labor law and industrial code.

5. "Air contamination" means the presence in the outdoor atmosphere of one or more air contaminants which contribute or which are likely to contribute to a condition of air pollution.

6. "Air contamination source" means any source at, from or by reason of which there is emitted into the atmosphere any air contaminant, regardless of who the person may be who owns or operates the building, premises or other property in, at or on which such source is located or the facility, equipment or other property by which the emission is caused or from which the emission comes. Without limiting the generality of the foregoing, this term includes all types of commercial and industrial plants and works, heating and power plants and stations, shops and stores; buildings and other structures of all types, including single and multiple family residences, apartment houses, office buildings, public buildings, hotels, restaurants, schools, hospitals, churches, and other institutional buildings; automobiles, trucks, tractors, buses and other motor vehicles (hereinafter called "motor vehicles"); garages; vending and service locations and stations; railroad locomotives; ships, boats and other waterborne craft; portable fuel-burning equipment; incinerators of all types, indoor and outdoor; and refuse dumps and piles.

7. "Air cleaning device" means any method, process or equipment which removes, reduces or renders less noxious air contaminants discharged into the atmosphere.

8. "Area of the state" means any city, village, township, county or other geographical area of the state as may be designated by the board.

TITLE II

Air Pollution Control Board

Section 1268. Creation of air pollution control board; membership.
1269. Organization of the board; officers; terms of office.
1270. Compensation.
1271. Jurisdiction of the board; powers and duties.
1272. Meetings of the board; quorum.
1273. Executive secretary; jurisdiction; powers and duties.
1274. Technical, scientific, legal and other services.
1275. Employees and advisers.
1276. Codes, rules and regulations.

§ 1268. Creation of air pollution control board; membership. 1. (a) There is hereby created within the department of health an air pollution control board, which shall consist of nine members, five of whom shall be the commissioners of the departments of health, agriculture and markets, commerce, conservation and labor; and four of whom shall be appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the senate and shall have the respective qualifications provided in paragraph (b) of this subdivision.

(b) Of such four members so appointed by the governor,

(i) One member shall be representative of the medical profession, and, as such, shall be a licensed doctor of medicine and shall be experienced and competent in the toxicology of air contaminants.

(ii) One member shall be representative of the engineering profession, and, as such, shall be a licensed professional engineer and shall be trained and experienced in matters of air pollution measurement and control.

(iii) One member shall be representative of industry, and, as such, shall be employed by a manufacturer or public utility carrying on a manufacturing or public utility business within the state and shall be experienced and competent in matters of air pollution evaluation and control.

(iv) One member shall be representative of the political subdivisions of the state, and, as such, shall be a member of the local governing body of a city, town or village of the state or a person otherwise employed by such a city, town or village, and shall be familiar with matters pertaining to air pollution and the control thereof in relation to real property values and the public welfare.

2. Each member of the board other than a member appointed by the governor may, by official order, filed in the office of the board, designate a deputy or other representative in his department to perform his duties under this article, except as provided in sections one thousand two hundred seventy-six and one thousand two hundred eighty-two.

The designation of such deputy or other representative shall be deemed temporary only and shall not affect the civil service or retirement rights of any person so designated.

§ 1269. Organization of the board; officers; terms of office. 1. The commissioner of health shall be the chairman of the board.

2. Of the four members of the board appointed by the governor first to be appointed, one shall be appointed for a term of one year; one for a term of two years; one for a term of three years and one for a term of four years beginning on July first, nineteen hundred fifty-seven. Thereafter all appointments shall be made for terms of four years beginning on July first of the year in which the appointment is, by the provisions of section one thousand two hundred sixty-eight required to be made. Each of such appointed members of the board shall hold office for the term for which he was appointed and until his successor shall have been appointed and taken office in his stead or until he shall resign or be removed in the manner hereinafter provided.

If any member of the board appointed by the governor shall resign or be removed from the board, the governor shall promptly appoint a member, representative of the same interest, as provided in paragraph (b) of subdivision one of section one thousand two hundred sixty-eight, as was the member so resigned or removed, to fill the vacancy for the remainder of the term of the member of the board who ceased to be a member thereof.

The governor may remove for cause, after a public hearing, any member of the board appointed by him.

§ 1270. Compensation. The members of the board, their respective deputies or representatives if any, shall receive no compensation for their services as members of the board or as such representatives or deputies, but each of them shall be allowed the necessary and actual expenses which he shall incur in the performance of his duties under this article.

§ 1271. Jurisdiction of the board; powers and duties. 1. Consistent with the policy of the state as it is declared in section one thousand two hundred sixty-five, the board shall have power to:

(a) Formulate, adopt and promulgate, amend and repeal codes and rules and regulations for controlling or prohibiting air pollution in such areas of the state as shall or may be affected by air pollution and to include in any such code, rules or regulations a general provision for controlling air contamination, as the phrase "air contamination" is defined in subdivision five of section one thousand two hundred sixty-seven; provided, however, that in exercising the provisions of this paragraph the board shall conform with the provisions of section one thousand two hundred seventy-six.

(b) Establish areas of the state and prescribe the degree of air pollution or air contamination that may be permitted therein.

(c) Hold public hearings, conduct investigations, compel the attendance of witnesses, receive such pertinent and relevant proof and other things as it may deem to be necessary, proper or desirable in order that it may effectively discharge its code, rule and regulation making duties and responsiblities under this article and its duties and responsibilities under this article to control and abate air pollution.

2. The board shall also have power to:

(a) Control and abate air pollution in accordance with any code, rule or regulation which it may promulgate under this article.

(b) Compel the attendance of witnesses.

(c) Make findings of fact and determinations.

(d) Assess such penalities as are hereinafter prescribed with respect to a violation of any provision of any code, rule or regulation or of any order which it may issue under this article.

(e) Make, modify or cancel orders which require, in accordance with the provisions of this article, the abatement of air pollution.

(f) Institute or cause to be instituted in a court of competent jurisdiction proceedings to compel compliance with the provisions of any code, rule or regulation or any determination or order which it may promulgate or issue under this article.

(g) Settle or compromise in its discretion with the approval of the attorney general and as it may deem advantageous to the state any action for the recovery of a penalty under this article.

(h) Do such other things as it may deem necessary, proper or desirable in order that it may enforce codes, rules or regulations which have been promulgated under this article.

(i) Accept, or where deemed necessary require to be submitted to it, and consider for approval plans for air cleaning devices or any part thereof and inspect the installation for compliance with the plans.

3. The board shall have the further power to:

(a) Enter and inspect any property, premise or place and stop, detain and inspect any motor vehicle for the purpose of investigating either an actual or suspected source of air pollution or air contamination or ascertaining compliance or non-compliance with any code, rule or regulation which it may promulgate under this article. Any information relating to secret processes, or methods of manufacture, or production obtained in the course of the inspection or investigation shall be kept confidential. If samples of air or air contaminants are taken for analysis, a duplicate of the analytical report shall be furnished promptly to the person who is suspected of causing such air pollution or air contamination.

(b) Receive and initiate complaints of air pollution or air contamination in alleged violation of any code, rule or regulation which it may promulgate under this article and take action with respect thereto as hereinafter provided in this article.

4. It shall be the duty and responsibility of the board to:

(a) Prepare and develop a general comprehensive plan for the control or abatement of existing air pollution and for the control or prevention of any new air pollution recognizing varying requirements for different areas of the state.

(b) Encourage voluntary cooperation by all persons in controlling air pollution and air contamination.

(c) Encourage the formulation and execution of plans by cooperative groups or associations of cities, towns and villages, industries and others who severally or jointly are or may be the source of air pollution, for the prevention and abatement of pollution.

(d) Cooperate with the appropriate agencies of the United States or other states or any interstate agencies or international agencies with respect to the control of air pollution and air contamination, or for the formulation for the submission to the legislature of interstate air pollution control compacts or agreements.

(e) Conduct or cause to be conducted studies and research with respect to air pollution control, abatement or prevention.

(f) Conduct and supervise programs of air pollution control education including the preparation and distribution of information relating to air pollution control.

(g) Determine by means of field studies and sampling the degree of air pollution in New York state.

(h) Provide advisory technical consultation services to local communities.

(i) Develop and conduct demonstration programs in cooperation with local communities.

(j) Promote the establishment of local laboratory facilities including essential instrumentation.

(k) Provide facilities and staff for training personnel of local communities in the principles of air sanitation.

(l) Serve as the agency of the state for the receipt of monies from the federal government or other public or private agencies and to expend such monies after appropriation thereof for the purpose of air pollution control studies or research.

§ 1272. Meetings of the board; quorum. 1. The board shall:

(a) Meet at least quarterly.

(b) Keep a record of all its proceedings.

(c) Determine the rules of its own procedures.

2. Special meetings of the board may be called by its chairman upon his own initiative and must be called by him upon the receipt by him of a written request therefor signed by two or more members of the board.

3. Six members of the board shall constitute a quorum when the board exercises its code, rule and regulation making responsibilities at both regular and special meetings.

4. Five members of the board shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of any other business of the board at both regular and special meetings.

5. The term "members" as used in this section shall include deputies or other representatives who shall be designated in accordance with the provisions of subdivision two of section one thousand two hundred sixty-eight.

6. At least three days prior to each meeting, the executive secretary of the board shall give written notice to each member of the board of the time, place and purpose of such meeting.

§ 1273. Executive secretary; jurisdiction; powers and duties. The board shall appoint an executive secretary. Such an appointment shall be made on the affirmative vote of seven or more members.

The executive secretary shall be a professional engineer licensed to practice in the state of New York and trained and experienced in the field of air pollution control.

The executive secretary shall:

(a) Act as the administrative agent of the board.

(b) Between meetings of the board, perform in the name of the board such functions and duties and have such authority given the board by section one thousand two hundred seventy-one as the board may delegate to him by formal resolution, except the authority to promulgate, amend or repeal codes, rules and regulations, make determinations or issue and countermand orders.

(c) Keep a record of all meetings of the board.

(d) Make recommendations to the board with respect to air pollution abatement.

(e) Notify, at the direction of the chairman, the members of the board, of the time, place and purpose of each meeting.

(f) Carry out such instructions and perform such other tasks as the board may direct.

§ 1274. Technical, scientific, legal and other services. Technical, scientific, legal or other services shall be performed, in so far as practicable, by personnel of the departments of health, agriculture and markets, commerce, conservation, labor and other departments or agencies of the state, without additional compensation.

§ 1275. Employees and advisers. The board shall have the power to employ and compensate, within appropriations available therefor, such other personnel as it shall determine necessary to carry out the provisions of this article, and shall prescribe their powers and duties. The board or the executive secretary of the board may be assisted, when deemed necessary, by a council of technical advisers, properly qualified by education or experience, appointed by the board, but such technical advisers shall receive no compensation for such services to the board or to the executive secretary.

§ 1276. Codes, rules and regulations. 1. A code, rule or regulation or any amendment or repeal thereof shall be approved in writing by at least six members of the board and not by any deputy or other representative.

2. A code, rule or regulation or any amendment or repeal thereof shall not be adopted until after a public hearing within the area of the state concerned. Notice of such hearing shall be given at least thirty days prior to the scheduled date of the hearing by public advertisement of the date, time, place and purpose of such hearing. At such hearing, opportunity to be heard by the board with respect to the subject thereof shall be given to the public. A code, rule or regulation or an amendment or repeal thereof shall not become effective until sixty days after it has been signed as provided in subdivision one of this section, nor until certified copies thereof shall have been filed with the secretary of state. Any person heard at such hearing shall be given written notice of the action of the board with respect to the subject thereof.

3. The code, rule and/or regulation or any amendment thereof which shall be adopted by the board may differ in its terms and provisions as between particular types and conditions of air pollution or of air contamination; as between particular air contamination sources; and as between particular areas of the state.

4. In exercising the power conferred upon it by section one thousand two hundred seventy-one to formulate, adopt and promulgate, and to amend and repeal, codes and rules and regulations for controlling or prohibiting air pollution, the board shall give due recognition to the fact that the quantity or characteristics of air contaminants or the duration of their presence in the atmosphere, which may cause air pollution in one area of the state, may cause less air pollution or not cause any air pollution in another area of the state, and it shall take into consideration in this connection such factors, among others found by it to be proper and just, as existing physical conditions, zoning classifications, topography and prevailing wind directions and velocities and also the fact that a code, rule or regulation and the degree of conformance therewith which may be proper as to an essentially residential area of the state may not be proper as to a highly developed industrial area of the state.

TITLE III

Procedures

Section 1277. Hearings; general provisions.
1278. Notices; service of process.
1279. Complaints; investigation.
1280. Complaints; hearing.
1281. Complaints; conduct of hearings.
1282. Order or determination.
1283. Review.
1284. Air pollution deleterious to health.

§ 1277. Hearings; general provisions. 1. Public hearings, as provided for in subdivision two of section one thousand two hundred seventy-six and in section one thousand two hundred eighty, may be held before any member or members of the board or their delegates or representatives if any, as the chairman with the concurrence of the board may designate.

2. For any hearing specified in subdivision one, those designated to conduct the hearing shall have power to issue in the name of the board notices of hearings and subpoenas requiring attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of evidence relevant to any matter involved at any such hearing and those designated shall also have the power to examine witnesses.

3. Any information relating to secret processes, or methods of manufacture, or production which may be required, ascertained or discovered by the board or those designated to conduct hearings shall not be disclosed in public hearings or otherwise and shall be kept confidential.

4. A record, or summary thereof, of the proceedings of each hearing shall be made and filed with the board. If requested by any party concerned with said hearing, full stenographic notes of the proceedings and testimony presented shall be taken and filed. The stenographer shall, upon payment of the fees allowed therefor,

furnish a certified transcript of the whole or any part of his notes to any party to the action requesting the same.

5. In the case of contumacy or refusal to obey a subpoena under this section, the supreme court shall have jurisdiction, upon the application of the board or its authorized delegate to issue an order requiring such person to appear and testify or produce evidence as the case may require. Any failure to obey such an order may be judged by any court as contempt thereof.

6. At any hearing, opportunity to be heard with respect to the subject thereof shall be given to the public.

7. Any person heard at such public hearing shall be given written notice of the action of the board with respect to the subject thereof.

§ 1278. Notices; service of process. 1. Notices of every public hearing shall specify the time, date, place and purpose of the hearing.

2. Service of all processes of the board, except subpoenas and except notices of hearings for the adoption of codes, rules or regulations (notices of which shall be given as provided in subdivision two of section one thousand two hundred seventy-six), shall be served in the same manner as a summons in a civil action or by registered mail upon any person to whom it is addressed, upon the mayor or counsel of a municipality or upon an officer of a district, authority, commission, private corporation or company, as the case may be.

3. Subpoenas shall be served upon a prospective witness personally and at the same time he shall be paid such fees therefor as may be provided by law.

§ 1279. Complaints; investigation. In case any written complaint shall be filed with the board and it shall have cause to believe, or in case the board itself shall have cause to believe, that any person is violating any code, rule or regulation which was promulgated by the board by causing or permitting air pollution or air contamination, the board shall cause a prompt investigation thereof to be made; and, if it shall find, after such investigation, that such a violation of any code, rule or regulation of the board exists, it shall, by conference, conciliation and persuasion, endeavor to the fullest extent possible, to eliminate the source or cause of the air pollution or air contamination which resulted in such violation.

§ 1280. Complaints; hearing. In case of failure by conference, conciliation and persuasion, to correct or remedy any source or cause of air pollution or air contamination which resulted in a violation of any code, rule or regulation of the board, the board shall cause to have issued and served upon the person complained against a written notice, together with a copy of the complaint made by it or a copy of the complaint made to it, which shall specify the provision of the code, rule or regulation of which such person is said to be in violation, and a statement of the manner in, and of the extent to which, such person is said to violate it and shall require the person so complained against to answer the charges of such complaint at a public hearing before the board at a time not less than fifteen days after the date of notice.

§ 1281. Complaints; conduct of hearings. 1. The respondent to such complaint may file a written answer thereto and may appear at such hearing in person or by representative, with or without counsel, and may submit testimony, or may do both.

2. The board at the request of any respondent to a complaint made pursuant to this article shall subpoena and compel the attendance of such witnesses as the respondent may reasonably designate and it shall require the production for examination of any book or paper relating to the matter under investigation at any such hearing.

3. The testimony taken at the hearing before the board or its delegate shall be under oath and recorded stenographically.

§ 1282. Order or determination. 1. After due consideration of the written and oral statements, the testimony and arguments that shall be submitted under the provisions of section one thousand two hundred eighty-one or, upon default in appearance of the respondent on the return day which shall be specified in the notice given as provided in section one thousand two hundred eighty, the board may issue and enter such final order, or make such final determination as it shall deem appropriate under the circumstances, and it shall notify the respondent thereof in writing by registered mail. In all proceedings before the board or its designee with respect to any alleged violation of any code, rule or regulation which shall have been promulgated by the board, the burden of proof shall be upon the board.

2. Any final order or determination or other final action by the board shall be approved in writing by at least six members of the board and not by any deputy or other representative.

§ 1283. Review. 1. Any final order or determination or other final action by the board and the validity or reasonableness of any code, rule or regulation of the board shall be subject to review as provided in article seventy-eight of the civil practice act.

2. (a) When a review in accordance with article seventy-eight of the civil practice act is not maintainable, either because the person aggrieved was not a party to the original proceedings in which the order or determination or other action which is sought to be reviewed was made or taken, or for any other reason, the order or determination of the board and the validity or reasonableness of any code, rule or regulation of the board may nevertheless be reviewed as hereinafter provided in this subdivision.

(b) Application for relief from any code, rule or regulation of the board or from any determination or order or other action which shall have been made or taken by the board or by any person acting in the name of the board shall be made by petition which shall be verified as in a civil action. Such petition shall contain a plain and concise statement of the material facts on which the petitioner relies, and shall set forth the code, rule or regulation or the determination or order or other action of the board or the part thereof which he shall claim to be unreasonable or prejudicial to him and shall specify the grounds therefor. Such petition may be accompanied by affidavits or other written proof and shall demand the

relief to which the petitioner alleges he is entitled, in the alternative or otherwise. Such petition may be made by any one or more persons jointly or severally who shall be aggrieved by any such code, rule or regulation or any such determination, order or act whether or not such petitioner is or was a party to the proceeding in which such code, rule or regulation was adopted by the board or in which such determination or order or action was made or taken by the board.

(c) A proceeding brought under the provisions of this subdivision must be instituted by service of the petition and notices of application for relief within four months after the action of the board which is sought to be reviewed shall become final and binding upon the petitioner or the person whom he represents either in law or in fact; or, with the permission of the supreme court granted within two years in case the petitioner or the person whom he represented at the time such action became final and binding upon the petitioner or such person was under the age of twenty-one years, or insane, or imprisoned on a criminal charge, or had been sentenced for a term of less than life.

(d) In all respects the procedure prescribed in section one thousand two hundred eighty-seven and sections one thousand two hundred eighty-nine through one thousand three hundred six, inclusive, of article seventy-eight of the civil practice act shall be applicable to a review provided for in this subdivision two.

§ 1284. Air pollution deleterious to health. Whenever the board after investigation is of the opinion that any person is discharging or causing to be discharged into the atmosphere directly or indirectly any air contaminant and the board certifies that such discharge constitutes danger to the health of the people and that it therefore appears to be prejudicial to the interests of the people of the state to delay action for a period of fifteen days as provided in section one thousand two hundred eighty, the board shall notify the person by written notice that he must discontinue immediately the discharge of such contaminants to the atmosphere whereupon such person shall immediately discontinue such discharge. As promptly as possible thereafter, within not to exceed fifteen days, the board shall provide the person the opportunity to be heard and to present any proof that such discharge does not constitute a danger to the health of the people.

TITLE IV

Violations; Penalties

Section 1285. Violations; voluntary correction.
1286. Violations; civil liability.
1287. Injunctions.
1288. Emergencies excepted.

§ 1285. Violations; voluntary correction. If, at a hearing which shall be held before the board or its delegates or representatives in accordance with the provisions of title three of this article, the board shall determine that the person against whom a complaint was made

is violating any code, rule or regulation which was promulgated by the board by causing or permitting air pollution or air contamination from an air contamination source that is under the control of such person, it shall fix a time, which shall be reasonable under all the circumstances and which may be extended by the board from time to time, during which such person shall be required to take such measures as may be necessary to prevent the violation and to give periodic progress reports thereon. Any information as to secret processes or secret methods of manufacture or production which shall be revealed by such periodic progress reports shall be kept confidential.

§ 1286. Violations; civil liability. 1. Any person who shall have been so determined by the board to have violated any code, rule or regulation which was promulgated by the board and who shall not have taken such preventive or corrective measures as shall be required by the board within the time fixed by it, either originally or as extended, as the case may be, shall be liable for a penalty not to exceed the sum of five hundred dollars for said violation and an additional penalty of not to exceed one hundred dollars for each day during which such violation continues, commencing on the first day after the expiration of the time so fixed in the order of the board for the taking of such preventive or corrective measures. In addition thereto, such person may be enjoined from continuing such violation as hereinafter provided.

2. The penalty provided for in subdivision one of this section shall be recoverable in an action brought in the name of the people of the state by the attorney general. The provisions of the civil practice act and other law relating to the recovery of penalties shall apply to actions brought for the recovery of penalty under this article.

3. An action or cause of action for the recovery of a penalty under this article may be settled or compromised by the attorney general after proceedings are brought to recover such penalties prior to the entry of judgment therefor.

§ 1287. Injunctions. If measures to prevent or correct air pollution or air contamination which is in violation of any code, rule or regulation promulgated by the board shall not be taken in accordance with the order of the board, the board may request the attorney general to bring, and if so requested it shall be his duty to bring, an action for an injunction to prevent any further or continued violation of such code, rule or regulation. In any action for injunction brought pursuant to this article, any finding of the board shall be prima facie evidence of the fact or facts found therein.

§ 1288. Emergencies excepted. The civil liabilities which shall be imposed pursuant to the provisions of this title upon persons violating the provisions of any code, rule or regulation shall not be so construed as to include any violation which was caused by an act of God, war, strike, riot, catastrophe or other condition as to which negligence or willful misconduct on the part of such person was not the proximate cause.

TITLE V

VARIANCES

Section 1289. Variances; permissive.
1290. Variances; other considerations.
1291. Variances; required.
1292. Duration.

§ 1289. Variances; permissive. Notwithstanding any other provision of this article, the board may suspend the enforcement of the whole or any part of any code, rule or regulation of the board in the case of any person who shall show that the enforcement thereof would be inequitable or unreasonable as to such person, or the board, may suspend the enforcement thereof for any other reason deemed by it to be sufficient to show that the enforcement thereof would be a hardship upon such person; and upon any suspension of the whole or any part of such code, rule or regulation the board shall grant to such person a variance therefrom.

§ 1290. Variances; other considerations. In determining under what conditions and to what extent a variance from such code, rule or regulation may be granted, the board shall give due recognition to the progress which the person requesting such variance shall have made in eliminating or preventing air pollution. In such a case the board shall consider the reasonableness of granting a variance conditioned upon such person effecting a partial abatement of the particular air pollution or a progressive abatement of such air pollution over a period of time which it shall consider reasonable under all the circumstances; or the board may prescribe other and different requirements with which the person who shall receive such variance shall comply.

§ 1291. Variances; required. The board shall grant a variance from any such code, rule or regulation to, and suspend the enforcement thereof as to, any person who shall show in the case of such person and of the activity which such person then operates that a compliance by such person with such code, rule or regulation, and of the acquisition, installation, operation and maintenance of facilities and equipment with which to accomplish such compliance, would constitute an undue hardship on such person and would be out of proportion to the benefits to be obtained thereby; provided, however, that a variance shall not be granted under the provisions of this title where the person applying therefor is causing air pollution which constitutes a health hazard; and provided, further, that any variance so granted shall not be so construed as to relieve the person who shall receive it from any liability imposed by other law for the commission or maintenance of a nuisance.

§ 1292. Duration. Any variance granted pursuant to the provisions of this title shall be granted for such period of time, not exceeding one year, as shall be specified by the board at the time of granting it, but any variance may be continued from year to year. Any variance which shall be granted by the board may be granted on the condition that the person who shall receive it

shall make reports to the board periodically, as the board shall specify, as to the progress which such person shall have made toward reaching a compliance with such code, rule or regulation of the board.

TITLE VI

Scope and Construction

Section 1293. Application of article.
1294. Existing rights and remedies.
1295. Persons other than the state shall not acquire actionable rights by virtue of this article.
1296. Conflicting laws.
1297. Local laws, ordinances and regulations.
1298. Separability clause.

§ 1293. Application of article. The provisions of this article shall apply to all areas of the state.

§ 1294. Existing rights and remedies. It is the purpose of this article to provide additional and cumulative remedies to prevent and abate air pollution and air contamination. Nothing in this article contained shall abridge or alter rights of action or remedies now or hereafter existing, nor shall any provision of this article or anything done by virtue of this article be construed as estopping individuals, cities, towns or villages or the state from the exercise of their respective rights to suppress nuisances or to prevent or abate air pollution or air contamination.

§ 1295. Persons other than the state shall not acquire actionable rights by virtue of this article. The basis for proceedings or other actions that shall result from violations of any code, rule or regulation which shall be promulgated by the board shall inure solely to and shall be for the benefit of the people of the state generally and it is not intended to create in any way new or enlarged rights or to enlarge existing rights. A determination by the board that air pollution or air contamination exists or that any code, rule or regulation has been disregarded or violated, whether or not a proceeding or action may be brought by the state, shall not create by reason thereof any presumption of law or finding of fact which shall inure to or be for the benefit of any person other than the state.

§ 1296. Conflicting laws. This article shall not be construed as repealing any of the laws relating to air pollution or air contamination which are not by this article expressly repealed, but it shall be held and construed to be as ancillary to and supplementing the laws now in force, excepting as they may be in direct conflict with this article.

§ 1297. Local laws, ordinances and regulations. Any local laws, ordinances or regulations of any governing body of a city, town or village which are not inconsistent with this article or with any code, rule or regulation which shall be promulgated pursuant to this article shall not be superseded by it, and nothing in this article or in any code, rule or regulation which shall be promulgated pursuant to this article shall preclude the right of any governing body of a

city, town or village to adopt local laws, ordinances or regulations which are not inconsistent with this article or with any code, rule or regulation which shall be promulgated pursuant to this article. Any local laws, ordinances or regulations of a city, town or village which comply with at least the minimum applicable requirements set forth in any code, rule or regulation promulgated pursuant to this article shall be deemed consistent with this article or with any such code, rule or regulation.

§ 1298. Separability clause. If any clause, sentence, paragraph, section or part of this article shall be adjudged by any court of competent jurisdiction to be invalid, the judgment shall not affect, impair or invalidate the remainder of this article but shall be confined in its operation to the clause, sentence, paragraph, section or part of this article that shall be directly involved in the controversy in which such judgment shall have been rendered.

§ 2. This act shall take effect July first, nineteen hundred fifty-seven, except that the provisions of article twelve-A of the public health law, as added by this act, in so far as they confer power upon the air pollution control board to adopt and promulgate codes, rules and regulations for prohibiting and controlling air pollution and to enforce compliance therewith, shall take effect July first, nineteen hundred fifty-nine.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
Department of State. } ss:

I have compared the preceding with the original law on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole of said original law.

CARMINE G. DESAPIO,
Secretary of State

SA

Public Law 88-352
88th Congress, H. R. 7152
July 2, 1964

An Act

To enforce the constitutional right to vote, to confer jurisdicti district courts of the United States to provide injunctive r discrimination in public accommodations, to authorize the Attorn institute suits to protect constitutional rights in public facilitie education, to extend the Commission on Civil Rights, to prevent d in federally assisted programs, to establish a Commission on Eq ment Opportunity, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representat United States of America in Congress assembled, That th be cited as the "Civil Rights Act of 1964".

TITLE I—VOTING RIGHTS

SEC. 101. Section 2004 of the Revised Statutes (42 U.S as amended by section 131 of the Civil Rights Act of 195 637), and as further amended by section 601 of the Civil of 1960 (74 Stat. 90), is further amended as follows:

(a) Insert "1" after "(a)" in subsection (a) and add at subsection (a) the following new paragraphs:

"(2) No person acting under color of law shall—

"(A) in determining whether any individual is qual State law or laws to vote in any Federal election, standard, practice, or procedure different from the practices, or procedures applied under such law or la individuals within the same county, parish, or simil subdivision who have been found by State officials to to vote;

"(B) deny the right of any individual to vote in a election because of an error or omission on any recor relating to any application, registration, or other ac to voting, if such error or omission is not material in ing whether such individual is qualified under State in such election; or

"(C) employ any literacy test as a qualification fo any Federal election unless (i) such test is admi each individual and is conducted wholly in writing, certified copy of the test and of the answers given b vidual is furnished to him within twenty-five days of sion of his request made within the period of time du records and papers are required to be retained and pres suant to title III of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 (42 U 74e; 74 Stat. 88): *Provided, however*, That the Attorn may enter into agreements with appropriate State or lo ities that preparation, conduct, and maintenance of su accordance with the provisions of applicable State or including such special provisions as are necessary in th tion, conduct, and maintenance of such tests for perso blind or otherwise physically handicapped, meet the p this subparagraph and constitute compliance therewith.

"(3) For purposes of this subsection—

"(A) the term 'vote' shall have the same meaning a tion (e) of this section;

"(B) the phrase 'literacy test' includes any test of to read, write, understand, or interpret any matter."

(b) Insert immediately following the period at the end sentence of subsection (c) the following new sentence: such proceeding literacy is a relevant fact there shall be a

presumption that any person who has not been adjudged an incompetent and who has completed the sixth grade in a public school in, or a private school accredited by, any State or territory, the District of Columbia, or the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico where instruction is carried on predominantly in the English language, possesses sufficient literacy, comprehension, and intelligence to vote in any Federal election."

(c) Add the following subsection "(f)" and designate the present subsection "(f)" as subsection "(g)":

"Federal election."

"(f) When used in subsection (a) or (c) of this section, the words 'Federal election' shall mean any general, special, or primary election held solely or in part for the purpose of electing or selecting any candidate for the office of President, Vice President, presidential elector, Member of the Senate, or Member of the House of Representatives."

(d) Add the following subsection "(h)":

Suits by Attorney General.

"(h) In any proceeding instituted by the United States in any district court of the United States under this section in which the Attorney General requests a finding of a pattern or practice of discrimination pursuant to subsection (e) of this section the Attorney General, at the time he files the complaint, or any defendant in the proceeding, within twenty days after service upon him of the complaint, may file with the clerk of such court a request that a court of three judges be convened to hear and determine the entire case. A copy of the request for a three-judge court shall be immediately furnished by such clerk to the chief judge of the circuit (or in his absence, the presiding circuit judge of the circuit) in which the case is pending. Upon receipt of the copy of such request it shall be the duty of the chief judge of the circuit or the presiding circuit judge, as the case may be, to designate immediately three judges in such circuit, of whom at least one shall be a circuit judge and another of whom shall be a district judge of the court in which the proceeding was instituted, to hear and determine such case, and it shall be the duty of the judges so designated to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date, to participate in the hearing and determination thereof, and to cause the case to be in every way expedited. An appeal from the final judgment of such court will lie to the Supreme Court.

Appeals.

Designation of judges.

"In any proceeding brought under subsection (c) of this section to enforce subsection (b) of this section, or in the event neither the Attorney General nor any defendant files a request for a three-judge court in any proceeding authorized by this subsection, it shall be the duty of the chief judge of the district (or in his absence, the acting chief judge) in which the case is pending immediately to designate a judge in such district to hear and determine the case. In the event that no judge in the district is available to hear and determine the case, the chief judge of the district, or the acting chief judge, as the case may be, shall certify this fact to the chief judge of the circuit (or, in his absence, the acting chief judge) who shall then designate a district or circuit judge of the circuit to hear and determine the case.

"It shall be the duty of the judge designated pursuant to this section to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date and to cause the case to be in every way expedited."

TITLE II—INJUNCTIVE RELIEF AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN PLACES OF PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION

Equal access.

SEC. 201. (a) All persons shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages, and accommodations of any place of public accommodation, as defined in this section, without discrimination or segregation on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin.

Establishments affecting interstate commerce.

(b) Each of the following establishments which serves the public is a place of public accommodation within the meaning of this title if its operations affect commerce, or if discrimination or segregation by it is supported by State action:

Lodgings.

(1) any inn, hotel, motel, or other establishment which provides lodging to transient guests, other than an establishment located within a building which contains not more than five rooms for rent or hire and which is actually occupied by the proprietor of such establishment as his residence;

Restaurants, etc.

(2) any restaurant, cafeteria, lunchroom, lunch counter, soda fountain, or other facility principally engaged in selling food for consumption on the premises, including, but not limited to, any such facility located on the premises of any retail establishment; or any gasoline station;

Theaters, stadiums, etc.

(3) any motion picture house, theater, concert hall, sports arena, stadium or other place of exhibition or entertainment; and

Other covered establishments.

(4) any establishment (A) (i) which is physically located within the premises of any establishment otherwise covered by this subsection, or (ii) within the premises of which is physically located any such covered establishment, and (B) which holds itself out as serving patrons of such covered establishment.

Operations affecting commerce criteria.

(c) The operations of an establishment affect commerce within the meaning of this title if (1) it is one of the establishments described in paragraph (1) of subsection (b); (2) in the case of an establishment described in paragraph (2) of subsection (b), it serves or offers to serve interstate travelers or a substantial portion of the food which it serves, or gasoline or other products which it sells, has moved in commerce; (3) in the case of an establishment described in paragraph (3) of subsection (b), it customarily presents films, performances, athletic teams, exhibitions, or other sources of entertainment which move in commerce; and (4) in the case of an establishment described in paragraph (4) of subsection (b), it is physically located within the premises of, or there is physically located within its premises, an establishment the operations of which affect commerce within the meaning of this subsection. For purposes of this section, "commerce" means travel, trade, traffic, commerce, transportation, or communication among the several States, or between the District of Columbia and any State, or between any foreign country or any territory or possession and any State or the District of Columbia, or between points in the same State but through any other State or the District of Columbia or a foreign country.

"Commerce."

Support by State action.

(d) Discrimination or segregation by an establishment is supported by State action within the meaning of this title if such discrimination or segregation (1) is carried on under color of any law, statute, ordinance, or regulation; or (2) is carried on under color of any custom or usage required or enforced by officials of the State or political subdivision thereof; or (3) is required by action of the State or political subdivision thereof.

Private establishments.

(e) The provisions of this title shall not apply to a private club or other establishment not in fact open to the public, except to the extent that the facilities of such establishment are made available

to the customers or patrons of an establishment within the scope of subsection (b).

Entitlement.

SEC. 202. All persons shall be entitled to be free, at any establishment or place, from discrimination or segregation of any kind on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin, if such discrimination or segregation is or purports to be required by any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, rule, or order of a State or any agency or political subdivision thereof.

Interference.

SEC. 203. No person shall (a) withhold, deny, or attempt to withhold or deny, or deprive or attempt to deprive, any person of any right or privilege secured by section 201 or 202, or (b) intimidate, threaten, or coerce, or attempt to intimidate, threaten, or coerce any person with the purpose of interfering with any right or privilege secured by section 201 or 202, or (c) punish or attempt to punish any person for exercising or attempting to exercise any right or privilege secured by section 201 or 202.

Restraining orders, etc.

SEC. 204. (a) Whenever any person has engaged or there are reasonable grounds to believe that any person is about to engage in any act or practice prohibited by section 203, a civil action for preventive relief, including an application for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order, may be instituted by the person aggrieved and, upon timely application, the court may, in its discretion, permit the Attorney General to intervene in such civil action if he certifies that the case is of general public importance. Upon application by the complainant and in such circumstances as the court may deem just, the court may appoint an attorney for such complainant and may authorize the commencement of the civil action without the payment of fees, costs, or security.

Attorneys' fees.

(b) In any action commenced pursuant to this title, the court, in its discretion, may allow the prevailing party, other than the United States, a reasonable attorney's fee as part of the costs, and the United States shall be liable for costs the same as a private person.

Notification of State.

(c) In the case of an alleged act or practice prohibited by this title which occurs in a State, or political subdivision of a State, which has a State or local law prohibiting such act or practice and establishing or authorizing a State or local authority to grant or seek relief from such practice or to institute criminal proceedings with respect thereto upon receiving notice thereof, no civil action may be brought under subsection (a) before the expiration of thirty days after written notice of such alleged act or practice has been given to the appropriate State or local authority by registered mail or in person, provided that the court may stay proceedings in such civil action pending the termination of State or local enforcement proceedings.

Community Relations Service.

(d) In the case of an alleged act or practice prohibited by this title which occurs in a State, or political subdivision of a State, which has no State or local law prohibiting such act or practice, a civil action may be brought under subsection (a): *Provided*, That the court may refer the matter to the Community Relations Service established by title X of this Act for as long as the court believes there is a reasonable possibility of obtaining voluntary compliance, but for not more than sixty days: *Provided further*, That upon expiration of such sixty-day period, the court may extend such period for an additional period, not to exceed a cumulative total of one hundred and twenty days, if it believes there then exists a reasonable possibility of securing voluntary compliance.

Hearings and investigations.

SEC. 205. The Service is authorized to make a full investigation of any complaint referred to it by the court under section 204(d) and may hold such hearings with respect thereto as may be necessary.

The Service shall conduct any hearings with respect to any such complaint in executive session, and shall not release any testimony given therein except by agreement of all parties involved in the complaint with the permission of the court, and the Service shall endeavor to bring about a voluntary settlement between the parties.

Suits by Attorney General.

SEC. 206. (a) Whenever the Attorney General has reasonable cause to believe that any person or group of persons is engaged in a pattern or practice of resistance to the full enjoyment of any of the rights secured by this title, and that the pattern or practice is of such a nature and is intended to deny the full exercise of the rights herein described, the Attorney General may bring a civil action in the appropriate district court of the United States by filing with it a complaint (1) signed by him (or in his absence the Acting Attorney General), (2) setting forth facts pertaining to such pattern or practice, and (3) requesting such preventive relief, including an application for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order or other order against the person or persons responsible for such pattern or practice, as he deems necessary to insure the full enjoyment of the rights herein described.

(b) In any such proceeding the Attorney General may file with the clerk of such court a request that a court of three judges be convened to hear and determine the case. Such request by the Attorney General shall be accompanied by a certificate that, in his opinion, the case is of general public importance. A copy of the certificate and request for a three-judge court shall be immediately furnished by such clerk to the chief judge of the circuit (or in his absence, the presiding circuit judge of the circuit) in which the case is pending.

Designation of judges.

Upon receipt of the copy of such request it shall be the duty of the chief judge of the circuit or the presiding circuit judge, as the case may be, to designate immediately three judges in such circuit, of whom at least one shall be a circuit judge and another of whom shall be a district judge of the court in which the proceeding was instituted, to hear and determine such case, and it shall be the duty of the judges so designated to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date, to participate in the hearing and determination thereof, and to cause the case to be in every way expedited.

Appeals.

An appeal from the final judgment of such court will lie to the Supreme Court.

In the event the Attorney General fails to file such a request in any such proceeding, it shall be the duty of the chief judge of the district (or in his absence, the acting chief judge) in which the case is pending immediately to designate a judge in such district to hear and determine the case. In the event that no judge in the district is available to hear and determine the case, the chief judge of the district, or the acting chief judge, as the case may be, shall certify this fact to the chief judge of the circuit (or in his absence, the acting chief judge) who shall then designate a district or circuit judge of the circuit to hear and determine the case.

It shall be the duty of the judge designated pursuant to this section to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date and to cause the case to be in every way expedited.

District courts, jurisdiction.

SEC. 207. (a) The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this title and shall exercise the same without regard to whether the aggrieved party shall have exhausted any administrative or other remedies that may be provided by law.

Enforcement.

(b) The remedies provided in this title shall be the exclusive means of enforcing the rights based on this title, but nothing in this title shall preclude any individual or any State or local agency from asserting any right based on any other Federal or State law not inconsistent with this title, including any statute or ordinance requiring nondiscrimination in public establishments or accommodations, or from pursuing any remedy, civil or criminal, which may be available for the vindication or enforcement of such right.

TITLE III—DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC FACILITIES

Suits by Attorney General.

SEC. 301. (a) Whenever the Attorney General receives a complaint in writing signed by an individual to the effect that he is being deprived of or threatened with the loss of his right to the equal protection of the laws, on account of his race, color, religion, or national origin, by being denied equal utilization of any public facility which is owned, operated, or managed by or on behalf of any State or subdivision thereof, other than a public school or public college as defined in section 401 of title IV hereof, and the Attorney General believes the complaint is meritorious and certifies that the signer or signers of such complaint are unable, in his judgment, to initiate and maintain appropriate legal proceedings for relief and that the institution of an action will materially further the orderly progress of desegregation in public facilities, the Attorney General is authorized to institute for or in the name of the United States a civil action in any appropriate district court of the United States against such parties and for such relief as may be appropriate, and such court shall have and shall exercise jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this section. The Attorney General may implead as defendants such additional parties as are or become necessary to the grant of effective relief hereunder.

(b) The Attorney General may deem a person or persons unable to initiate and maintain appropriate legal proceedings within the meaning of subsection (a) of this section when such person or persons are unable, either directly or through other interested persons or organizations, to bear the expense of the litigation or to obtain effective legal representation; or whenever he is satisfied that the institution of such litigation would jeopardize the personal safety, employment, or economic standing of such person or persons, their families, or their property.

Costs, fees.

SEC. 302. In any action or proceeding under this title the United States shall be liable for costs, including a reasonable attorney's fee, the same as a private person.

SEC. 303. Nothing in this title shall affect adversely the right of any person to sue for or obtain relief in any court against discrimination in any facility covered by this title.

62 Stat. 749.

SEC. 304. A complaint as used in this title is a writing or document within the meaning of section 1001, title 18, United States Code.

TITLE IV—DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 401. As used in this title—

"Commissioner."

(a) "Commissioner" means the Commissioner of Education.

"Desegregation."

(b) "Desegregation" means the assignment of students to public schools and within such schools without regard to their race, color, religion, or national origin, but "desegregation" shall not mean the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance.

(c) "Public school" means any elementary or secondary educational institution, and "public college" means any institution of higher education or any technical or vocational school above the secondary school level, provided that such public school or public college is operated by a State, subdivision of a State, or governmental agency within a State, or operated wholly or predominantly from or through the use of governmental funds or property, or funds or property derived from a governmental source. "Public school."

(d) "School board" means any agency or agencies which administer a system of one or more public schools and any other agency which is responsible for the assignment of students to or within such system. "School board."

SURVEY AND REPORT OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

SEC. 402. The Commissioner shall conduct a survey and make a report to the President and the Congress, within two years of the enactment of this title, concerning the lack of availability of equal educational opportunities for individuals by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin in public educational institutions at all levels in the United States, its territories and possessions, and the District of Columbia. Report to President and Congress.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 403. The Commissioner is authorized, upon the application of any school board, State, municipality, school district, or other governmental unit legally responsible for operating a public school or schools, to render technical assistance to such applicant in the preparation, adoption, and implementation of plans for the desegregation of public schools. Such technical assistance may, among other activities, include making available to such agencies information regarding effective methods of coping with special educational problems occasioned by desegregation, and making available to such agencies personnel of the Office of Education or other persons specially equipped to advise and assist them in coping with such problems.

TRAINING INSTITUTES

SEC. 404. The Commissioner is authorized to arrange, through grants or contracts, with institutions of higher education for the operation of short-term or regular session institutes for special training designed to improve the ability of teachers, supervisors, counselors, and other elementary or secondary school personnel to deal effectively with special educational problems occasioned by desegregation. Individuals who attend such an institute on a full-time basis may be paid stipends for the period of their attendance at such institute in amounts specified by the Commissioner in regulations, including allowances for travel to attend such institute. Stipends, etc.

GRANTS

SEC. 405. (a) The Commissioner is authorized, upon application of a school board, to make grants to such board to pay, in whole or in part, the cost of—

(1) giving to teachers and other school personnel inservice training in dealing with problems incident to desegregation, and

(2) employing specialists to advise in problems incident to desegregation.

(b) In determining whether to make a grant, and in fixing the amount thereof and the terms and conditions on which it will be made, the Commissioner shall take into consideration the amount available Conditions.

78 STAT. 248.

for grants under this section and the other applications which are pending before him; the financial condition of the applicant and the other resources available to it; the nature, extent, and gravity of its problems incident to desegregation; and such other factors as he finds relevant.

PAYMENTS

SEC. 406. Payments pursuant to a grant or contract under this title may be made (after necessary adjustments on account of previously made overpayments or underpayments) in advance or by way of reimbursement, and in such installments, as the Commissioner may determine.

SUITS BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SEC. 407. (a) Whenever the Attorney General receives a complaint in writing—

(1) signed by a parent or group of parents to the effect that his or their minor children, as members of a class of persons similarly situated, are being deprived by a school board of the equal protection of the laws, or

(2) signed by an individual, or his parent, to the effect that he has been denied admission to or not permitted to continue in attendance at a public college by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin,

and the Attorney General believes the complaint is meritorious and certifies that the signer or signers of such complaint are unable, in his judgment, to initiate and maintain appropriate legal proceedings for relief and that the institution of an action will materially further the orderly achievement of desegregation in public education, the Attorney General is authorized, after giving notice of such complaint to the appropriate school board or college authority and after certifying that he is satisfied that such board or authority has had a reasonable time to adjust the conditions alleged in such complaint, to institute for or in the name of the United States a civil action in any appropriate district court of the United States against such parties and for such relief as may be appropriate, and such court shall have and shall exercise jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this section, provided that nothing herein shall empower any official or court of the United States to issue any order seeking to achieve a racial balance in any school by requiring the transportation of pupils or students from one school to another or one school district to another in order to achieve such racial balance, or otherwise enlarge the existing power of the court to insure compliance with constitutional standards. The Attorney General may implead as defendants such additional parties as are or become necessary to the grant of effective relief hereunder.

Persons unable to initiate suits.

(b) The Attorney General may deem a person or persons unable to initiate and maintain appropriate legal proceedings within the meaning of subsection (a) of this section when such person or persons are unable, either directly or through other interested persons or organizations, to bear the expense of the litigation or to obtain effective legal representation; or whenever he is satisfied that the institution of such litigation would jeopardize the personal safety, employment, or economic standing of such person or persons, their families, or their property.

"Parent." "Complaint."

(c) The term "parent" as used in this section includes any person standing in loco parentis. A "complaint" as used in this section is a writing or document within the meaning of section 1001, title 18, United States Code.

62 Stat. 749.

SEC. 408. In any action or proceeding under this title the United States shall be liable for costs the same as a private person.

SEC. 409. Nothing in this title shall affect adversely the right of any person to sue for or obtain relief in any court against discrimination in public education.

SEC. 410. Nothing in this title shall prohibit classification and assignment for reasons other than race, color, religion, or national origin.

TITLE V—COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

SEC. 501. Section 102 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975a; 71 Stat. 634) is amended to read as follows:

"RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE COMMISSION HEARINGS

"SEC. 102. (a) At least thirty days prior to the commencement of any hearing, the Commission shall cause to be published in the Federal Register notice of the date on which such hearing is to commence, the place at which it is to be held and the subject of the hearing. The Chairman, or one designated by him to act as Chairman at a hearing of the Commission, shall announce in an opening statement the subject of the hearing. Publication in Federal Register.

"(b) A copy of the Commission's rules shall be made available to any witness before the Commission, and a witness compelled to appear before the Commission or required to produce written or other matter shall be served with a copy of the Commission's rules at the time of service of the subpena.

"(c) Any person compelled to appear in person before the Commission shall be accorded the right to be accompanied and advised by counsel, who shall have the right to subject his client to reasonable examination, and to make objections on the record and to argue briefly the basis for such objections. The Commission shall proceed with reasonable dispatch to conclude any hearing in which it is engaged. Due regard shall be had for the convenience and necessity of witnesses. Right of counsel.

"(d) The Chairman or Acting Chairman may punish breaches of order and decorum by censure and exclusion from the hearings.

"(e) If the Commission determines that evidence or testimony at any hearing may tend to defame, degrade, or incriminate any person, it shall receive such evidence or testimony or summary of such evidence or testimony in executive session. The Commission shall afford any person defamed, degraded, or incriminated by such evidence or testimony an opportunity to appear and be heard in executive session, with a reasonable number of additional witnesses requested by him, before deciding to use such evidence or testimony. In the event the Commission determines to release or use such evidence or testimony in such manner as to reveal publicly the identity of the person defamed, degraded, or incriminated, such evidence or testimony, prior to such public release or use, shall be given at a public session, and the Commission shall afford such person an opportunity to appear as a voluntary witness or to file a sworn statement in his behalf and to submit brief and pertinent sworn statements of others. The Commission shall receive and dispose of requests from such person to subpena additional witnesses. Executive sessions.

"(f) Except as provided in sections 102 and 105(f) of this Act, the Chairman shall receive and the Commission shall dispose of requests to subpena additional witnesses.

"(g) No evidence or testimony or summary of evidence or testimony taken in executive session may be released or used in public Testimony, release restrictions.

sessions without the consent of the Commission. Whoever releases or uses in public without the consent of the Commission such evidence or testimony taken in executive session shall be fined not more than $1,000, or imprisoned for not more than one year.

"(h) In the discretion of the Commission, witnesses may submit brief and pertinent sworn statements in writing for inclusion in the record. The Commission shall determine the pertinency of testimony and evidence adduced at its hearings.

Transcript copies.

"(i) Every person who submits data or evidence shall be entitled to retain or, on payment of lawfully prescribed costs, procure a copy or transcript thereof, except that a witness in a hearing held in executive session may for good cause be limited to inspection of the official transcript of his testimony. Transcript copies of public sessions may be obtained by the public upon the payment of the cost thereof. An accurate transcript shall be made of the testimony of all witnesses at all hearings, either public or executive sessions, of the Commission or of any subcommittee thereof.

Witness fees.

"(j) A witness attending any session of the Commission shall receive $6 for each day's attendance and for the time necessarily occupied in going to and returning from the same, and 10 cents per mile for going from and returning to his place of residence. Witnesses who attend at points so far removed from their respective residences as to prohibit return thereto from day to day shall be entitled to an additional allowance of $10 per day for expenses of subsistence, including the time necessarily occupied in going to and returning from the place of attendance. Mileage payments shall be tendered to the witness upon service of a subpena issued on behalf of the Commission or any subcommittee thereof.

Subpena of witnesses.

"(k) The Commission shall not issue any subpena for the attendance and testimony of witnesses or for the production of written or other matter which would require the presence of the party subpenaed at a hearing to be held outside of the State wherein the witness is found or resides or is domiciled or transacts business, or has appointed an agent for receipt of service of process except that, in any event, the Commission may issue subpenas for the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of written or other matter at a hearing held within fifty miles of the place where the witness is found or resides or is domiciled or transacts business or has appointed an agent for receipt of service of process.

Organization statement, etc. Publication in Federal Register.

"(l) The Commission shall separately state and currently publish in the Federal Register (1) descriptions of its central and field organization including the established places at which, and methods whereby, the public may secure information or make requests; (2) statements of the general course and method by which its functions are channeled and determined, and (3) rules adopted as authorized by law. No person shall in any manner be subject to or required to resort to rules, organization, or procedure not so published."

SEC. 502. Section 103(a) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975b(a); 71 Stat. 634) is amended to read as follows:

Payments to members.

"SEC. 103. (a) Each member of the Commission who is not otherwise in the service of the Government of the United States shall receive the sum of $75 per day for each day spent in the work of the Commission, shall be paid actual travel expenses, and per diem in lieu of subsistence expenses when away from his usual place of residence, in accordance with section 5 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946, as amended (5 U.S.C. 73b-2; 60 Stat. 808)."

75 Stat. 339, 340.

SEC. 503. Section 103(b) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975b(b); 71 Stat. 634) is amended to read as follows:

"(b) Each member of the Commission who is otherwise in the service of the Government of the United States shall serve without compensation in addition to that received for such other service, but while engaged in the work of the Commission shall be paid actual travel expenses, and per diem in lieu of subsistence expenses when away from his usual place of residence, in accordance with the provisions of the Travel Expenses Act of 1949, as amended (5 U.S.C. 835–42; 63 Stat. 166)."

75 Stat. 339, 340.

SEC. 504. (a) Section 104(a) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975c(a); 71 Stat. 635), as amended, is further amended to read as follows:

"DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION

"SEC. 104. (a) The Commission shall—

"(1) investigate allegations in writing under oath or affirmation that certain citizens of the United States are being deprived of their right to vote and have that vote counted by reason of their color, race, religion, or national origin; which writing, under oath or affirmation, shall set forth the facts upon which such belief or beliefs are based;

"(2) study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution because of race, color, religion or national origin or in the administration of justice;

"(3) appraise the laws and policies of the Federal Government with respect to denials of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution because of race, color, religion or national origin or in the administration of justice;

"(4) serve as a national clearinghouse for information in respect to denials of equal protection of the laws because of race, color, religion or national origin, including but not limited to the fields of voting, education, housing, employment, the use of public facilities, and transportation, or in the administration of justice;

"(5) investigate allegations, made in writing and under oath or affirmation, that citizens of the United States are unlawfully being accorded or denied the right to vote, or to have their votes properly counted, in any election of presidential electors, Members of the United States Senate, or of the House of Representatives, as a result of any patterns or practice of fraud or discrimination in the conduct of such election; and

"(6) Nothing in this or any other Act shall be construed as authorizing the Commission, its Advisory Committees, or any person under its supervision or control to inquire into or investigate any membership practices or internal operations of any fraternal organization, any college or university fraternity or sorority, any private club or any religious organization."

(b) Section 104(b) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975c(b); 71 Stat. 635), as amended, is further amended by striking out the present subsection "(b)" and by substituting therefor:

77 Stat. 271.

"(b) The Commission shall submit interim reports to the President and to the Congress at such times as the Commission, the Congress or the President shall deem desirable, and shall submit to the President and to the Congress a final report of its activities, findings, and recommendations not later than January 31, 1968."

Reports to th President and Congress.

SEC. 505. Section 105(a) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975d(a); 71 Stat. 636) is amended by striking out in the last sentence thereof "$50 per diem" and inserting in lieu thereof "$75 per diem."

SEC. 506. Section 105(f) and section 105(g) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975d (f) and (g); 71 Stat. 636) are amended to read as follows:

Powers.

"(f) The Commission, or on the authorization of the Commission any subcommittee of two or more members, at least one of whom shall be of each major political party, may, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act, hold such hearings and act at such times and places as the Commission or such authorized subcommittee may deem advisable. Subpenas for the attendance and testimony of witnesses or the production of written or other matter may be issued in accordance with the rules of the Commission as contained in section 102 (j) and (k) of this Act, over the signature of the Chairman of the Commission or of such subcommittee, and may be served by any person designated by such Chairman. The holding of hearings by the Commission, or the appointment of a subcommittee to hold hearings pursuant to this subparagraph, must be approved by a majority of the Commission, or by a majority of the members present at a meeting at which at least a quorum of four members is present.

Ante, p. 250.

"(g) In case of contumacy or refusal to obey a subpena, any district court of the United States or the United States court of any territory or possession, or the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia, within the jurisdiction of which the inquiry is carried on or within the jurisdiction of which said person guilty of contumacy or refusal to obey is found or resides or is domiciled or transacts business, or has appointed an agent for receipt of service of process, upon application by the Attorney General of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue to such person an order requiring such person to appear before the Commission or a subcommittee thereof, there to produce pertinent, relevant and nonprivileged evidence if so ordered, or there to give testimony touching the matter under investigation; and any failure to obey such order of the court may be punished by said court as a contempt thereof."

SEC. 507. Section 105 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975d; 71 Stat. 636), as amended by section 401 of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 (42 U.S.C. 1975d(h); 74 Stat. 89), is further amended by adding a new subsection at the end to read as follows:

"(i) The Commission shall have the power to make such rules and regulations as are necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act."

TITLE VI—NONDISCRIMINATION IN FEDERALLY ASSISTED PROGRAMS

SEC. 601. No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

Rules governing grants, loans, and contracts.

SEC. 602. Each Federal department and agency which is empowered to extend Federal financial assistance to any program or activity, by way of grant, loan, or contract other than a contract of insurance or guaranty, is authorized and directed to effectuate the provisions of section 601 with respect to such program or activity by issuing rules, regulations, or orders of general applicability which shall be consistent with achievement of the objectives of the statute authorizing the financial assistance in connection with which the action is taken.

Approval by President.

No such rule, regulation, or order shall become effective unless and until approved by the President. Compliance with any requirement adopted pursuant to this section may be effected (1) by the termination of or refusal to grant or to continue assistance under such program or activity to any recipient as to whom there has been an express find-

ing on the record, after opportunity for hearing, of a failure to comply with such requirement, but such termination or refusal shall be limited to the particular political entity, or part thereof, or other recipient as to whom such a finding has been made and, shall be limited in its effect to the particular program, or part thereof, in which such noncompliance has been so found, or (2) by any other means authorized by law: *Provided*, *however*, That no such action shall be taken until the department or agency concerned has advised the appropriate person or persons of the failure to comply with the requirement and has determined that compliance cannot be secured by voluntary means. In the case of any action terminating, or refusing to grant or continue, assistance because of failure to comply with a requirement imposed pursuant to this section, the head of the Federal department or agency shall file with the committees of the House and Senate having legislative jurisdiction over the program or activity involved a full written report of the circumstances and the grounds for such action. No such action shall become effective until thirty days have elapsed after the filing of such report. Termination.

SEC. 603. Any department or agency action taken pursuant to section 602 shall be subject to such judicial review as may otherwise be provided by law for similar action taken by such department or agency on other grounds. In the case of action, not otherwise subject to judicial review, terminating or refusing to grant or to continue financial assistance upon a finding of failure to comply with any requirement imposed pursuant to section 602, any person aggrieved (including any State or political subdivision thereof and any agency of either) may obtain judicial review of such action in accordance with section 10 of the Administrative Procedure Act, and such action shall not be deemed committed to unreviewable agency discretion within the meaning of that section. Judicial review. 60 Stat. 243. 5 USC 1009.

SEC. 604. Nothing contained in this title shall be construed to authorize action under this title by any department or agency with respect to any employment practice of any employer, employment agency, or labor organization except where a primary objective of the Federal financial assistance is to provide employment.

SEC. 605. Nothing in this title shall add to or detract from any existing authority with respect to any program or activity under which Federal financial assistance is extended by way of a contract of insurance or guaranty.

TITLE VII—EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 701. For the purposes of this title—

(a) The term "person" includes one or more individuals, labor unions, partnerships, associations, corporations, legal representatives, mutual companies, joint-stock companies, trusts, unincorporated organizations, trustees, trustees in bankruptcy, or receivers. "Person."

(b) The term "employer" means a person engaged in an industry affecting commerce who has twenty-five or more employees for each working day in each of twenty or more calendar weeks in the current or preceding calendar year, and any agent of such a person, but such term does not include (1) the United States, a corporation wholly owned by the Government of the United States, an Indian tribe, or a State or political subdivision thereof, (2) a bona fide private membership club (other than a labor organization) which is exempt from taxation under section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954: *Provided*, That during the first year after the effective date prescribed in subsection (a) of section 716, persons having fewer than one hun- "Employer." 68A Stat. 163; 74 Stat. 534. 26 USC 501.

dred employees (and their agents) shall not be considered employers, and, during the second year after such date, persons having fewer than seventy-five employees (and their agents) shall not be considered employers, and, during the third year after such date, persons having fewer than fifty employees (and their agents) shall not be considered employers: *Provided further*, That it shall be the policy of the United States to insure equal employment opportunities for Federal employees without discrimination because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin and the President shall utilize his existing authority to effectuate this policy.

"Employment agency."

(c) The term "employment agency" means any person regularly undertaking with or without compensation to procure employees for an employer or to procure for employees opportunities to work for an employer and includes an agent of such a person; but shall not include an agency of the United States, or an agency of a State or political subdivision of a State, except that such term shall include the United States Employment Service and the system of State and local employment services receiving Federal assistance.

"Labor organization."

(d) The term "labor organization" means a labor organization engaged in an industry affecting commerce, and any agent of such an organization, and includes any organization of any kind, any agency, or employee representation committee, group, association, or plan so engaged in which employees participate and which exists for the purpose, in whole or in part, of dealing with employers concerning grievances, labor disputes, wages, rates of pay, hours, or other terms or conditions of employment, and any conference, general committee, joint or system board, or joint council so engaged which is subordinate to a national or international labor organization.

(e) A labor organization shall be deemed to be engaged in an industry affecting commerce if (1) it maintains or operates a hiring hall or hiring office which procures employees for an employer or procures for employees opportunities to work for an employer, or (2) the number of its members (or, where it is a labor organization composed of other labor organizations or their representatives, if the aggregate number of the members of such other labor organization) is (A) one hundred or more during the first year after the effective date prescribed in subsection (a) of section 716, (B) seventy-five or more during the second year after such date or fifty or more during the third year, or (C) twenty-five or more thereafter, and such labor organization—

61 Stat. 136.
29 USC 167.

(1) is the certified representative of employees under the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, or the Railway Labor Act, as amended;

44 Stat. 577; 49 Stat. 1189.
45 USC 151.

(2) although not certified, is a national or international labor organization or a local labor organization recognized or acting as the representative of employees of an employer or employers engaged in an industry affecting commerce; or

(3) has chartered a local labor organization or subsidiary body which is representing or actively seeking to represent employees of employers within the meaning of paragraph (1) or (2); or

(4) has been chartered by a labor organization representing or actively seeking to represent employees within the meaning of paragraph (1) or (2) as the local or subordinate body through which such employees may enjoy membership or become affiliated with such labor organization; or

(5) is a conference, general committee, joint or system board, or joint council subordinate to a national or international labor organization, which includes a labor organization engaged in an

industry affecting commerce within the meaning of any of the preceding paragraphs of this subsection.

"Employee." (f) The term "employee" means an individual employed by an employer.

"Commerce." (g) The term "commerce" means trade, traffic, commerce, transportation, transmission, or communication among the several States; or between a State and any place outside thereof; or within the District of Columbia, or a possession of the United States; or between points in the same State but through a point outside thereof.

"Industry affecting commerce." (h) The term "industry affecting commerce" means any activity, business, or industry in commerce or in which a labor dispute would hinder or obstruct commerce or the free flow of commerce and includes any activity or industry "affecting commerce" within the meaning of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959. 73 Stat. 519. 29 USC 401 note.

"State." (i) The term "State" includes a State of the United States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, Guam, Wake Island, the Canal Zone, and Outer Continental Shelf lands defined in the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act. 67 Stat. 462. 43 USC 1331 note.

EXEMPTION

Religious organizations, etc. SEC. 702. This title shall not apply to an employer with respect to the employment of aliens outside any State, or to a religious corporation, association, or society with respect to the employment of individuals of a particular religion to perform work connected with the carrying on by such corporation, association, or society of its religious activities or to an educational institution with respect to the employment of individuals to perform work connected with the educational activities of such institution.

DISCRIMINATION BECAUSE OF RACE, COLOR, RELIGION, SEX, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN

Unlawful practices. Employers. SEC. 703. (a) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer—

(1) to fail or refuse to hire or to discharge any individual, or otherwise to discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; or

(2) to limit, segregate, or classify his employees in any way which would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

Employment agency. (b) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employment agency to fail or refuse to refer for employment, or otherwise to discriminate against, any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, or to classify or refer for employment any individual on the basis of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

Labor organization. (c) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for a labor organization—

(1) to exclude or to expel from its membership, or otherwise to discriminate against, any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin;

(2) to limit, segregate, or classify its membership, or to classify or fail or refuse to refer for employment any individual, in any

78 STAT. 256.

way which would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities, or would limit such employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee or as an applicant for employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; or

(3) to cause or attempt to cause an employer to discriminate against an individual in violation of this section.

Training programs.

(d) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for any employer, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee controlling apprenticeship or other training or retraining, including on-the-job training programs to discriminate against any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in admission to, or employment in, any program established to provide apprenticeship or other training.

Exceptions.

(e) Notwithstanding any other provision of this title, (1) it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to hire and employ employees, for an employment agency to classify, or refer for employment any individual, for a labor organization to classify its membership or to classify or refer for employment any individual, or for an employer, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee controlling apprenticeship or other training or retraining programs to admit or employ any individual in any such program, on the basis of his religion, sex, or national origin in those certain instances where religion, sex, or national origin is a bona fide occupational qualification reasonably necessary to the normal operation of that particular business or enterprise, and (2) it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for a school, college, university, or other educational institution or institution of learning to hire and employ employees of a particular religion if such school, college, university, or other educational institution or institution of learning is, in whole or in substantial part, owned, supported, controlled, or managed by a particular religion or by a particular religious corporation, association, or society, or if the curriculum of such school, college, university, or other educational institution or institution of learning is directed toward the propagation of a particular religion.

(f) As used in this title, the phrase "unlawful employment practice" shall not be deemed to include any action or measure taken by an employer, labor organization, joint labor-management committee, or employment agency with respect to an individual who is a member of the Communist Party of the United States or of any other organization required to register as a Communist-action or Communist-front organization by final order of the Subversive Activities Control Board pursuant to the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950.

64 Stat. 987.
50 USC 781 note.

(g) Notwithstanding any other provision of this title, it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to fail or refuse to hire and employ any individual for any position, for an employer to discharge any individual from any position, or for an employment agency to fail or refuse to refer any individual for employment in any position, or for a labor organization to fail or refuse to refer any individual for employment in any position, if—

(1) the occupancy of such position, or access to the premises in or upon which any part of the duties of such position is performed or is to be performed, is subject to any requirement imposed in the interest of the national security of the United States under any security program in effect pursuant to or administered under any statute of the United States or any Executive order of the President; and

(2) such individual has not fulfilled or has ceased to fulfill that requirement.

(h) Notwithstanding any other provision of this title, it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to apply different standards of compensation, or different terms, conditions, or privileges of employment pursuant to a bona fide seniority or merit system, or a system which measures earnings by quantity or quality of production or to employees who work in different locations, provided that such differences are not the result of an intention to discriminate because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, nor shall it be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to give and to act upon the results of any professionally developed ability test provided that such test, its administration or action upon the results is not designed, intended or used to discriminate because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin. It shall not be an unlawful employment practice under this title for any employer to differentiate upon the basis of sex in determining the amount of the wages or compensation paid or to be paid to employees of such employer if such differentiation is authorized by the provisions of section 6(d) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended (29 U.S.C. 206(d)). 77 Stat. 56. 29 USC 206.

(i) Nothing contained in this title shall apply to any business or enterprise on or near an Indian reservation with respect to any publicly announced employment practice of such business or enterprise under which a preferential treatment is given to any individual because he is an Indian living on or near a reservation. Indians.

(j) Nothing contained in this title shall be interpreted to require any employer, employment agency, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee subject to this title to grant preferential treatment to any individual or to any group because of the race, color, religion, sex, or national origin of such individual or group on account of an imbalance which may exist with respect to the total number or percentage of persons of any race, color, religion, sex, or national origin employed by any employer, referred or classified for employment by any employment agency or labor organization, admitted to membership or classified by any labor organization, or admitted to, or employed in, any apprenticeship or other training program, in comparison with the total number or percentage of persons of such race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in any community, State, section, or other area, or in the available work force in any community, State, section, or other area. Preferential treatment.

OTHER UNLAWFUL EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

SEC. 704. (a) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to discriminate against any of his employees or applicants for employment, for an employment agency to discriminate against any individual, or for a labor organization to discriminate against any member thereof or applicant for membership, because he has opposed any practice made an unlawful employment practice by this title, or because he has made a charge, testified, assisted, or participated in any manner in an investigation, proceeding, or hearing under this title.

(b) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer, labor organization, or employment agency to print or publish or cause to be printed or published any notice or advertisement relating to employment by such an employer or membership in or any classification or referral for employment by such a labor organization, or relating to any classification or referral for employment by such an employment agency, indicating any preference, limitation, specification, or discrimination, based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, except that such a notice or advertisement may indicate a preference, limitation, specification, or discrimination based on reli-

gion, sex, or national origin when religion, sex, or national origin is a bona fide occupational qualification for employment.

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

Establishment.

SEC. 705. (a) There is hereby created a Commission to be known as the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which shall be composed of five members, not more than three of whom shall be members of the same political party, who shall be appointed by the President

Term of office.

by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. One of the original members shall be appointed for a term of one year, one for a term of two years, one for a term of three years, one for a term of four years, and one for a term of five years, beginning from the date of enactment of this title, but their successors shall be appointed for terms of five years each, except that any individual chosen to fill a vacancy shall be appointed only for the unexpired term of the member whom he shall succeed. The President shall designate one member to serve as Chairman of the Commission, and one member to serve as Vice Chairman. The Chairman shall be responsible on behalf of the Commission for the administrative operations of the Commission, and shall appoint, in accordance with the civil service laws, such officers, agents, attorneys, and employees as it deems necessary to assist it in the performance of its functions and to fix their compensation in

63 Stat. 954; 76 Stat. 843. 5 USC 1071 note.

accordance with the Classification Act of 1949, as amended. The Vice Chairman shall act as Chairman in the absence or disability of the Chairman or in the event of a vacancy in that office.

(b) A vacancy in the Commission shall not impair the right of the remaining members to exercise all the powers of the Commission and three members thereof shall constitute a quorum.

(c) The Commission shall have an official seal which shall be judicially noticed.

Reports to the President and Congress.

(d) The Commission shall at the close of each fiscal year report to the Congress and to the President concerning the action it has taken; the names, salaries, and duties of all individuals in its employ and the moneys it has disbursed; and shall make such further reports on the cause of and means of eliminating discrimination and such recommendations for further legislation as may appear desirable.

(e) The Federal Executive Pay Act of 1956, as amended (5 U.S.C. 2201-2209), is further amended—

70 Stat. 736. 5 USC 2201 note.

(1) by adding to section 105 thereof (5 U.S.C. 2204) the following clause:

"(32) Chairman, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission"; and

(2) by adding to clause (45) of section 106(a) thereof (5 U.S.C. 2205(a)) the following: "Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (4)."

70 Stat. 737. 5 USC 2205.

(f) The principal office of the Commission shall be in or near the District of Columbia, but it may meet or exercise any or all its powers at any other place. The Commission may establish such regional or State offices as it deems necessary to accomplish the purpose of this title.

Powers.

(g) The Commission shall have power—

(1) to cooperate with and, with their consent, utilize regional, State, local, and other agencies, both public and private, and individuals;

(2) to pay to witnesses whose depositions are taken or who are summoned before the Commission or any of its agents the same witness and mileage fees as are paid to witnesses in the courts of the United States;

(3) to furnish to persons subject to this title such technical assistance as they may request to further their compliance with this title or an order issued thereunder;

(4) upon the request of (i) any employer, whose employees or some of them, or (ii) any labor organization, whose members or some of them, refuse or threaten to refuse to cooperate in effectuating the provisions of this title, to assist in such effectuation by conciliation or such other remedial action as is provided by this title;

(5) to make such technical studies as are appropriate to effectuate the purposes and policies of this title and to make the results of such studies available to the public;

(6) to refer matters to the Attorney General with recommendations for intervention in a civil action brought by an aggrieved party under section 706, or for the institution of a civil action by the Attorney General under section 707, and to advise, consult, and assist the Attorney General on such matters.

(h) Attorneys appointed under this section may, at the direction of the Commission, appear for and represent the Commission in any case in court.

(i) The Commission shall, in any of its educational or promotional activities, cooperate with other departments and agencies in the performance of such educational and promotional activities.

(j) All officers, agents, attorneys, and employees of the Commission shall be subject to the provisions of section 9 of the Act of August 2, 1939, as amended (the Hatch Act), notwithstanding any exemption contained in such section. 53 Stat. 1148; 64 Stat. 475. 5 USC 1181.

PREVENTION OF UNLAWFUL EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

SEC. 706. (a) Whenever it is charged in writing under oath by a person claiming to be aggrieved, or a written charge has been filed by a member of the Commission where he has reasonable cause to believe a violation of this title has occurred (and such charge sets forth the facts upon which it is based) that an employer, employment agency, or labor organization has engaged in an unlawful employment practice, the Commission shall furnish such employer, employment agency, or labor organization (hereinafter referred to as the "respondent") with a copy of such charge and shall make an investigation of such charge, provided that such charge shall not be made public by the Commission. If the Commission shall determine, after such investigation, that there is reasonable cause to believe that the charge is true, the Commission shall endeavor to eliminate any such alleged unlawful employment practice by informal methods of conference, conciliation, and persuasion. Nothing said or done during and as a part of such endeavors may be made public by the Commission without the written consent of the parties, or used as evidence in a subsequent proceeding. Any officer or employee of the Commission, who shall make public in any manner whatever any information in violation of this subsection shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than one year.

(b) In the case of an alleged unlawful employment practice occurring in a State, or political subdivision of a State, which has a State or local law prohibiting the unlawful employment practice alleged and establishing or authorizing a State or local authority to grant or seek relief from such practice or to institute criminal proceedings with respect thereto upon receiving notice thereof, no charge may be filed under subsection (a) by the person aggrieved before the expira- Legal proceedings.

tion of sixty days after proceedings have been commenced under the State or local law, unless such proceedings have been earlier terminated, provided that such sixty-day period shall be extended to one hundred and twenty days during the first year after the effective date of such State or local law. If any requirement for the commencement of such proceedings is imposed by a State or local authority other than a requirement of the filing of a written and signed statement of the facts upon which the proceeding is based, the proceeding shall be deemed to have been commenced for the purposes of this subsection at the time such statement is sent by registered mail to the appropriate State or local authority.

Time requirements.

(c) In the case of any charge filed by a member of the Commission alleging an unlawful employment practice occurring in a State or political subdivision of a State, which has a State or local law prohibiting the practice alleged and establishing or authorizing a State or local authority to grant or seek relief from such practice or to institute criminal proceedings with respect thereto upon receiving notice thereof, the Commission shall, before taking any action with respect to such charge, notify the appropriate State or local officials and, upon request, afford them a reasonable time, but not less than sixty days (provided that such sixty-day period shall be extended to one hundred and twenty days during the first year after the effective day of such State or local law), unless a shorter period is requested, to act under such State or local law to remedy the practice alleged.

(d) A charge under subsection (a) shall be filed within ninety days after the alleged unlawful employment practice occurred, except that in the case of an unlawful employment practice with respect to which the person aggrieved has followed the procedure set out in subsection (b), such charge shall be filed by the person aggrieved within two hundred and ten days after the alleged unlawful employment practice occurred, or within thirty days after receiving notice that the State or local agency has terminated the proceedings under the State or local law, whichever is earlier, and a copy of such charge shall be filed by the Commission with the State or local agency.

(e) If within thirty days after a charge is filed with the Commission or within thirty days after expiration of any period of reference under subsection (c) (except that in either case such period may be extended to not more than sixty days upon a determination by the Commission that further efforts to secure voluntary compliance are warranted), the Commission has been unable to obtain voluntary compliance with this title, the Commission shall so notify the person aggrieved and a civil action may, within thirty days thereafter, be brought against the respondent named in the charge (1) by the person claiming to be aggrieved, or (2) if such charge was filed by a member of the Commission, by any person whom the charge alleges was aggrieved by the alleged unlawful employment practice. Upon application by the complainant and in such circumstances as the court may deem just, the court may appoint an attorney for such complainant and may authorize the commencement of the action without the payment of fees, costs, or security. Upon timely application, the court may, in its discretion, permit the Attorney General to intervene in such civil action if he certifies that the case is of general public importance. Upon request, the court may, in its discretion, stay further proceedings for not more than sixty days pending the termination of State or local proceedings described in subsection (b) or the efforts of the Commission to obtain voluntary compliance.

Courts. Jurisdiction.

(f) Each United States district court and each United States court of a place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States shall

have jurisdiction of actions brought under this title. Such an action may be brought in any judicial district in the State in which the unlawful employment practice is alleged to have been committed, in the judicial district in which the employment records relevant to such practice are maintained and administered, or in the judicial district in which the plaintiff would have worked but for the alleged unlawful employment practice, but if the respondent is not found within any such district, such an action may be brought within the judicial district in which the respondent has his principal office. For purposes of sections 1404 and 1406 of title 28 of the United States Code, the judicial district in which the respondent has his principal office shall in all cases be considered a district in which the action might have been brought.

62 Stat. 937.
74 Stat. 912;
76A Stat. 699.

(g) If the court finds that the respondent has intentionally engaged in or is intentionally engaging in an unlawful employment practice charged in the complaint, the court may enjoin the respondent from engaging in such unlawful employment practice, and order such affirmative action as may be appropriate, which may include reinstatement or hiring of employees, with or without back pay (payable by the employer, employment agency, or labor organization, as the case may be, responsible for the unlawful employment practice). Interim earnings or amounts earnable with reasonable diligence by the person or persons discriminated against shall operate to reduce the back pay otherwise allowable. No order of the court shall require the admission or reinstatement of an individual as a member of a union or the hiring, reinstatement, or promotion of an individual as an employee, or the payment to him of any back pay, if such individual was refused admission, suspended, or expelled or was refused employment or advancement or was suspended or discharged for any reason other than discrimination on account of race, color, religion, sex or national origin or in violation of section 704(a).

(h) The provisions of the Act entitled "An Act to amend the Judicial Code and to define and limit the jurisdiction of courts sitting in equity, and for other purposes," approved March 23, 1932 (29 U.S.C. 101–115), shall not apply with respect to civil actions brought under this section.

47 Stat. 70.

(i) In any case in which an employer, employment agency, or labor organization fails to comply with an order of a court issued in a civil action brought under subsection (e), the Commission may commence proceedings to compel compliance with such order.

(j) Any civil action brought under subsection (e) and any proceedings brought under subsection (i) shall be subject to appeal as provided in sections 1291 and 1292, title 28, United States Code.

62 Stat. 929.

(k) In any action or proceeding under this title the court, in its discretion, may allow the prevailing party, other than the Commission or the United States, a reasonable attorney's fee as part of the costs, and the Commission and the United States shall be liable for costs the same as a private person.

65 Stat. 726;
72 Stat. 348,
1770.
Costs, fees.

Sec. 707. (a) Whenever the Attorney General has reasonable cause to believe that any person or group of persons is engaged in a pattern or practice of resistance to the full enjoyment of any of the rights secured by this title, and that the pattern or practice is of such a nature and is intended to deny the full exercise of the rights herein described, the Attorney General may bring a civil action in the appropriate district court of the United States by filing with it a complaint (1) signed by him (or in his absence the Acting Attorney General), (2) setting forth facts pertaining to such pattern or practice, and (3) requesting such relief, including an application for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order or other order against the

Suits by Attorney General.

78 STAT. 262.

person or persons responsible for such pattern or practice, as he deems necessary to insure the full enjoyment of the rights herein described.

(b) The district courts of the United States shall have and shall exercise jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this section, and in any such proceeding the Attorney General may file with the clerk of such court a request that a court of three judges be convened to hear and determine the case. Such request by the Attorney General shall be accompanied by a certificate that, in his opinion, the case is of general public importance. A copy of the certificate and request for a three-judge court shall be immediately furnished by such clerk to the chief judge of the circuit (or in his absence, the presiding circuit judge of the circuit) in which the case is pending. Upon receipt of such request it shall be the duty of the chief judge of the circuit or the presiding circuit judge, as the case may be, to designate immediately three judges in such circuit, of whom at least one shall be a circuit judge and another of whom shall be a district judge of the court in which the proceeding was instituted, to hear and determine such case, and it shall be the duty of the judges so designated to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date, to participate in the hearing and determination thereof, and to cause the case to be in every way expedited. An appeal from the final judgment of such court will lie to the Supreme Court.

In the event the Attorney General fails to file such a request in any such proceeding, it shall be the duty of the chief judge of the district (or in his absence, the acting chief judge) in which the case is pending immediately to designate a judge in such district to hear and determine the case. In the event that no judge in the district is available to hear and determine the case, the chief judge of the district, or the acting chief judge, as the case may be, shall certify this fact to the chief judge of the circuit (or in his absence, the acting chief judge) who shall then designate a district or circuit judge of the circuit to hear and determine the case.

It shall be the duty of the judge designated pursuant to this section to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date and to cause the case to be in every way expedited.

EFFECT ON STATE LAWS

SEC. 708. Nothing in this title shall be deemed to exempt or relieve any person from any liability, duty, penalty, or punishment provided by any present or future law of any State or political subdivision of a State, other than any such law which purports to require or permit the doing of any act which would be an unlawful employment practice under this title.

INVESTIGATIONS, INSPECTIONS, RECORDS, STATE AGENCIES

SEC. 709. (a) In connection with any investigation of a charge filed under section 706, the Commission or its designated representative shall at all reasonable times have access to, for the purposes of examination, and the right to copy any evidence of any person being investigated or proceeded against that relates to unlawful employment practices covered by this title and is relevant to the charge under investigation.

Agreements, State and local agencies.

(b) The Commission may cooperate with State and local agencies charged with the administration of State fair employment practices laws and, with the consent of such agencies, may for the purpose of carrying out its functions and duties under this title and within the limitation of funds appropriated specifically for such purpose, utilize the services of such agencies and their employees and, notwithstand-

ing any other provision of law, may reimburse such agencies and their employees for services rendered to assist the Commission in carrying out this title. In furtherance of such cooperative efforts, the Commission may enter into written agreements with such State or local agencies and such agreements may include provisions under which the Commission shall refrain from processing a charge in any cases or class of cases specified in such agreements and under which no person may bring a civil action under section 706 in any cases or class of cases so specified, or under which the Commission shall relieve any person or class of persons in such State or locality from requirements imposed under this section. The Commission shall rescind any such agreement whenever it determines that the agreement no longer serves the interest of effective enforcement of this title.

Records.

(c) Except as provided in subsection (d), every employer, employment agency, and labor organization subject to this title shall (1) make and keep such records relevant to the determinations of whether unlawful employment practices have been or are being committed, (2) preserve such records for such periods, and (3) make such reports therefrom, as the Commission shall prescribe by regulation or order, after public hearing, as reasonable, necessary, or appropriate for the enforcement of this title or the regulations or orders thereunder. The Commission shall, by regulation, require each employer, labor organization, and joint labor-management committee subject to this title which controls an apprenticeship or other training program to maintain such records as are reasonably necessary to carry out the purpose of this title, including, but not limited to, a list of applicants who wish to participate in such program, including the chronological order in which such applications were received, and shall furnish to the Commission, upon request, a detailed description of the manner in which persons are selected to participate in the apprenticeship or other training program. Any employer, employment agency, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee which believes that the application to it of any regulation or order issued under this section would result in undue hardship may (1) apply to the Commission for an exemption from the application of such regulation or order, or (2) bring a civil action in the United States district court for the district where such records are kept. If the Commission or the court, as the case may be, finds that the application of the regulation or order to the employer, employment agency, or labor organization in question would impose an undue hardship, the Commission or the court, as the case may be, may grant appropriate relief.

Exceptions.

(d) The provisions of subsection (c) shall not apply to any employer, employment agency, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee with respect to matters occurring in any State or political subdivision thereof which has a fair employment practice law during any period in which such employer, employment agency, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee is subject to such law, except that the Commission may require such notations on records which such employer, employment agency, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee keeps or is required to keep as are necessary because of differences in coverage or methods of enforcement between the State or local law and the provisions of this title. Where an employer is required by Executive Order 10925, issued March 6, 1961, or by any other Executive order prescribing fair employment practices for Government contractors and subcontractors, or by rules or regulations issued thereunder, to file reports relating to his employment practices with any Federal agency or committee, and he is substantially in compliance with such requirements, the Commission shall not require him to file additional reports pursuant to subsection (c) of this section.

3 CFR, 1961 Supp., p. 86.
5 USC 631 note.

Prohibited disclosures.

(e) It shall be unlawful for any officer or employee of the Commission to make public in any manner whatever any information obtained by the Commission pursuant to its authority under this section prior to the institution of any proceeding under this title involving such information. Any officer or employee of the Commission who shall make public in any manner whatever any information in violation of this subsection shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof, shall be fined not more than $1,000, or imprisoned not more than one year.

INVESTIGATORY POWERS

SEC. 710. (a) For the purposes of any investigation of a charge filed under the authority contained in section 706, the Commission shall have authority to examine witnesses under oath and to require the production of documentary evidence relevant or material to the charge under investigation.

(b) If the respondent named in a charge filed under section 706 fails or refuses to comply with a demand of the Commission for permission to examine or to copy evidence in conformity with the provisions of section 709(a), or if any person required to comply with the provisions of section 709 (c) or (d) fails or refuses to do so, or if any person fails or refuses to comply with a demand by the Commission to give testimony under oath, the United States district court for the district in which such person is found, resides, or transacts business, shall, upon application of the Commission, have jurisdiction to issue to such person an order requiring him to comply with the provisions of section 709 (c) or (d) or to comply with the demand of the Commission, but the attendance of a witness may not be required outside the State where he is found, resides, or transacts business and the production of evidence may not be required outside the State where such evidence is kept.

Petitions.

(c) Within twenty days after the service upon any person charged under section 706 of a demand by the Commission for the production of documentary evidence or for permission to examine or to copy evidence in conformity with the provisions of section 709(a), such person may file in the district court of the United States for the judicial district in which he resides, is found, or transacts business, and serve upon the Commission a petition for an order of such court modifying or setting aside such demand. The time allowed for compliance with the demand in whole or in part as deemed proper and ordered by the court shall not run during the pendency of such petition in the court. Such petition shall specify each ground upon which the petitioner relies in seeking such relief, and may be based upon any failure of such demand to comply with the provisions of this title or with the limitations generally applicable to compulsory process or upon any constitutional or other legal right or privilege of such person. No objection which is not raised by such a petition may be urged in the defense to a proceeding initiated by the Commission under subsection (b) for enforcement of such a demand unless such proceeding is commenced by the Commission prior to the expiration of the twenty-day period, or unless the court determines that the defendant could not reasonably have been aware of the availability of such ground of objection.

(d) In any proceeding brought by the Commission under subsection (b), except as provided in subsection (c) of this section, the defendant may petition the court for an order modifying or setting aside the demand of the Commission.

NOTICES TO BE POSTED

SEC. 711. (a) Every employer, employment agency, and labor organization, as the case may be, shall post and keep posted in conspicuous places upon its premises where notices to employees, applicants for employment, and members are customarily posted a notice to be prepared or approved by the Commission setting forth excerpts from or, summaries of, the pertinent provisions of this title and information pertinent to the filing of a complaint.

(b) A willful violation of this section shall be punishable by a fine of not more than $100 for each separate offense.

VETERANS' PREFERENCE

SEC. 712. Nothing contained in this title shall be construed to repeal or modify any Federal, State, territorial, or local law creating special rights or preference for veterans.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

SEC. 713. (a) The Commission shall have authority from time to time to issue, amend, or rescind suitable procedural regulations to carry out the provisions of this title. Regulations issued under this section shall be in conformity with the standards and limitations of the Administrative Procedure Act. 60 Stat. 237. 5 USC 1001 note.

(b) In any action or proceeding based on any alleged unlawful employment practice, no person shall be subject to any liability or punishment for or on account of (1) the commission by such person of an unlawful employment practice if he pleads and proves that the act or omission complained of was in good faith, in conformity with, and in reliance on any written interpretation or opinion of the Commission, or (2) the failure of such person to publish and file any information required by any provision of this title if he pleads and proves that he failed to publish and file such information in good faith, in conformity with the instructions of the Commission issued under this title regarding the filing of such information. Such a defense, if established, shall be a bar to the action or proceeding, notwithstanding that (A) after such act or omission, such interpretation or opinion is modified or rescinded or is determined by judicial authority to be invalid or of no legal effect, or (B) after publishing or filing the description and annual reports, such publication or filing is determined by judicial authority not to be in conformity with the requirements of this title.

FORCIBLY RESISTING THE COMMISSION OR ITS REPRESENTATIVES

SEC. 714. The provisions of section 111, title 18, United States Code, shall apply to officers, agents, and employees of the Commission in the performance of their official duties. 62 Stat. 688.

SPECIAL STUDY BY SECRETARY OF LABOR

SEC. 715. The Secretary of Labor shall make a full and complete study of the factors which might tend to result in discrimination in employment because of age and of the consequences of such discrimination on the economy and individuals affected. The Secretary of Labor shall make a report to the Congress not later than June 30, 1965, containing the results of such study and shall include in such report such recommendations for legislation to prevent arbitrary discrimination in employment because of age as he determines advisable. Report to Congress.

EFFECTIVE DATE

SEC. 716. (a) This title shall become effective one year after the date of its enactment.

(b) Notwithstanding subsection (a), sections of this title other than sections 703, 704, 706, and 707 shall become effective immediately.

Presidential conferences.

(c) The President shall, as soon as feasible after the enactment of this title, convene one or more conferences for the purpose of enabling the leaders of groups whose members will be affected by this title to become familiar with the rights afforded and obligations imposed by its provisions, and for the purpose of making plans which will result in the fair and effective administration of this title when all of its provisions become effective. The President shall invite the participation in such conference or conferences of (1) the members of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, (2) the members of the Commission on Civil Rights, (3) representatives of State and local agencies engaged in furthering equal employment opportunity, (4) representatives of private agencies engaged in furthering equal employment opportunity, and (5) representatives of employers, labor organizations, and employment agencies who will be subject to this title.

Membership.

TITLE VIII—REGISTRATION AND VOTING STATISTICS

Survey.

SEC. 801. The Secretary of Commerce shall promptly conduct a survey to compile registration and voting statistics in such geographic areas as may be recommended by the Commission on Civil Rights. Such a survey and compilation shall, to the extent recommended by the Commission on Civil Rights, only include a count of persons of voting age by race, color, and national origin, and determination of the extent to which such persons are registered to vote, and have voted in any statewide primary or general election in which the Members of the United States House of Representatives are nominated or elected, since January 1, 1960. Such information shall also be collected and compiled in connection with the Nineteenth Decennial Census, and at such other times as the Congress may prescribe. The provisions of section 9 and chapter 7 of title 13, United States Code, shall apply to any survey, collection, or compilation of registration and voting statistics carried out under this title: *Provided, however*, That no person shall be compelled to disclose his race, color, national origin, or questioned about his political party affiliation, how he voted, or the reasons therefore, nor shall any penalty be imposed for his failure or refusal to make such disclosure. Every person interrogated orally, by written survey or questionnaire or by any other means with respect to such information shall be fully advised with respect to his right to fail or refuse to furnish such information.

68 Stat. 1013, 1022.
76 Stat. 922.
13 USC 9, 211-241.

TITLE IX—INTERVENTION AND PROCEDURE AFTER REMOVAL IN CIVIL RIGHTS CASES

63 Stat. 102.

SEC. 901. Title 28 of the United States Code, section 1447(d), is amended to read as follows:

"An order remanding a case to the State court from which it was removed is not reviewable on appeal or otherwise, except that an order remanding a case to the State court from which it was removed pursuant to section 1443 of this title shall be reviewable by appeal or otherwise."

62 Stat. 938.

SEC. 902. Whenever an action has been commenced in any court of the United States seeking relief from the denial of equal protection of the laws under the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution on ac-

count of race, color, religion, or national origin, the Attorney General for or in the name of the United States may intervene in such action upon timely application if the Attorney General certifies that the case is of general public importance. In such action the United States shall be entitled to the same relief as if it had instituted the action.

TITLE X—ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

SEC. 1001. (a) There is hereby established in and as a part of the Department of Commerce a Community Relations Service (hereinafter referred to as the "Service"), which shall be headed by a Director who shall be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate for a term of four years. The Director is authorized to appoint, subject to the civil service laws and regulations, such other personnel as may be necessary to enable the Service to carry out its functions and duties, and to fix their compensation in accordance with the Classification Act of 1949, as amended. The Director is further authorized to procure services as authorized by section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (60 Stat. 810; 5 U.S.C. 55(a)), but at rates for individuals not in excess of $75 per diem. 63 Stat. 954; 76 Stat. 843. 5 USC 1071 note.

(b) Section 106(a) of the Federal Executive Pay Act of 1956, as amended (5 U.S.C. 2205(a)), is further amended by adding the following clause thereto: 70 Stat. 737.

"(52) Director, Community Relations Service."

SEC. 1002. It shall be the function of the Service to provide assistance to communities and persons therein in resolving disputes, disagreements, or difficulties relating to discriminatory practices based on race, color, or national origin which impair the rights of persons in such communities under the Constitution or laws of the United States or which affect or may affect interstate commerce. The Service may offer its services in cases of such disputes, disagreements, or difficulties whenever, in its judgment, peaceful relations among the citizens of the community involved are threatened thereby, and it may offer its services either upon its own motion or upon the request of an appropriate State or local official or other interested person. Functions.

SEC. 1003. (a) The Service shall, whenever possible, in performing its functions, seek and utilize the cooperation of appropriate State or local, public, or private agencies.

(b) The activities of all officers and employees of the Service in providing conciliation assistance shall be conducted in confidence and without publicity, and the Service shall hold confidential any information acquired in the regular performance of its duties upon the understanding that it would be so held. No officer or employee of the Service shall engage in the performance of investigative or prosecuting functions of any department or agency in any litigation arising out of a dispute in which he acted on behalf of the Service. Any officer or other employee of the Service, who shall make public in any manner whatever any information in violation of this subsection, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and, upon conviction thereof, shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than one year.

SEC. 1004. Subject to the provisions of sections 205 and 1003(b), the Director shall, on or before January 31 of each year, submit to the Congress a report of the activities of the Service during the preceding fiscal year. Report to Congress.

TITLE XI—MISCELLANEOUS

Trial by jury.

SEC. 1101. In any proceeding for criminal contempt arising under title II, III, IV, V, VI, or VII of this Act, the accused, upon demand therefor, shall be entitled to a trial by jury, which shall conform as near as may be to the practice in criminal cases. Upon conviction, the accused shall not be fined more than $1,000 or imprisoned for more than six months.

Exceptions.

This section shall not apply to contempts committed in the presence of the court, or so near thereto as to obstruct the administration of justice, nor to the misbehavior, misconduct, or disobedience of any officer of the court in respect to writs, orders, or process of the court. No person shall be convicted of criminal contempt hereunder unless the act or omission constituting such contempt shall have been intentional, as required in other cases of criminal contempt.

Nor shall anything herein be construed to deprive courts of their power, by civil contempt proceedings, without a jury, to secure compliance with or to prevent obstruction of, as distinguished from punishment for violations of, any lawful writ, process, order, rule, decree, or command of the court in accordance with the prevailing usages of law and equity, including the power of detention.

Double jeopardy.

SEC. 1102. No person should be put twice in jeopardy under the laws of the United States for the same act or omission. For this reason, an acquittal or conviction in a prosecution for a specific crime under the laws of the United States shall bar a proceeding for criminal contempt, which is based upon the same act or omission and which arises under the provisions of this Act; and an acquittal or conviction in a proceeding for criminal contempt, which arises under the provisions of this Act, shall bar a prosecution for a specific crime under the laws of the United States based upon the same act or omission.

Attorney General, etc., authority.

SEC. 1103. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to deny, impair, or otherwise affect any right or authority of the Attorney General or of the United States or any agency or officer thereof under existing law to institute or intervene in any action or proceeding.

States' authority.

SEC. 1104. Nothing contained in any title of this Act shall be construed as indicating an intent on the part of Congress to occupy the field in which any such title operates to the exclusion of State laws on the same subject matter, nor shall any provision of this Act be construed as invalidating any provision of State law unless such provision is inconsistent with any of the purposes of this Act, or any provision thereof.

Appropriation.

SEC. 1105. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

Separability clause.

SEC. 1106. If any provision of this Act or the application thereof to any person or circumstances is held invalid, the remainder of the Act and the application of the provision to other persons not similarly situated or to other circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

Approved July 2, 1964.

(OVER)

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY:

HOUSE REPORTS: Nos. 914, 914 pt. 2 (Comm. on the Judiciary).
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 110 (1964):
Jan. 31; Feb. 1, 3-8: Considered in House.
Feb. 10: Considered and passed House.
Feb. 26: Senate placed bill on calendar.
Mar. 9-14, 16-21, 23-25: Senate debated motion to consider bill.
Mar. 26: Senate agreed to motion to consider bill.
Mar. 30, 31; Apr. 1-3, 6-11, 13-18, 20-25, 27-30; May 1, 2, 4-8, 11-16, 18-22, 25-28; June 1-6: Considered in Senate.
June 8: Motion for cloture filed in Senate.
June 9: Considered in Senate.
June 10: Senate adopted motion for cloture.
June 11-13, 15-18: Considered in Senate.
June 19: Considered and passed Senate, amended.
July 2: House concurred in Senate amendments.

GPO : 1964 O - 34-998

TO: GEORGE WILEY

FROM: ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT, J McCain. February 1, 1965

RE: RESPONSIBILITIES OF SECRETARY OF ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT

I. Correspondence. Answers about 90% of all mail that comes into the Organization Department. This mail falls into three categories.

1. Chapter Mail - This involves answering most questions a chapter might ask of the Organization Department, sending out material, and practically anything else relevant to the chapter. There are of course, things that can not be answered, because of lack of authority or knowledge and these either Bob Gore or I answer.

2. Individual requests for information about CORE chapters, associate membership or active membership. This also involves recommending sources of information other than CORE, or just mailing out information about concepts and philosophy of CORE as part of the movement. This includes requests to start new chapters and informing field person in that area of same.

3. Field Staff mail - Task Force and Field Secretaries write for material to be sent to chapters or to themselves. They send in reports which are read, and if requests are made they are filled. These reports are sent on to me and to others in the office if they are relevant to any other department. Those field staff who do not work under a Regional Office (Mike Lesser and Winston Lockett) send in schedules and they are recorded. Secretary recommends that they visit certain chapters if so requested or the need is seen (most of these cases Maxine will ask for Bob's or my agreement.) I have asked that she take these liberties when I am not in office. Also checks all expense reports that come into this office from field staff and ok's them when I am not here.

II. Takes dictation from me.

III. Types Bob's mail most of the time

IV. Keeps up chapter contact list, which is taken care of regularly every Friday.

V. See that Press releases and like are sent to Field Secretaries

VI. Answer most of inquiries that come in over the phone.

Evaluation: Because of financial situation office secretaries have been reduced from three to one without loss of any efficiency that relates to secretarial work in the department. Maxine has done an excellent and marvelous job in keeping the department correspondence up to date. No mail has gone unanswered since she has been working here.

MEMORANDUM

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038
February 2, 1965

TO: NAC Members and All Staffs

FROM: George Wiley

SUBJECT: Southern Staff Work Shop, New Orleans, Louisiana, January 21 - 23

I shall make no attempt here at a comprehensive report on the Southern Staff Conference but wish to record a few observations and spell out some decisions that were made. In addition to the work shops and the general discussion sessions, I had opportunities to meet separately with the staffs of the three major state projects - namely, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida.

I discussed with the state project directors the need for better fiscal control on expenditures. They identified a number of problems including the fact that they seldom see the bills relating to their projects, which are sent to the National office. I agreed to arrange to get an identifying number placed on each gasoline credit card. Once this is arranged the Bookkeeping Department will then make a summary breakdown of the expenditures for each credit card, each month and send it to the Southern office, the state director and the project director. It was also decided that these costs presently billed to the National office will be a part of the budget of the local project. Dick Jewett indicated that the limit of 1500 miles per month placed on the use of leased cars was not realistic for our operation in rural areas. In future leases, arrangement should be made for about 1000 miles per week.

With respect to telephone credit cards, it is difficult to break down the calls to send to individual staff members. However, someone in bookkeeping will check the calls made on each credit card against the calls listed by the individual staff member on his weekly log sheet. If there are major discrepancies, he will be notified. Otherwise, he may assume that the information submitted on his telephone log sheet is substantially correct.

Ike Reynolds' transfer to California was discussed with him. He will be leaving for the West Coast shortly.

Ways of strengthening the Southern office were discussed. Once budgets are established at the February 6th NAC meeting, all Southern staffs and projects will draw advances and operating expenses from the Southern office. Direct requests to the National office will not be honored.

The program discussion which was the major emphasis of the conference seemed to be quite meaningful to the staff. I was struck by the degree of similarity between the problems of community organization and community involvement in the South to those in the North. I was interested in several features of the organizing effort. First, the trend seems decidedly away from going into a community and starting a Freedom School or a community center. Both of these operations are increasingly being thought of as being developed in response

to an expressed community interest in these activities. This interest would have to be expressed in the form of willingness on the part of community residents to contribute some of their own efforts and resources to the development of the center or school. The result is that in many areas the local people are sustaining major financial responsibilities for the projects in their area.

There was also a dominant feeling that whereas the 1964 summer project in Mississippi had many important virtues, it suffered from the fact that many people came down from the North for short periods of time with their own program and ideas and initiative and this actually inhibited the involvement of local people in the program. As a result, local people did not feel a close identification with the centers and the projects in certain instances. The result was that there was frequently very little left of the program when the people left at the end of the summer. Some centers and schools have subsequently been closed.

I also got the impression that another summer project of the type done in 1964 would not be desirable in Mississippi.

I found the morale of our Southern staff to be quite good considering the difficult conditions in which they must work. I think most of them gained new insight into their work from this conference.

NAC MEETING February 5-7

National CORE Office

TENTATIVE OUTLINE

Date	Time	Subject	Status
Friday, Feb. 5	7-11:30 PM	Program (Karl Linn)	Informal
Saturday, Feb. 6	9:30 AM-12 Noon	Business (Reports)	Open
" " "	12-2:00 PM	Lunch, Committees Meet	
" " "	2:00-6:00 PM	Program, Poverty (Pressman)	Open
" " "	6:00-8:00 PM	Dinner, Committees Meet	
" " "	8:00-	Program, Business	Partially Closed
Sunday, Feb. 7	9:30 AM-4:00 PM		"

This meeting is costing CORE about $2500. That is better than $100 an hour.

GW:cf

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
(212) CO 7-6270
ATTENTION: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE INCREASES PRESSURE IN JONESBORO, LOUISIANA

Jonesboro, La., March 24, 1965--Three hundred fifty students marched to the office of the school board here today, lead by Glen Johnson, a student leader, to protest inadequate courses in the Negro schools.

The demonstration, organized by CORE, centered around demands for classes in foreign languages at the secondary level and improvement in curriculum. The Superintendent of the School Board stated that he would have a reply for the students and CORE tomorrow. In the meantime, 250 students are picketing the office of the school board.

The demonstration was part of the stepped-up activity in the Jonesboro area by CORE, particularly in response to the "blockading" of the Negro area by the local police. During the past week, Negroes have not been allowed to leave the area in which they live. The blockade has been lifted, but intimidation has been continued on the part of the whites in Jonesboro.

James Farmer, the National Director of CORE, organized a march yesterday and spoke at a mass rally in the roller-skate arena, with 1,000 persons attending and the crowd overflowing onto the sidewalks. Jonesboro has a total population of 8,000.

As part of the demonstrations, four Negroes attempted to be served at the Blue Grill Restaurant in a test of local compliance to the Civil Rights Act. They were refused service and arrested on a charge of disturbing the peace. Twenty-five dollars bond was required but the charge was later dropped. The four were Mrs. Queenie Esther Thompson, 22, Mr. Freeman Scott, 17, Miss Brenda Barrett, 17, and Mr. Willard Roff, 19.

James Farmer also sent a telegram to Postmaster General John A. Gronouski protesting discriminatory policies by the local post office in Jonesboro, which will not deliver mail to Negroes. Negro residents are forced to rent a post office box or stop by the post office for their mail, even when they live on the same street as the white residents, whose mail is delivered. The Postmaster General has initiated an investigation.

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York

TO: :CORE Groups, Advisory Committee

FROM: James Farmer, National Director

SUBJECT: Expansion of CORE Staff

The last few months have revolutionized the civil rights scene. Hundreds of Americans from every section of the nation by their willingness to join the Freedom Ride to the Parchman prison have made it possible for others to make significant advances in their home communities.

The Freedom Riders that I met in Parchman were imbued with a determination to end discrimination in every form now. They are returning to their homes by the hundreds.

We in CORE have grown greatly in public support and respect. We must take advantages of our opportunities to develop more effective action against bigotry. In successive meetings the National Action Committee has approved recommendations for expanded staff and offices that I presented after consultation with staff and officers.

Regional Offices: The recommendation was for two regional office to be located in the deep south, one in the upper south, one on the west coast and one in the east. These would be manned by field secretaries primarily assigned to these offices. In addition, the National Action Committee authorized an expansion of the field staff to 10. This woild allow for five field secretaries available to go to any location.

Staff Additions: We have added the Rev. B. Elton Cox, Edward Blankenheim and Henry Thomas to the staff as field secretaries. All three have participated on the Freedom Rides. Cox is a Congregational minister from High Point, North Carolina and was active in the sit-ins there. Blankenheim was a member of Tucson, Arizona CORE before joining the Freedom Ride that lead to the bus burning in Anniston. Thomas was chairman of the Nonviolent Action Group of Washington, D. C. and has served 40 days in Mississippi prisons. He has participated in three Freedom Rides.

We have also added William Larkins to the staff as Assistant Community Relations Director. Larkins is chairman of Tallahassee CORE, a Regional Representative, and has served 49 days in the Leon County jail for sitting-in at a Woolworth lunch counter.

All of the staff will need your support in the next few months of challenge. We hope to be able to continue to provide creative, dynamic leadership to the civil rights movement.

1.

CORElator

12 August 1965

TO: NAC Members

FROM: Alan Gartner

RE: CORE House Organs

As you know, the NAC at its meeting prior to the convention voted to discontinue the CORElator in its present form and to appoint an NAC-staff committee to study the situation and to make proposals for a replacement. Due to the press of convention business, the committee was not appointed, and with Floyd McKissick's permission I am writing this memorandum to get things going.

As I understand the discussion within the NAC, prior to its vote to stop the CORElator in its present form, it was the consensus that the CORElator did not effectively portray the "new" CORE and that it was not an effective medium for communications among and between CORE chapter and staff people.

Before going further, perhaps it will be useful to set out some facts about the CORElator. It has been mailed to the entire list of contributors to National CORE -- now approximately 75,000. We have been mailing six issues a year, every other month. The cost of the CORElator has been approximately $1,600 per issue, or 2.1¢ per copy per person. This figure includes (for a run of 75,000) printing -- $900, addressing -- $150, collation and sorting for mailing -- $100, and postage (2nd. class rate for a periodical) -- $450.

Thus the total cost of the CORElator, recognizing that there has been no staff cost for the writing and editing which Jim Peck has done without compensation, has been approximately $9,600 per year of six mailings to 75,000 people.

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Before going further, let me state a number of suppositions on my part. First, that communications within CORE (that is among and between chapters, members, officers, staff and national office) have been inadequate, to say the least. While responsibility may rest upon several shoulders, I believe that the ultimate responsibility for correcting this matter rests in the national office -- the organ set up by the others to serve them. Second, we must improve such communications within the CORE family as a matter of highest priority. Third, in order to continue receiving contributions from those who have contributed in the past, and in order to inform the general public in a general way, there is need for some regular organ going to the contributors and others. Fourth, the CORElator, which sought to perform the task of informing CORE's contributors of its activities (and which was not designed to be a communications vehicle within CORE), was not totally adequate to this job. Its news was often dated; there was little if any analysis or explanation; there was too much concentration on "old" CORE activities, viz. demonstrations, etc. and too little on "new" CORE; and the CORElator as a whole had no central focus. The cause of this inadequacy is surely mixed; at least in part the fault lies with the failure of the chapters and field staff to provide the CORElator with useable material. Fifth, the funds available to do both of these communications jobs -- within CORE and to CORE's contributors -- are relatively (and too often absolutely) limited.

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With these assumptions out of the way, let me move into the body of the memorandum. Perhaps it would be well to state some of the kinds of information which should be moving around within the CORE family. In no order of importance: organizational news, viz. decisions of the various governing bodies, staff changes, etc.; activities of the organization, nationally and locally; descriptions of particular projects, programs, etc.; proposals which are to come before various governing bodies; ideas and proposals from people within the organization; comments, critiques, criticisms of program, implementation of the organization. Recently, we have been making some efforts to meet some of these needs. Minutes of NAC and Steering Committee are sent to the chapters. Regular memoranda come to the chapters from the national office on a wide range of activities. We are sending out "CORE In The Field", which is a compilation from our news clipping service of chapter (and some limited national) activities. On occasion the national office has sent program proposals to the chapters -- recently there have been two mailings of "Program Ideas", and these will continue. We have been particularly deficient in developing and sending out program papers, and in the exchange of ideas, programs, critiques, etc. While the first of these failures can, we hope, be rectified by action within the national office, (we are seriously handicapped in doing an adequate job in this area until we can develop program and research staff, which is presently non-existent, because of the lack of funds), the second, the exchange of ideas, etc., requires participation of CORE members and field staff more than the national office -- in fact, the main function of the national office in this ought to be distribution.

A query: Is it better for such things as the press releases and "CORE In The Field" to be held for monthly mailings to the chapters, in addition to program ideas and other matters, or ought we send them as were have begun on a weekly basis? (We have a crew of volunteers every wednesday night who do the collating, stuffing and mailing.) Should these (and other) materials be sent out individually or should they be incorporated into a standard formant, perhaps with a title, etc.?

A proposal: Whatever format makes most sense for the above items, this office will seek to send out, as frequently as possible, program materials -- developed here or better yet garnered from the chapters, and will serve as a clearing house and distributor for any program ideas, analyses, critiques, papers, etc., which chapter and staff persons prepare. I see these functions as centered in the Program Department when one is established.

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Now, as to communications with our contributors. As a sentimentalist, I would suggest retention of the name the COORElator, as well as the every other month mailing schedule -- it is frequent enough to keep them in touch and not too prohibitive in terms of postage costs. Also, as a way to save on postage costs, we ought to keep the format of a periodical. The new COORElator would stop printing a rehash of old press releases of scattered stories. It would seek to be more interprative. For example, rather than simply noting that this or that chapter demonstrated, re: police brutality, it would talk about what CORE feels ought to be the proper role of the police and why, and in such a context talk about what various chapters have done in this area ("CORE In The Field" provides ready reference material for chapter activities of this sort). Also, in addition to stories on particular areas of attention, there would be "in-depth" treatment of particular projects, of both national CORE and of local chapters. There might also be such regular features as an incident summary, a CORE personality feature (national offices, staff, chapter people), excerpts from Farmer's weekly column in the AMSTERDAM NEWS. In addition, there would be some "think" pieces, and policy suggesting or policy explaining articles. There might also be reprints from other media about CORE or matters which interest CORE.

A proposal: That a "new" CORElator be issued -- as outlined above, with whatever changes the NAC wishes. That this be understood as primarily a journal for the "outside" world, although sent to CORE chapters too. That Jim Peck be asked to edit this "new" CORElator, as described above. That this decision be reached soon - first in order to enable us to continue under our present contract with the Post Office, second, so as to retain continuing contact with our contributors, and third, and perhaps most important, that Jim Peck not be kept in limbo as to what his status with CORE will be.

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

James Farmer
national director

ADVISORY COMMITTEE
Ralph Abernathy
James Baldwin
Roger N. Baldwin
Katrina M. Barnes
Algernon D. Black
James B. Carey
Allan Knight Chalmers
Grenville Clark
John Cogley
Earl B. Dickerson
Eugene E. Frazier
Harold Gibbons
Roland B. Gittelsohn
Sidney Hollander
George M. Houser
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Martin Luther King
Douglas Levin
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A. J. Muste
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Rudolph Lombard
1st vice chairman
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secretary
Alan Gartner
treasurer
James Peck
CORElator editor

STAFF
Richard Haley
associate
Gordon Carey
assistant
Carl Rachlin, Esq.
general counsel
James McCain
director of organization
Marvin Rich
community relations director

TO: MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL

FROM: F. B. MCKISSICK, National Chairman, 213 1/2 W. Main St., Durham, North Carolina

DATE: September 29, 1965

I spent last week in the New York Office and had lengthy conversations with Farmer, Wiley, Gartner, Daye, McCain and other staff persons regarding the many problems currently facing us.

(1) The number one problem which continues to press us is "Finance" although our position has improved within the last thirty days. It is because of the financial situation that neither a Steering Committee meeting or a NAC Meeting has been called. We have not received reports from the Regions indicating those persons elected to the NAC from their respective regions. This information we should have right away.

(2) The cost of a NAC Meeting now exceeds $5,300.00 due to changes in our Constitution whereby the Regional Vice-chairmen are now on the Steering Committee.

(3) The summer projects now being over has caused many volunteers to leave our Staff. It has required the re-location of others and there is also the need to fill vacancies which now exist. At the last meeting of the NAC, it was directed that no additional personnel be hired to the staff and that in the event needed personnel change arose of an emergency nature then your National Chairman was empowered to make the necessary decision. This problem has come up fairly frequent and I have attempted to work with the staff. Major changes in personnel are now indicated.

(4) A STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING IS IMPERATIVE FOR THE WEEK OF OCTOBER 23, 1965. IF FUNDS BECOME AVAILABLE BETWEEN NOW AND OCTOBER 16, THE CHARACTER OF THIS MEETING WILL BE CHANGED TO AN NAC MEETING. IT ALL DEPENDS UPON HOW MUCH MONEY COMES IN. WE ARE SUGGESTING ALSO THAT MEMBERS OF THE NAC WHO DESIRES TO ATTEND THE MEETING WHICH WILL BE HELD IN NEW YORK TO ASK THEIR REGION TO PAY THEIR FARE. THE NEW YORK OFFICE IS TAKING CARE OF HOUSING FOR THE MEETING. I WOULD, THEREFORE, APPRECIATE ALL OF YOU INDICATING ON THE ENCLOSED POSTAL CARD IF YOU WILL BE ABLE TO ATTEND.

IF THE NEED ARISES, YOU MAY PHONE ME AT AREA 919, DURHAM, N. C. 682-8106 or 682-6576 AFTER 7 P.M. OR ON SUNDAY.

Dear Floyd.

OCT 14 1966

The first copy
was sent to
200 w 13th Street.
I'm saving the
envelope to show
you.

Bonnie

F. McKissick

2nd Copy Cincol

NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL MEMBERSHIP MEETING SEPTEMBER 10 -11, 1966 at the YMCA 180 West 135th Street, New York, New York

Roll call was taken. See attached sheet for membership attendance. Mr. Will Ussery, the National Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:45 AM. Mr. McKissick called for a reading of the minutes from the National convention. The chairman recommended that this reading be dispensed with since there was much business to be attended to. O. Leeds so moved. It was unanimously carried.

B. Barrow requested that due to the nature of the matters to be discussed, that this meeting be closed to those in attendance who were not authorized by the NAC to attend. The motion carried. R. Innis apposed. The minutes of the preceding NAC meeting were read and approved. The chairman then prepared the agenda with the members of the NAC. It was the consensus of opinion that the follow-up items of the previous NAC meeting minutes would be listed as part of the agenda, having the individuals responsible for specific items bring the members up to date.

The Ossie Davis package of entertainment was now the responsibility of Lionel Hampton, who was now stymied as a result of the thinking of his agent that there would be a loss of money. O. Leeds stated that his committee was unable to evaluate the Baltimore's Target City Project prior to this meeting, since the NAC meeting had been called sooner than tentatively planned and the first visit attempt found everyone on the Baltimore Staff away during the Labor Day week end.

O. Leeds moved that this committee undertake to evaluate Baltimore Project as soon as possible. It was carried unanimously. O. Leeds was also asked to give an account of the Committee to set up suggestions regarding the implementation of Black Power. It was suggested that this report be read later during the meeting.

The National Director was then asked to present his organizational report, which became the focal point of the following discussion:

Current income from mailing is approximately $2,500/day. We learned that the present mailing list was composed of members from the white community and that a list was presently being compiled of members from our Black communities. The cost of the subject mailing is estimated to be approximately $6,000. And it is felt that CORE should have at least 4 mailings per year. Our Director also stated that he was concentrating on appeals to the churches, and that he had been reserving Sundays for this purpose. He stated that we have received $2,000 in grants and $3,000 for taxes. He recommended that we accept the offer from William Worthy, who was representing Peace Groups for a full page advertisement, available to us without charge, regarding CORE's position on Viet Nam. The offer was accepted following discussion. Mr. Ussery suggested that the same advertisement be used to make even more money in other states, if it became available for reprinting. The idea of running the ad internationally was entertained and accepted. It was suggested that this advertisement be presented to the NAC for approval prior to release. It was decided that the Director's approval along with available NAC members be sufficient.

Our Director stated that he would remain in the office as much as possible in order to straighten out the internal problems. He then briefed the group on the three things which could be done to carry CORE through 1967: 1) File bankruptcy 2) forbearance on credit 3) pay creditors. He then stated that accountants will assist us and that we have presently reduced our operating expenses and overhead with our new move to 200 West 135th Street. He suggested that CORE drop car rental systems and think of purchasing a car, since it would be much cheaper, according to SNCC.

From there he discussed the Christmas card mailing. He told us that it would bring in some money and also help pay our old debt. It was then agreed that we do this as a business transaction and proceed with Sauer endorsing a note for us. If we cannot get Sauer then we should attempt to borrow money. At any rate our debt would be paid and it would also keep the card project in CORE.

Mr. McKissick then moved that the revenue from the sale of Xmas cards be earmarked to pay back salaries of those presently on staff, and that chapters will be notified that all revenue from sale of Xmas cards will therefore be given to staff and no percentage paid to chapters.

This motion was unanimously carried. It was then suggested that we do our own work and watch Sauer Xmas Card List, thus preventing any other organization from capitalizing on it.

Following a brief discussion regarding the use of the union label O. Leeds moved that no mail of CORE's be printed without a union label and that if this is not possible, an explanation must be made. This was carried unanimously

Discussion followed regarding SEDF pro and con. Many recommendations were made. Roy Innis moved that we demand real control (majority control) of the board of SEDF and that we take direct action and cut ourselves loose from this group at the time this negotiation seems futile and that we form a committee with NAC members to negotiate this confrontation. The vote was 6 opposed 5 in favor.

Bill Bradley prior made the following motion and following much discussion and much indecision withdrew it:

J. McKissick

"That we appoint a negotiating committee to deal with all questions relating to relationships between CORE and SEDF and that said committee come back to this body at the next meeting of NAC to present this report for action to this body. It was agreed that our National Director contact or communicate with SEDF and that if a meeting was forthcoming, a committee composed of available NAC members should meet with them.

The amendment to Bill Bradley's motion was also withdrawn. It stated that this negotiating team be empowered to sever this connection(of SEDF) if negotiation fails. Ben Swan made this motion.

Bill Bradley then gave a report of the West Coast Conference held September 3rd. He then referred to telegrams sent to the National Office requesting that Herb Callender be reinstated. He said that the West Coast region recommended that Herb be reinstated on the basis that if CORE is to be saved we must maintain experienced staff who have been in the movement a long time. The report (see the attached) from the Southern Region was then read and discussed item by item.

A motion was made that we accept recommendations of this report for consideration at this meeting. Item 1 was not supported. The motion was withdrawn. It was agreed that a week be allowed for foundation money to come through. And that if money not received by that time then the following recommendation made by our National Director be followed: "That staff be empowered to prepare proposal to be submitted to foundations and that seed money necessary for preparing proposals be sought from the foundation. If the seed money is not available from foundations, then the National office will supply the seed money at the same time recognizing the need to maintain a financial basis of $2,500/day. The motion was carried unanimously.

Item 2 of the Southern Region was directed at the National office and the NAC wherein promises were made and not lived up to.

Sol Herbert moved that members present, commit themselves. The motion was carried unanimously. Ollie Leeds pledged $10.00 per month for the next four months. Sol Herbert pledged support on the behalf of Bronx Core and Bill Bradley for the West Coast.

With regard to Item 3, a motion was made that the National office agree to pay during the three months of proposal writing $3,510 to those persons named in the recommendations and too, that those persons whose names are not submitted will receive a like amount of money when their needs are submitted to the national office:

1. If monies are available
2. National will canvass regional organization and chapters for pledges for 3 month period to defray staff salaries.

Our national director requested that these conditions be kept confidential.

It was felt that Item 3 of the subject report was not relevant. With reference to Item 4, the National Director felt that the situation will not permit us to make a committment since he was not ready at this time to give specific recommendations. It was also agreed that it is the National Director's right to select people on his staff when hiring or replacing any employee. The role of the Director of Organization was then discussed. The questions centered around two approaches a) the director of organization's role in chapter problems and his role in staff problems.

A motion was made that the National Director agree to entertain suggestions and to advise with staff regarding the filling of said vacancy. It was carried unanimously.

Ollie Leeds then read the report from the Black Power Committee. The membership approved it unanimously. The approval included recommendations that the credit union proposal be given priority and that the Black Power Committee set up rules of the articles of Incorporation and include in detail the operation and including membership and then:

1. Establish Credit Union. An example being that National Employees would pay $5.00/month

2. Open an account, then getting charter and

3. Membership (1967) agree to abide by our decisions, insurance, welfare, pledge, carry card and that membership books be kept at least by January 1967. And that furthermore this general information should be given to Regional Chapters by January 1967.

A motion was made that the Committee on Black Power be empowered to establish a credit union. (Bill Bradley) The motion was carried unanimously.

Ollie Leeds then moved that other aspects for the implementation of Black Power be explored by the committee and that specific recommendations be made to the NAC from time to time. The motion was carried unanimously.

We were then informed that Arthur Evans was requested to appear on the peace venture. A motion was made that Arthur Evans be permitted to appear on the peace venture and send a telegram.

Floyd McKissick Discussion then followed regarding the guardians. A motion was made to commend the guardians for their support of the Civilian Review Board and the National Office through its spokesman so advise them.

The North Eastern Region report was then given by Jim Williams. He stated that guidelines are still needed for the chapters. He also stated that this region would be holding their meeting that following week end.

It was recommended that a series of district visits by Floyd McKissick, whenever possible.

Discussion then followed on the North Central urban training center. A motion was made that NAC empower Art and Gene to continue negotiations in terms of follow-up for the urban training center. This motion was carried unanimously.

Following more discussion a motion was made that in each area of the U.S. in each region that the chairman be responsible in turning in to the National Chairman Chapter information regarding number of members, operation and pertinent data using criteria list developed at the Durham North Carolina convention within 1 month. The motion was carried unanimously.

Discussion followed regarding the Constitution. It was brought to the attention of the group that only 2 items were delaying the printing. These were Article XI. Section 1 (e) and Section 4 (d). A motion was made by Ben Swan that the following be substituted for the present: That the senior field staff person serving on the NAC represent staff and serve on the Steering committee. It was unanimously carried.

This was done as a result that it would be nearly impossible and most impractical for the Constitution Committee to meet. The time element was most important here.

Ollie Leeds then made a motion that the Constitution as we think it is be sent to Cecil Brown and that if he sees anything of substantive error that he communicate same to the National Chairman. If the National Chairman agrees he will hold up printing , within a week.
The motion was carried unanimously.

Following this discussion the point that regions respectively, could hire personnel was varified, with particular reference to field representatives.

Discussion then returned to National Director's remaining items in his report. In reference to Items C and F, he told us about a discussion with Jim Farmer concerning the advisory board. It was suggested that the advisory board meet twice a year at their expense and make recommendations with J. Farmer's advice to be received and reviewed by NAC.

It was then suggested that a field representative be sent to Dayton where there are many problems, and the tension is high. It was felt that we do not have the manpower right now. Jim Williams moved that the North Central Region Action Council look into the possibility of forming a chapter and look into other steps that can resolve the problems.

Fund Raising was then discussed. Will Ussery made a poster asking that $1.00 be sent to the National Office. It was suggested that this poster be used also as a postage stamp and made available to youngsters. Mr. Ussery requested that he manage this progression and asked for control to work in accordance with the National Office.

A motion was made that Will Ussery be authorized to manage Black Power Poster Campaign for CORE in such a manner that it does not tap the regular income sources of the organization. Unanimously Carried.

J. McKissick

Discussion then returned to the Peace Ad with regard to following up. Mr. McKissick moved that:1) The Freedom National Bank be recipient from monies from the peace ad 2) That we seek other peace groups to run ad for us 3) In the event that the other peace groups do not run ad that we run this ad ourselves within the United States. This motion was carried unanimously.

A report received from Herb Callender was read. A motion was made that we commend Herb Callender for his efforts. (Bill Bradley) The motion was carried.

J. McKissick

The subject of Bob Lucas's activities came up. Following discussion it was decided to leave any move of commendation to our National Director. ?

A motion was made and seconded for adjournment. The National Chairman adjourned the meeting on September 11th at 5:45.

Respectfully submitted,

Bonnie Barrow

Bonnie Barrow.
National Secretary

ATTENDANCE AT THE NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL MEETING
HELD SEPT 10-11, AT THE YMCA, HARLEM

William Ussery
Floyd McKissick
Solomon Herbert
Arthur Evans
Bonnie Barrow
Bill Bradley

Roy Innis
Ollie Leeds
Jim Williams
Clyde Cleveland
Gene Tronour
Staff: Ruth Turner
Don Smith
Lincoln Lynch
Clora Coleman
Walter Brooks

JUNE 5TH, 1967

MR. JAMES FARMER
CHAIRMAN
CORE NATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD
165 PARK ROW
NEW YORK, N.Y.

DEAR JIM:

I REALLY SHOULD SAY "DEAR MR.CORE," FOR ALTHOUGH YOU HAVE LEFT US FOR MORE THAN A YEAR, YOUR INFLUENCE WITH AND IN THE ORGANIZATION IS AS STRONG AS EVER AND YOUR CONTINUED CONTRIBUTION TO OUR GROWTH AND THINKING CONTINUES TO BE HIGHLY PRIZED. ALTHOUGH YOU ARE STILL VERY MUCH A PART OF CORE, I FEEL IT IS INCUMBENT UPON ME TO OFFER YOU OUR SINCEREST THANKS FOR THE RECENT PARTICIPATION IN THE LEXINGTON CONFERENCE. ALTHOUGH THIS CONFERENCE WAS PARTICULARLY CORE AND IN THAT REGARD NOT THE BEST IN THE WORLD, YOUR AUTHORITATIVE AND KNOWLEDGEABLE PRESENTATION OPENED MANY AREAS WHICH ARE STILL BEING DISCUSSED.

IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT WE DEEPLY APPRECIATE YOUR TAKING TIME OUT FROM YOUR HECTIC SCHEDULE TO EMPHASIZE TO US THAT YOUR TIES WITH THE ORGANIZATION ARE STRONG AND ENDURING.

I WANT ALSO TO OFFER YOU MY PERSONAL THANKS AND ALSO THAT OF THE SPARROWS POINT STEELWORKERS FOR JOINING US IN WASHINGTON ON MAY 26TH. THEY WERE VERY IMPRESSED THAT A PERSONALITY SUCH AS JAMES FARMER COULD TAKE TIME OUT FROM HIS SCHEDULE TO BE WITH THEM AND TO OFFER THEM THE SUPPORT OF HIS PERSON, TO SAY NOTHING OF HIS ELOQUENT PRESENTATION .

I KNOW YOU ARE AN EXTREMELY BUSY MAN BUT I AM ANXIOUSLY LOOKING FORWARD TO YOUR PAPER ON THE CORE STRUCTURE. IT IS MY FEELING THAT AT THIS YEAR'S CONVENTION IT WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE AND IMPOLITIC TO PUSH FORWARD ANY RADICAL CHANGE IN OUR STRUCTURE NOW. AFTER CONSULTATION WITH A

NUMBER OF PEOPLE, I FEEL THAT IT MIGHT BE NECESSARY FOR US TO PRESENT SOME FORM OF STRUCTURE WHICH WOULD BE STUDIED, COMMENTED UPON, AMENDED, ETC. AND THEN AT THE 1968 CONVENTION, TO MAKE THE NECESSARY CHANGES BASED UPON A SIX MONTHS STUDY. THIS WOULD INCLUDE A TWO YEAR CONVENTION AND ALL OF THE OTHER QUESTIONS WHICH YOU RAISED AT LEXINGTON AND WHICH WE ARE NOW THINKING OF.

I HOPE TO HEAR FROM YOU VERY SOON ON THIS MATTER. KINDEST PERSONAL REGARDS.

SINCERELY,

LINCOLN O.LYNCH
ASSOCIATE NATIONAL DIRECTOR
LOL:GW

September 15, 1961

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

TO: CORE groups, leaders
FROM: Marvin Rich, community relations director
SUBJECT: Advisory Committee, National Officers

The members of CORE's national advisory committee are chosen because of their belief in our goals and methods, their special knowledge and skills and also because of their general community respect. They are called upon from time to time for advice in planning CORE's program. They select the recipient of the Gandhi Award.

Listed below are the members of the Advisory Committee with a brief identifying statement. This information may be of assistance to you in answering questions from individuals and groups.

Rev. Ralph Abernathy is president of the Montgomery Improvement Association and treasurer of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

James Baldwin is the author of, "Go Tell It On the Mountain, "Notes of a Native Son" and "Up In Giovanni's Room" as well as many essays.

Roger N. Baldwin is board chairman of the International League for the Rights of Man and was for many years executive secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Algernon D. Black is chairman of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing as well as religious leader of the New York Society for Cultural.

James B. Carey is President of the International Union of Electrical Workers and secretary of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO.

Allan Knight Chalmers is professor of Preaching and Applied Christianity of the Boston University School of Theology. He is also chairman of the Legal Defense Fund of the NAACP.

Grenville Clark has served as chairman of the Bill of Rights Committee of the American Bar Association and is the author of three books on securing world peace through international law.

John Cogley is the former editor of "Commonweal" and is now consultant to the Center for Study of Democratic Institutions.

Earl B. Dickerson is president of the Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Company and a former president of the National Bar Association and of the Chicago Urban League.

Eugene E. Frazier is president of the United Transport Service Employees Union and a member of the General Executive Board of the AFL-CIO.

Harold J. Gibbons is executive vice-president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

(Over)

Sidney Hollander of Baltimore is the former president of the National Welfare Assembly.

George M. Houser is executive secretary of the American Committe on Africa. He was formerly executive secretary of CORE.

E. Stanley Jones, famous Methodist missionary to India, is the author of The Choice Before Us, The Christ of the Indian Road, and Is The Kingdom of God Realism?

F. O. Jordan is Bishop of the New Orleans diocese of the AME Church.

Martin Luther King, Jr., leader of the Montgomery bus boycott, is also president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Douglas Levin is manager of Local 99, Office and Distribution Workers of the ILGWU.

Will Maslow is executive secretary of the American Jewish Congress where he heads an intensive program to utilize the law in the fight against racism.

A. J. Muste is executive secretary emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in the United States and editor of Liberation magazine.

Dorothy Norman was a former correspondent of the New York Post.

A. Phillip Randolph is president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and a member of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. He was head of the March on Washington Movement which brought about wartime FEPC.

Ira DeAndreis Reid is professor of Sociology at Haverford College and the author of Adult Education Among Negroes and Negro Immigrants.

Walter P. Reuther is president of the United Automobile Workers and of the Industrial Union Department as well as a member of the Executive Committee of the AFL-CIO.

Jackie Robinson, the famed ball player who cracked the color line in baseball, is now vice-president for personnel of Chock Full O'Nuts.

Arnold H. Rose is professor of Sociology at the University of Minnesota. He is the assistant author of An American Dilemma and author of The Negro in America, Studies in the Reduction of Prejudice, and Race Prejudice and Discrimination.

Lillian Smith is the author of Strange Fruit, Killers of the Dream, The Time Is Now and many articles on race relations and the changing South.

Rev. C. K. Steele lead the Tallahassee, Florida bus boycott in 1955.

Rev. Gardner Taylor president of the Protestant Council of New York City and a leading Baptist.

Howard Thurman is professor of systematic theology at Boston University and author of Deep is the Hunger and The Greatest of These.

Goodwin Watson is professor of education at Teachers College, Columbia University and was first president of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues.

Jerry Wurf is the director of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and a member of the board of the Workers Defense League and of the Jewish Labor Committee.

Charles S. Zimmerman is a vice-president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and head of its Dressmakers Joint Council.

The national officers of CORE are:

Chairman Charles R. Oldham, attorney, helped found St. Louis CORE 14 years ago. He has been national chairman since 1956.

1st vice-chairman Rudolph Lombard was formerly chairman of New Orleans CORE and is now a student at the Maxwell School of Public Administration in Syracuse.

2nd vice-chairman Henry Hodge been a member of St. Louis and now of Los Angeles CORE.

Secretary Anna Holden was active in Nashville CORE and is now active in Ann Arbor. She is the author of "A First Step Toward School Integration.

Treasurer A. D. Moore is chairman of Miami CORE and is district manager of the Central Life Insurance Company.

CORElator Editor Jim Peck has been active in CORE since 1946. He participated in both the Freedom Ride and in its 1947 predecessor, the Journey of Reconciliation.

1963

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

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217 West 125th Street
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F/b

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East Elmhurst, L.I., N.Y. TR 5-7100, Ext. 351

CHALMERS, Allen Knight
Box 283
Kennebunkport, Maine

COGLEY, John
Box 4068
Santa Barbara, California

CLARK, Grenville
Box A
Dublin, New Hampshire

EICHERSON, Earl B.
3501 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

FRAZIER, Eugene E.
United Transport Service Employees
444 East 63rd Street
Chicago, Illinois

GIBSON, Harold J.
W. S. W. U.
1641 South Kingshighway
St. Louis 10, Missouri

GITTELSOHN, Rabbi Roland B.
11 Wolcott Road Ext.
Chestnut Hill 67, Massachusetts

HOLLANDER, Sidney
Baltimore, Maryland
2513 Talbot Road

HOUSER, George
American Committee on Africa
211 E. 43rd Street
New York 17, New York

TN 7-8733 - Office
EL 6-9073 (914) home

JONES, Dr. Stanley E.
116 Glen Road
Wellesley 81, Mass.
% Mrs. J.K. Mathews

JORDAN, Bishop Frederick
1937 Feniston Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

KING, Dr. Martin Luther, Jr.
The Ebenezer Baptist Church
407 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia
HOME: 563 Johnson Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

JA 5-2938 (SCLC)
MU 8-7263 (Church)
JA 2-4596 (Home)

LEVIN, Doug
Local 99
IUEWU
151 W. 40th Street
New York, New York

OX 5-3770

LIVINGSTONE, David
13 Astor Place
New York, New York

MASLOW, Will
American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York
TR 9-4500

NORMAN, Dorothy
124 East 70th Street
New York 21, New York
RE 7-0722

RANDOLPH, A. Phillip
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York
MO 2-5080

REID, Dr. Ira De A.
Haverford College
Haverford, Pennsylvania

[redacted], Mr. Hobson R.
1522 North 16th Street
Philadelphia 22, Pa.

REUTHER, Mr. Walter P.
United Auto Workers
8000 E. Jefferson Avenue
Detroit, Michigan

ROBINSON, Mr. Jackie
425 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York
MU 2-0500

ROSE, Dr. Arnold M. R
178 Malcolm Avenue, S. E.
Minneapolis 14, Minnesota
FA 1-3862

SHUTTLESWORTH, Fred L.
1556 John Street
Cincinnati, Ohio
PA 1-7630

SMITH, Lillian
Old Screamer Mountain
Clayton, Georgia
CL 2775

TAYLOR, Rev. Gardner
Concord Baptist Church
800 Marcy Avenue
Brooklyn, New York
MA 2-1818
PR 4-9326

THURMAN, Dr. Howard
300 Bay State Road
Boston 15, Massachusetts

WATSON, Dr. Goodwin
Kirby Lane, North
Rye, New York — WO 7-3410

WALLS, Bishop W. G.
38 Aqueduct Place
Yonkers, New York

WILLEN, Mr. Joseph
470 Park Avenue
New York 22, New York

WURF, Jerry
District Council 37, SCME
68 Trinity Street
New York, New York — BA 9-5500

ZIMMERMAN, Charles S.
Manager Dressmakers Joint Council
218 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

advisory committee

August 9, 1963

Miss Osceola Archer
42 West 120th Street
New York City

Dear Miss Archer:

For some time now, CORE has felt that we should form a cultural committee. The press of history has made it physically impossible for us to get around to this task until now. We do, however, feel that the cultural and intellectual community can provide a very important service in the civil rights movement generally, and to CORE in particular.

With this end in mind, would you attend a meeting in my office at 38 Park Row, New York City, on Thursday, August 22nd, at 6:00 o'clock. This meeting will be held as a serious effort to form the nucleus of a broad, self-sustaining cultural committee in support of CORE. I would appreciate it very much if you would phone my secretary, Miss Lubelsky (CO 7-6270), in order to let her know if you are able to attend.

Thank you very much.

Warmest regards,

James Farmer

JF/jm

February 11, 1964

Mr. Byron Rushing
Syracuse CORE
609 East Adams Street
Syracuse, New York 13202

Dear Mr. Rushing:

CORE has found it advisable to have an advisory committee which can do nothing but give advice. As a matter of policy, we try to keep the active control of the organization within the hands of the active members.

Consequently, the advisory committee is useful primarily for lending prestige to the organization. Many local CORE chapters have such advisory committees. They may include national figures in your community, religious leaders, civic and labor leaders, etc. There is an obvious advantage in having persons with money in such a committee. The national organization calls a meeting of its advisory committee possibly once a year. We also occasionally ask them for advice on a particular thing. For example, a committee of the advisory committee selects the recipient of the annual Gandhi Award. We occasionally use the advisory committee for fund raising and for speaking. Probably the cleanest kind of relationship to have with such a committee is one where they have no real rights within the organization and no real responsibilities.

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

Gordon

JAN 31 1964

Syracuse CORE
609 East Adams Street
Syracuse, New York 13202
January 30, 1964

Mr. James T. McCain
Director of Organization
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Mr. McCain:

Syracuse CORE is considering the establishment of an advisory committee similar to the advisory committees of other local CORE chapters.

Would you be able to give us any advice on the purposes and functions of such a committee, and its position within the CORE group? We'd also like to know what type of people we should attempt to get for this advisory committee.

Thanks very much.

Sincerely yours,

Byron Rushing

Byron Rushing
Executive Secretary
Syracuse CORE

BR:sm

letter sent to all Advisory Committee

August 19, 1965

Mr. James B. Carey
1126 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Carey:

CORE faces a time of both challenge and crisis. The passage of the new Voting Rights Bill offers the entire movement an opportunity to register hundreds of thousands of Negroes throughout the South. Of the nine counties designated by the Justice Department for immediate attention by federal re registrars, the three in Louisiana: East Carroll, East Feliciana, and Plaquemine, find CORE as the only active civil rights group. And in Madison County, Mississippi, CORE has been working for several years. In addition, there are major CORE voter registration programs going on in northern Florida, and South Carolina. Already this summer, in South Carolina alone, over 6000 Negroes have been registered in the counties where CORE is presently working.

The events of the past few days in Los Angeles and elsewhere point up the need for more, not less activity by the civil rights groups. Absolutely essential is the development of programs to meet the as yet unmet problems of the ghetto, as well as training in non-violent protest. It is my firm belief that unless such programmatic development takes place - and soon - we will find increasing hostility and tension in the ghetto communities throughout the nation. CORE chapters in many cities have begun digging deeply into the ghetto community and developing this kind of program.

We must meet this challenge; and we will meet it. But we need help. At a time when the opportunities for major civil breakthroughs are greater than ever before, CORE finds itself in desperate financial straits. Saddled with a debt of over a quarter of a million dollars, we are hamstrung at every turn.

I am calling an emergency meeting of the CORE National Advisory Committee for Thursday, Sept. 9, 1965, 4:00 PM, at the CORE office. I sincerely hope that you will be able to attend what is for us an essential meeting.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

P.S. If you unavoidably cannot attend the meeting, we would appreciate any financial assistance which you can give us, either directly, or in the way of contacts which either you or we can follow up. Please call my secretary, Miss Stadman, as to whether you will be able to make this very important meeting. Thank you.

Grenville Clark
Box a.
Dublin, New Hampshire

Carl B. Dickerson
3501 South Parkway
Chicago Illinois

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

James Farmer
national director

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$50.00 enc. sent by error to Roger Baldwin

Can't be Thurs, but here's a little tribute - I see no way out of your deficit but to continue efforts. Grrr- really! Put in a controller with power!

Roger Baldwin

August 19, 1965

Mr. James Baldwin
470 West End Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Baldwin:

CORE faces a time of both challenge and crisis. The passage of the new Voting Rights Bill offers the entire movement an opportunity to register hundreds of thousands of Negroes throughout the South. Of the nine counties designated by the Justice Department for immediate attention by federal registrars, the three in Louisiana: East Carroll, East Feliciana, and Plaquemine, find CORE as the only active civil rights group. And in Madison County, Mississippi, CORE has been working for several years. In addition, there are major CORE voter registration programs going on in Northern Florida, and South Carolina. Already this summer, in South Carolina alone, over 6600 Negroes have been registered in the counties where CORE is presently working.

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Sincerely yours,

James Farmer

James Farmer
National Director

P.S. If you unavoidably cannot attend the meeting, we would appreciate any financial assistance which you can give us, either directly, or in the way of contacts which either you or we can follow up. Please call my secretary, Miss Nancy Stedman, as to whether you will be able to make this very important meeting. Thank you.

167

10.00 Inc

The Society for Ethical Culture in the City of New York
Founded 1876
Central Park West and 64th Street

ALGERNON D. BLACK, LEADER
2 WEST 64TH STREET
TRAFALGAR 4-5200

AUG 3 0 1965

August 25, 1965

Dear Jim:

I have your letter calling an emergency meeting of the National Advisory Committee of CORE. I hope I will be able to attend it but the chances look very slim due to other obligations with staff, etc. In the meantime I am sending a small check.

With best wishes for a successful meeting and a solution to the financial problem.

Sincerely yours,

A D Black

P. S. I wish the enclosed could be more but you are hitting some of us at a time when there are many demands.

AUG 30 1965

$10.00
ltr

178 Malcolm Ave., S.E.
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55414
August 26, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I regret that I cannot be in New York to attend the CORE national advisory committee meeting on Sept. 9. I have already made my contribution to CORE for this year, but am enclosing another small check. I hope you will be successful in meeting the difficult financial crisis that faces CORE.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold M. Rose

Arnold M. Rose

SEP 7 1965

9/3/65

Memo from

RABBI ROLAND B. GITTELSOHN

Deeply regret I cannot attend Wall Advisory Committee meeting on September. Already committed to two meetings that day.

Warm regards and best wishes for success.

Roland Gittelsohn

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AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA

211 East 43rd Street • New York, N. Y., 10017 (212) TN 7-8733 • Cable AMCOMMAF

September 17, 1965

SEP 20 1965

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Jim;

I am very sorry that I wasn't able to attend the meeting of the Advisory Committee at CORE the other day. It was just impossible because there were anumber of people from Africa who were in town briefly and I just had to see them before they left. I know that the financial crisis for CORE is a very serious one. In as much as we're having to scrounge around for funds ourselves all the time, I don't know how much use I can be on this technically. I believe that we are changing lists with CORE every now and then and I believe that both of us have done reasonably well on this. If you have any ideas as to how I can be helpful to CORE however don't hesitate to get in touch with me. Within the limits of my time, I will be glad to do anything I can.

ThatThat was quite an interesting experience Lulu had the other day with those three boys. I hope that you have been able to recover most of the loss. I am sure that you did the right thing by not pressing charges.

Hope to see you soon.

Sincerely yours,

George

George M. Houser

GMH-em

MINUTES OF NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEETING, JUNE 21,1967
575 LEXINGTON AVE., N.Y.,N.Y. (DAVID MCCALL'S OFFICE)

ATTENDING: JAMES FARMER, DAVID MCCALL, ALGERNON BLACK, GEORGE HOUSER, JOHN O.KILLENS, CHARLES P.HOWARD, NATHAN SCHWERNER.

STAFF: FLOYD B.MCKISSICK, RUTH TURNER, MARGE ROGATZ

THE MEETING WAS CALLED TO ORDER AT 10:45 A.M. BY CHAIRMAN JAMES FARMER. AFTER READING THE SUGGESTED AGENDA, MR.FARMER SUMMARIZED THE MINUTES OF THE LAST MEETING AND READ THE TEXT OF THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY CONGRATULATORY STATEMENT ADOPTED AT THE MEETING. THE MINUTES WERE ACCEPTED AS SUMMARIZED.

MR.MCKISSICK WAS THEN INTRODUCED TO GIVE THE NATIONAL DIRECTOR'S REPORT. HE FIRST DISCUSSED THE MAJOR POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IN WHICH THE NATIONAL OFFICE HAS BEEN ENGAGED SINCE JANUARY'S MEETING. ADAM POWELL'S CAMPAIGN AND HIS CURRENT SITUATION WERE DESCRIBED IN SOME DETAIL AND MR.FARMER REMINDED THE COMMITTEE OF THE RESOLUTION SUPPORTING POWELL ADOPTED AT THE LAST MEETING. AFTER REVIEW OF THE REASONS FOR CORE'S SUPPORT AND MORE DISCUSSION OF POWELL AS A SYMBOL FOR BLACK PEOPLE, MR.MCKISSICK WENT ON TO DESCRIBE THE WEST COAST BLACK CONFERENCE FORMED BY WILL USSERY AND OTHERS TO ACHIEVE A UNIFIED BLACK POLITICAL VOICE AND TO ENCOURAGE THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURAL TIES WITH AFRICA AND THE PRODUCTION OF BLACK WRITERS' WORKS.

CORE'S CONVENTION TOO, MR.MCKISSICK CONTINUED, WILL DEVOTE CONSIDERABLE TIME TO AFRICAN SPEAKERS AND AFRICAN ARTISTS. THE THEME OF THIS YEAR'S CONVENTION IS "BLACK POWER: BLUEPRINT FOR SURVIVAL" AND THE SIX POINTS OF CORE'S PROGRAM FOR BLACK POWER WILL BE THE FOCUS OF THE WORKSHOPS. BLACK ARTISTS INCLUDING JOHN O.KILLENS, LERONE BENNETT, LEROI JONES AND OTHERS WILL PARTICIPATE. THE MAYOR OF OAKLAND WILL WELCOME THE DELEGATES AND THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IS SUPPLYING MATERIALS AND PAYING FOR THE REGISTRARS. FUND RAISING AFFAIRS ARE SCHEDULED FOR EVERY DAY AND ALL WORKSHOPS AND LARGE MEETINGS WILL BE OPEN TO THE PUBLIC. MR.HOUSER SUGGESTED SEVERAL ADDITIONAL AFRICAN LEADERS WHO MIGHT BE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE CONVENTION. THE POSSIBILITY OF A CORE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION EARLY NEXT YEAR TO TIGHTEN THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE WAS MENTIONED BY MR.MCKISSICK.

CONTINUING TO DESCRIBE SOME OF CORE'S POLITICAL ACTIVITIES RECENTLY, THE NTIONAL DIRECTOR TOLD THE COMMITTEE OF WILLIAM CLAY'S CANDIDACY FOR CONGRESS FROM ST.LOUIS. MR.BLACK BROUGHT UP A QUESTION OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO HIM: HOUSING AND EMPLOYMENT OUTSIDE THE GHETTO BY INDUSTRIES WHICH ARE NOW LOCATING IN SUBURBS AND HE SUGGESTED THAT THE CONVENTION EXPRESS ITSELF ON THIS PROBLEM. IN LOUISIANA, MR.MCKISSICK REPORTED, THERE HAS BEEN THE PROGRESS OF ELECTING BLACK SCHOOL BOARD CANDIDATES, BUT A RECENT SET-BACK HAS OCCURRED. THE O.E.O. AND THE AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT HAVE FUNDED A RIVAL COOPERATIVE RATHER THAN THE HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL GRAND MARIE VEGETABLE PRODUCERS COOPERATIVE ORGANIZED BY CORE FIELD SECRETARY JOHN ZIPPERT. THE COMPETITIVE GROUP WAS SET UP SIMPLY TO PUT GRAND MARIE OUT OF BUSINESS AND THE NATIONAL OFFICE HAS BEEN IN CONTACT WITH SHRIVER TO HOLD UP FUNDING UNTIL AN INVESTIGATION OF THE SITUATION IS COMPLETED. IN BROOKLYN, CORE IS FIGHTING FOR REAPPORTIONMENT TO OBTAIN BLACK REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS FOR THE RESIDENTS OF BEDFORD-STUYVESANT. THE SUIT AGAINST THE PRESENT GERRYMANDERED DISTRICT IS NOW IN COURT. IN MARYLAND, MR.MCKISSICK REPORTED, CORE CANDIDATE LLOYD TAYLOR HAS BEEN ELECTED AS A DELEGATE FROM BALTIMORE TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION. TODAY, CORE'S POSITION ON NEW YORK STATE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION ISSUES IS BEING SET FORTH BY THE ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR IN ALBANY AT A CONVENTION COMMITTEE HEARING.

MR.MCKISSICK THEN CALLED UPON GEORGE HOUSER, WHO HAS JUST RETURNED FROM AFRICA, TO DESCRIBE THE JULY TWO-WEEK SEMINAR TO BE HELD IN DAR ES SALAAM IN WHICH CORE WILL PARTICIPATE. EIGHTY GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEEN INVITED TO SEND DELEGATES AND SEVERAL PRIVATE ORGANIZ-

ATIONS INCLUDING CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS AND OTHERS WHO HAVE AN ANTI-APARTHEID POSITION, HAVE BEEN INVITED TO OBSERVE AND PARTICIPATE. THE AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT, MR.HOUSER SAID, NEEDS THE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION AND SUPPORT OF MILITANT CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS AT THE CONFERENCE, AND EMPHASIZING THE USEFULNESS OF CORE'S PRESENCE THERE, HE DESCRIBED THE "VIOLENT MOOD" OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND THEIR REALIZATION THAT THEY MUST "GO IT ALONE" WITHOUT THE HELP OF THE U.N., THE U.S. OR EVEN THE INDEPENDENT AFRICAN NATIONS. HE REITERATED THE IMPERATIVE NEED FOR CORE TO FAMILIARIZE ITSELF WITH THE ISSUES INVOLVED AND TO ENCOURAGE AFRICAN TIES, POLITICAL AND CULTURAL.

THE NATIONAL DIRECTOR THEN GAVE A FINANCIAL REPORT. HE POINTED OUT THE REDUCTION OF SUPPLIERS DEBTS THROUGH OBTAINING A $75,000 LOAN AND THROUGH CONVINCING A NUMBER OF CREDITORS TO ACCEPT 50% OF WHAT CORE HAS OWED THEM. THE PROPOSED BUDGET, HE EMPHASIZED, IS A VERY REALISTIC ONE. THE MEMBERSHIP DRIVE IS SCHEDULED TO BEGIN AT THE CONVENTION. WITHOUT THE ACCUMULATED DEBT HE SAID, CORE'S MONTHLY COMMITMENTS ARE CLEARLY WITHIN REACH AT THIS TIME. IT WAS POINTED OUT THAT THE NATIONAL STAFF ACROSS THE COUNTRY NOW TOTALS 25 PEOPLE, INCLUDING TASK FORCE WORKERS. MR.FARMER AND THE COMMITTEE MEMBERS ALL EXPRESSED THEIR ASTONISHMENT THAT SO FEW PEOPLE ARE ACHIEVING SO MUCH IN PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION. MR.HOWARD EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT CORE WOULD DO MORE TO RAISE MONEY FROM THE BLACK MIDDLE-CLASS AND BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL COMMUNITY. HE SAID CORE SHOULD ORGANIZE TO LAUNCH SUCH A DRIVE. MR.MCKISSICK EXPLAINED THAT OUR REDUCED STAFF HAS NOT HAD THE TIME TO DO THIS EFFECTIVELY NOR HAS HE HIMSELF HAD THE TIME OR MONEY TO MAKE THE NECESSARY PERSONAL CONTACTS ACROSS THE COUNTRY. THE NEWLY APPROVED TAX EXEMPT SPECIAL PURPOSE FUND WILL BE OF GREAT SIGNIFICANCE IN THIS EFFORT, AS WELL AS IN ALL OTHER FUND RAISING PROJECTS.

AFTER A BREAK FOR LUNCH, THE FINANCIAL REPORT WAS RESUMED. FOUNDATION GRANTS ARE BEING SOUGHT FROM FORD($320,000 FOR A TWO-YEAR CLEVELAND TARGET CITY PROJECT) AND OTHER PROPOSALS ARE AT THE FIELD AND TACONIC FOUNDATIONS. MR.HOWARD NOTED THAT THE NATIONAL DIRECTOR IS TO BE COMMENDED FOR DEVELOPING THE CORE SPECIAL PURPOSE FUND. THE FINANCIAL REPORT WAS ACCEPTED AS READ.

MR.MCKISSICK THEN SUMMARIZED THE ACTIVITIES OF THE STAFF TO IMPLEMENT THE SUGGESTIONS THE COMMITTEE MADE AT THE LAST MEETING. HE SAID THE FUND RAISING PROGRAM THAT WAS SEVELOPED INCLUDED THE FOLLOWING:

1. CONTINUOUS MAILINGS: THE BROTHERHOOD APPEAL IN MARCH WHICH WAS SIGNED BY FARMER AND RABBI LELYVELD, SPECIAL LETTERS FROM THE NATIONAL DIRECTOR TO BUSINESS AND LABOR LEADERS AND TO SPECIAL LISTS, AND THE PLANNED MAILINGS. THE HOLIDAY CARD MAILING TO 360,000 WILL BE OUT BY SEPTEMBER AND WILL INCLUDE ITEMS FOR SALE (SUCH AS KILLENS' NEW BOOK " 'SIPPI", CAKES AND SWEETS FROM THE LOUISIANA COOPERATIVE) AND WILL ALSO INCLUDE AN ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE CORE TAX EXEMPT SPECIAL PURPOSE FUND.

2. LOANS: THE SUCCESSFUL EFFORT TO OBTAIN A GUARANTEED $75,000 LOAN, AND CONTINUING EFFORTS IN THIS AREA.

3. THE SPECIAL PURPOSE FUND WAS GRANTED TAX EXEMPTION THIS MONTH.

4. FOUNDATIONS: THE $320,000 PROPOSAL FOR A CLEVELAND TARGET CITY PROJECT NOW BEING CONSIDERED BY FORD AND THE OTHER PROPOSALS (AN ADMINISTRATIVE GRANT, A FREEDOM SCHOOLS PROPOSAL AND A TRAINING PROGRAM PROPOSAL) SUBMITTED TO VARIOUS OTHER FOUNDATIONS. THE RABINOWITZ FOUNDATION HELPED TO SUPPORT THE CORE WEEK-END LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE HELD IN LEXINGTON,KENTUCKY IN MAY.

5. THE SPECIAL EVENTS COMMITTEE: CHAIRED BY CLORA COLEMAN, THIS GROUP OF PREDOMINANTLY MIDDLE-CLASS BLACK WOMEN HELD A SUCCESSFUL COCKTAIL PARTY AND A BOOK PARTY(COMMEMORATING THE PUBLICATION OF JOHN O.KILLENS NEW BOOK " 'SIPPI"). IT IS NOW PLANNING A LAWN PARTY TO BE HELD IN JULY.

MR.MCKISSICK EXPRESSED SPECIAL THANKS TO MR.FARMER, MR.MCCALL, MR.KILLENS, RABBI LELYVELD, MR.FAIN AND MR.SCHWERNER FOR THEIR INDIVIDUAL EFFORTS IN THESE FUND RAISING ACTIVITIES.

A DISCUSSION THEN ENSUED ABOUT THE LACK OF MOST UNION SUPPORT IN THE LAST FEW YEARS AND THE NEED FOR APPROACHING THE UNIONS AGAIN. MR.MCKISSICK POINTED OUT THAT THE SPECIAL PURPOSE FUND WITH ITS TAX EXEMPT STATUS, MAKES CORE THE ONLY RIGHTS ORGANIZATION OTHER THAN THE NAACP TO HAVE A TAX EXEMPT ARM. THE FUND CAN BE USED TO STRENGHTHEN CORE IN THE FOLLOWING WAYS, HE SAID: FIRST, A SEPARATE STRUCTURE AND SEPARATE BOOKS MUST BE SET UP AND THEN IT CAN BE USED FOR ANY EDUCATIONAL AND CHARITABLE PROJECTS, SUCH AS TRAINING. IT CAN ALSO BE USED TO PAY A PORTION OF THE DIRECTOR'S AND ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR'S SALARY AND THAT OF SOME STAFF MEMBERS. CORE CAN ALSO HIRE A TRAINING DIRECTOR, BOOKKEEPER, PROGRAM DEVELOPER, CPA AND CLERICAL HELP. THE SAME OFFICE SPACE CAN BE USED BY THE NATIONAL OFFICE AND THE FUND, ALLOCATING A CERTAIN PROPORTION TO THE FUND. CORE CAN HAVE AS MANY PEOPLE ON THE FUND PAYROLL(8 OR 9) AS ON THE NATIONAL STAFF. IN ADDITION, HE SAID, CORE CAN HIRE A PERSON TO DEVELOP COOPERATIVES AND ALSO SOMEONE TO WORK FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT (NOT LAW ENACTMENT). WHEN CORE HAS SUFFICIENT FUNDS, WE CAN ALSO HAVE A PROFESSIONAL FUND RAISING PERSON AND A FULL-TIME LAWYER WHICH WOULD FREE THE NATIONAL DIRECTOR FROM DUTIES WHICH NOW TAKE ALMOST 80% OF HIS TIME.

MR.MCKISSICK THEN WENT ON TO DESCRIBE THE RECENT MEETING IN SUFFERN, N.Y., OF THE MAJOR CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS AND THEIR DECISION TO CO-ORDINATE EFFORTS IN CLEVELAND THIS SUMMER. RUTH TURNER GAVE A SUMMARY OF FIELD ACTIVITIES. BALTIMORE, SHE REPORTED, IS BECOMING MORE AND MORE A LOCAL COMMUNITY EFFORT DIRECTED BY THE BALTIMORE CORE CHAPTER. SHE DESCRIBED THE CURRENT SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN BY THE MARYLAND FREEDOM UNION AT JOHNS HOPKINS AND THE RECENT CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION CAMPAIGN. IN THE WEST, AN ADDITIONAL FIELD SECRETARY HAS BEEN ASSIGNED AND THE NATIONAL OFFICE EXPECTS THE OAKLAND CONVENTION TO REJUVENATE THE 30 CHAPTERS ON THE WEST COAST. ALSO, THE WEST COAST BLACK CONFERENCE WITH 1000 MEMBERS IS EXPECTED TO AFFILIATE WITH CORE. IN THE MID-WEST, SHE SAID, TONY PEROT HAS HEADED THE CLEVELAND PROJECT PREPARATION AND CORE NOW HAS A TASK FORCE WORKER IN ST.LOUIS. A GROUP OF COMMUNITY PEOPLE IN SAGINAW, MICHIGAN HAVE RECENTLY HIRED A CORE TASK FORCE WORKER. THE NORTHEAST HAS MANY CHAPTERS BUT TOO FEW FIELD STAFF, SHE SAID. IN THE SOUTH, THE FIELD STAFF HAVE ORGANIZED THE LOUISIANA SWEET POTATO COOPERATIVE AND DIRECTED MANY POLITICAL ACTION CAMPAIGNS AND VOTER REGISTRATION. FIELD SECRETARY GEORGE RAYMOND IS RUNNING FOR STATE ASSEMBLY FROM THE 4TH DISTRICT INCLUDING CANTON.

NAT SCHWERNER BROUGHT UP THE NEED FOR CORE TO FIND WOMEN VOLUNTEERS SIMILAR TO THOSE WHO WORK REGULARLY FOR SNCC. MR.MCKISSICK NOTED THAT VOLUNTEERS HAVE WORKED IN BOOKKEEPING AND IN THE MAILING DEPARTMENT AND ALSO THAT FORMER STAFF MEMBERS CONTINUE TO VOLUNTEER THEIR SERVICES. HOWEVER, CORE NEEDS MORE STAFF JUST TO SUPERVISE VOLUNTEERS, HE SAID. THE SPECIAL EVENTS COMMITTEE WILL HOPEFULLY PROVIDE SOME VOLUNTEERS SHORTLY.

MR.FARMER SUGGESTED THAT ALL ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEMBERS SEND OUT HOLIDAY CARD BROCHURES TO THEIR FRIENDS, ORGANIZATIONS, ETC. IT WAS DECIDED THAT A LETTER FROM HIM TO THAT EFFECT WOULD BE SENT TO ALL COMMITTEE MEMBERS.

THE COMMITTEE THANKED DAVE MCCALL FOR HIS HOSPITALITY AND ADJOURNED AT 3:00 P.M.

RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED,

MARGE ROGATZ
MR:GW

DEC 6 1962

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST
DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
426 West 58th Street
New York 19, New York
JUdson 6-3460

Carey McWilliams

President Kennedy Sends NCDH "The Pen"

President Kennedy sent NCDH one of the pens used to sign the Executive Order. In a letter to NCDH President Charles Abrams, he said he was aware of the contribution of NCDH in connection with the Order.

December 5, 1962

TO: NCDH Board of Directors, Advisory Council, and Friends

Return to F.L.

FROM: Frances Levenson, Director

Attached for your information are two items:

1) An analysis of the President's Order barring discrimination in federally-assisted housing programs, which includes the first rules adopted by FHA. Urban Renewal Administration and Public Housing Administration rules are referred to in "Observations" below.
2) A pamphlet, Federal, State and Local Action Affecting Race and Housing, prepared for the Princeton conference of real estate industry leaders and intergroup relations technicians, jointly sponsored by the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials and the National Housing Center.

* * *

On behalf of the 37 organizations which form NCDH, and in line with instructions from the Board at its November 8th meeting, the following statement was issued by Algernon D. Black, Chairman of the Board, and Charles Abrams, NCDH President, the day after President Kennedy issued the Order:

> The President's Order banning discrimination in federally-aided housing is an important gain in principle. It is also a vital first step toward equal opportunity in access to shelter. The Executive Department has embraced what should long have been an accepted constitutional obligation - that the Federal Government may not discriminate nor tolerate discrimination in dispensing Federal aid.
>
> While enforcing compliance with civil rights by states, it was bound to set the same standard in its own house.
>
> We welcome the advance and congratulate President Kennedy.
>
> The Executive Order will be an important gain in practice as well as principle if the implementing rules and regulations are broad enough to carry out the full spirit of the Order.
>
> The advance, however, is far from complete. The Order fails to embrace existing housing even if such housing is federally-assisted. In failing to cover loans by federally-aided savings and loan associations and other similar institutions, it fails to protect against discriminatory practices by these lenders.
>
> As presently written, the Order applies at best to only 25% of new housing and not at all to existing housing.
>
> These are definite gaps, but they can be filled by an early enlargement of the scope of the Order. Experience, in fact, shows that the broader the scope of anti-bias measures, the fairer to all concerned and the more effective.

2--Executive Order Statement

Savings and loan associations that are members of the Federal Home Loan Bank System in 1961 held mortgages of almost $60,000,000,000. They are chartered, supervised, regulated and insured by the Federal Government, as well as being the beneficiaries of Federal loans.

As a matter of fact, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, which charters these institutions, last year announced a nondiscrimination policy. We call upon the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing to see to it that this policy is implemented.

The Federal Order embodies protections which have already been afforded to 65 million people by eleven state laws. Housing production has not been retarded by these laws - nor will it be retarded by the Order.

OBSERVATIONS ON PRESIDENT'S EXECUTIVE ORDER (See attachment for full analysis)

Operative Date. In general, the Order covers all housing provided with Federal aid after November 20, 1962. In the present transition stage, at what point in the application process the Order goes into effect varies from program to program.

Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration. The Order applies to all applications for commitments received and "time stamped" in the local FHA or VA office November 21 and thereafter. FHA enters the picture with either a subdivision of "feasibility" approval in the early stages of development planning, or grants a commitment to insure a certain number of homes at a later stage. Under the agencies' rules, certain houses in an FHA- or VA-approved subdivision may be covered, whereas others in the same subdivision may not be. For example, if the builder received FHA commitments prior to November 20 on half of the houses he plans for the tract, those houses are not covered. If he applies for commitment for the balance of the houses on the same tract after November 21, they are covered, regardless of earlier FHA- or VA-subdivision approval.

From now on, the Order will go into effect as soon as a builder goes to an FHA office to ask for approval or a determination of "feasibility" of any aspect of the development. (FHA and VA approvals are interchangeable.) Houses eligible for FHA insurance may or may not advertise as such. Best informed opinion is that with the exception of some few localities, the subdivision developer -i.e., the speculative builder who builds, for example, ten or more homes - needs to be able to say that his homes are eligible for FHA or VA guarantees to market them seucessuflly. In most localities, FHA or VA means lower down payments and longer mortgage terms.

For program purposes, all groups should assume that all new subdivisions are FHA or VA, on the chance that they are. Complaints should be lodged with the local FHA or VA insuring office director. Appeals can then be taken up to the Commissioner. (A list of FHA's 76 insuring offices available from NCDH.)

We are studying the applicability of the Order to the over 500,000 units of existing FHA apartments and co-ops (Sections 608, 207, and 213). We expect to suggest specific ways in which FHA may operate to move these owners to open occupancy.

Urban Renewal. All developments which had not had the "loan and grant" finally executed by November 20 are covered. All new housing on an urban renewal site must be available to all without regard to race.

3--Executive Order Statement

The URA regulations prohibit "discrimination because of race, color, creed, or national origin in the sale, leasing, rental, or other disposition of affected real property, or in the use of such property." They affect not only housing and other types of residential construction in project areas, but also related facilities such as certain kinds of commercial establishments and publicly-owned facilities of all kinds.

The regulations also include a new policy with regard to non-cash local grants-in-aid. These are credits which a city may receive to offset its share of urban renewal costs because of facilities supplied by the city which support the project. The new policy requires such facilities to be open without discrimination to all residents of the renewal area.

The regulations require that all contracts and deeds entered into in connection with a covered project must contain an affirmative open occupancy covenant which runs with the land.

The open question with regard to urban renewal is the applicability of the Order to site selection and relocation. NCDH is studying the situation and expects to come up with specific recommendations. At this point, the rules and recommendations of URA do not interpret the Order as applying in any way to either site selection or relocation.

Public Housing. The Order requires open occupancy in all low-rent projects for which contracts for annual contributions of Federal funds were not authorized for execution before November 21. Projects under preliminary loan contract are covered. PHA estimated that approximately 70,000 units of the 100,000 units authorized by the Housing Act of 1961 are affected. Many anomalies exist in this program with regard to the different rules that apply to existing and new housing. This is an area where litigation most certainly will be necessary. NCDH plans to convene a legal group to look into this situation in detail.

Enforcement. It is clear, by the terms of the Order and the statements of Federal officials, that enforcement of the Order is the responsibility of the operating agencies and of operating personnel. Intergroup relations officers in the housing agencies will be used for education, persuasion, and to assist and service complying builders, community organizations and operating personnel who have enforcement responsibility. In addition to the existing intergroup relations staff in PHA, FHA, and URA, in the very near future assistants for intergroup relations will be appointed to the six regional offices of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

The President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing is, in effect, the overall "watchdog." The public members have not yet been appointed. It is expected that the real responsibility will reside in the executive committee, composed of the Chairman and two public members. The Chairman is to be a full-time member of the President's staff.

The Order, with its limited coverage, emphasizes the need for:

1) Continued pressure on the White House to enlarge the scope of the Order.

2) Insistence that the operating agencies interpret the Order broadly and carry out its spirit as well as its letter.

3) More and broader state and local fair housing legislation.

: : :

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST
DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
426 West 58th Street
New York 19, New York
JUdson 6-3460

JUN 1 4 1963

June 13, 1963

TO: NCDH Board of Directors

FROM: Algernon D. Black, Chairman of the Board
Frances Levenson, Director

BOARD MEETING NOTICE

There will be a meeting of the National Board on Tuesday, June 25th, at 2:30 p.m., at the new Episcopal Church Center, 815 Second Avenue (corner of 43rd Street), New York City. The purpose of the meeting is to develop significant program follow-up to our very successful Washington conference, particularly with reference to the Executive Order and its implementation.

It is important that before summer vacations intervene, real steps be taken to breathe some life into the Order, as well as to lay plans to press for its expansion.

The general reaction to our Washington conference has been extremely good. Nearly 400 persons from 100 communities in 25 states attended the sessions, and the many enthusiastic comments we have received since have been most gratifying.

A summary of the proceedings is being prepared and will be sent to you shortly.

In preparation for the Board meeting, I am enclosing a copy of the press statement on the Executive Order released at the conference. Since that time, two steps recommended in it were taken:

1) Public members of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing have been appointed; and

2) FHA is making available lists of applications for commitments.

The other basic charges and recommendations remain valid.

: : :

Enclosure - Reply Post Card

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST
DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
426 West 58th Street
New York 19, New York
JUdson 6-3460

STATEMENT REGARDING IMPLEMENTATION OF THE EXECUTIVE ORDER BARRING DISCRIMINATION IN FEDERALLY AIDED HOUSING

issued by

Algernon D. Black, chairman of the board, National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing;
James Farmer, national director, Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
Roy Wilkins, executive secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); and
Whitney Young, Jr., executive director, National Urban League

More than five months have now elapsed since President John F. Kennedy, on November 20, 1962, issued Executive Order No. 11063, entitled "Equal Opportunity in Housing." The signers of this statement shared with millions of Americans a sense of gratification at this first step toward fulfillment of one of the nation's basic moral commitments.

We indicated when it was issued that the Executive Order is far narrower in scope than is required if it is to accomplish its stated goal. Nonetheless, if energetically and imaginatively implemented, we feel it can aid considerably in modifying the widespread patterns of residential segregation for which past Government policies bear so much of the responsibility.

On the record to date, however, we are forced to conclude that neither the broad spirit nor the limited letter of the Order is being made a reality. Among the more critical deficiencies in implementation of the housing mandate are the following:

1. The Order charges the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing with a broad range of responsibilities. It is directed to coordinate and review the activities of the affected Federal agencies; to carry on a broad public educational program; and to recommend general policies and implementation procedures.

Yet, after almost half a year, the committee has not been formally organized. Its chairman-director has been appointed, but the public members have not. Its executive committee, which will be its operating arm, has not been set up. It has developed no staff. It has no budget.

2. Neither the Federal housing agencies nor the President's Committee has undertaken any vital public or internal information and educational programs. The individual American citizen does not know his rights under this directive; the builders, the lenders, and the brokers are not sure what is required of them.

Even with respect to future construction to which the order applies, the rights of the individual have not been made clear. What are his rights to review of a decision which he considers unsatisfactory? Can he appeal to the President's Committee: If so, what procedures must he follow?

In many areas, it is impossible to learn exactly what housing is covered by the order, despite the fact that procedures to make this information available to the public were worked out years ago in New York on aFederal-State cooperative basis.

3. Under the so-called "good offices" section, the Federal agencies are directed "to use their good offices and to take other appropriate action permitted by law, including the institution of appropriate litigation, if required, to promote the abandonment of discriminatory practices" in existing federally-aided housing.

At this point, the "good offices" provision appears to be almost a dead letter. There is no indication that serious exploration of ways in which it might be used effectively is being undertaken. It is disturbing that the first complaint to be filed under the Executive order was dismissed by FHA, without real review by the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing. This was a case of symbolic significance, involving one of the country's largest builders of housing.

4. During recent years, departments and agencies throughout the Federal establishment have recognized the vital importance of dynamic intergroup relations programs and have given priority to the creation or expansion of services to per-

MORE

form this function. The Federal housing agencies have long had an intergroup relations service -- yet, at its most opportune time in history to make a far-reaching and lasting impact, this service is being under-utilized and is not being used to its full potential.

Twelve years ago, the national organizations with which we are associated played leading roles among the group of religious, civil rights, labor, and civic agencies which initiated the movement for a Presidential order banning discrimination in federally-aided housing. An order has now been issued. It should be put into effect.

Anything which suggests that the Government's interest is less than vigorous will reduce the potential effect of its action.

We respectfully call upon President Kennedy to appoint the public members to the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing without further delay.

We call upon the President's Committee to make immediate staff appointments; to establish an executive committee and put it to work; to review all activities of the Federal agencies affected by the order; and to establish an appeal procedure for cases filed with the individual agencies.

We call upon the federal agencies involved in housing to embark now upon serious, vigorous, imaginative programs of implementation, encompassing information to the public and the housing industry, as well as education of their own staffs, both in Washington and in the field.

We further call upon the Federal housing agencies to fully involve their intergroup relations service and to use it effectively at the policy-making level.

We call upon the Attorney General's office to move forward on a considered program of litigation under the order.

We call upon the President's Committee to initiate at once a broad national information program, in close cooperation with "civic, educational, religious, industry, labor, and other nongovernmental groups" -- to quote from the order -- so that the general public and the housing industry may be made aware of their rights and their obligations under the terms of this mandate.

The time is long overdue for the Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing to come alive.

~~URGENT~~

National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing

426 West 58th Street, New York 19, New York
JUdson 6-3460

CHARLES ABRAMS
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ALGERNON D. BLACK
Chairman of the Board
LOREN MILLER
Vice-President
MYRNA LOY
CRANE HAUSSAMEN
Co-Chairmen
Advisory Council

FRANCES LEVENSON
Director
MARGARET FISHER
Editor,
Trends In Housing

NOV 12 1963

November 11, 1963

On L. of P

NOV 12 1963

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Governor Herbert H. Lehman and Mr. A. Philip Randolph will be honored by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing at a champagne supper party at the home of Marietta Tree on December 12th.

The purpose of this gala affair is two-fold: to pay tribute to these two great pioneers in the civil rights struggle; and to make it possible for NCDH to intensify its efforts for equal opportunity in housing.

During the critical months ahead, we must concentrate on making our new fair housing laws and the President's Executive Order a working reality in communities throughout the country.

Because we believe you share our deep respect for these two great men and what they mean to the movement for human rights, we are asking you to join a group of prominent citizens whose names will be listed on the invitation as sponsors of this occasion.

Since the invitations must go to press by November 15th, may we request your early response? And, may we look forward to having you with us at the party on December 12?

Sincerely,

Algernon D. Black
Chairman of the Board

Myrna Loy
Chairman, Advisory Council

(Board Members, Member Organizations and Advisory Council listed on reverse side)

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Member Organizations

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL-CIO
American Baptist Convention, Council on Christian Social Progress
American Civil Liberties Union
American Council on Human Rights
American Ethical Union
American Friends Service Committee
American Jewish Committee
American Jewish Congress
American Newspaper Guild, AFL-CIO
American Veterans Committee
Americans for Democratic Action
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL-CIO/CLC
Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Department of Labor, Migration Division
Congress of Racial Equality – CORE
Cooperative League of the USA
Friendship Houses, USA
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, AFL-CIO
International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, AFL-CIO
Jewish Labor Committee
League for Industrial Democracy
The Methodist Church, Woman's Division of Christian Service
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People – NAACP
National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
National Council of Churches of Christ, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of Negro Women
National Urban League
Protestant Episcopal Church, Department of Christian Social Relations
Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Commission on Social Action
Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice
United Auto Workers of America, AFL-CIO
United Church of Christ, Council for Christian Social Action, and Race Relations Department, Board of Home Missions
United Presbyterian Church, Office of Church and Society
United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO

file Housing

11/19/64

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST
DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
323 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

STATEMENT AND RECOMMENDATIONS
ON EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 11063,
PROHIBITING DISCRIMINATION IN FEDERALLY-ASSISTED HOUSING

It has become imperative that Americans accept and put into practice what their Constitution requires. Nowhere is this more crucial than in the nation's housing market operations.

Today, in the very eye of the storm of the Negro Revolution, the racial ghetto stands -- largely unassailed -- as the rock upon which rests the pattern of segregated living which pervades and vitiates almost every phase of Negro life and Negro-white relationships.

Housing segregation is tied directly to slums and slum conditions, to segregated schools, to inequities in employment, to the poverty which haunts millions of Negro Americans and other minorities. It produces ripe breeding ground for extremist groups -- black and white, rabble-rousers and unscrupulous politicians. The ghetto gives birth to frustration, dispair and bitterness; it is teeming with the constant threat of racial conflict.

At this crucial period in history, a restricted housing market is dividing our nation and is crippling the effort of responsible government and private leadership to achieve the goal of equal opportunity to which we as a nation are committed.

The Federal Government has an inescapable responsibility to rectify this situation. The nation's courts, in a long history of decisions, have affirmed the unconstitutionality of racial restrictions in housing. The Congress, in its historic enactment of the 1964 Civil Rights Act,

gave legislative reinforcement to our national commitment to equality of opportunity.

It remains the responsibility of the Executive Branch of the Government, however, to complete the task of prohibiting discrimination in federally-assisted housing which it set out to accomplish in 1962.

Tomorrow, November 20, 1964, marks the second anniversary of the signing of Executive Order No. 11063, entitled, "Equal Opportunity in Housing." This historic action sought to eliminate long-standing inequities in housing and to establish a sound basis upon which could be erected complete equality of opportunity for all American citizens to enjoy access to shelter without restrictions based on race, creed or national origin. The issuance of this mandate was a landmark in the nation's history. For the first time, an official policy against housing discrimination was enunciated by that branch of the Federal Government which executes the laws.

However, it must be clearly recognized that the Order was merely a first step in the right direction. As it presently stands, it can never achieve its expressed goals.

Fundamentally, the Order sought to insure that benefits of housing which result directly or indirectly from Federal financial assistance be available to all Americans without regard to their race, color, creed or national origin. In actuality, however, two major types of housing which clearly meet such qualifications were omitted from the Order's coverage. These two omissions limited its reach to less than 25 per cent of that part of the nation's housing supply which is affected by Federal financial assistance or support. It is in these operations, primarily, that discriminatory housing practices and

policies continue to prevail on a widespread basis.

Federally Supervised Mortgage Lending Institutions

A major inadequacy of Executive Order 11063 is that federally-supervised banks and mortgage-lending institutions are affected only to the extent that they engage in FHA and VA loans. The failure to cover this vital area of mortgage financing creates a gap of immunity which shields and nurtures a wide and growing array of discriminatory practices in the housing market place. The institutions which were omitted are commercial banks, mutual savings banks and savings and loan associations. They command in the aggregate more than $400 billion in resources, and it is through their facilities that most of the nation's home financing is done. These institutions, which are a major source of "conventional" mortgages, are subject to regulation and control by the following agencies of the Federal Government:

Banks

Comptroller of the Currency. Charters and supervises all the 4513 national banks. These banks have been described by the courts as "instrumentalities of the Federal Government."

Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. Supervises all member banks of the Federal Reserve System including the national banks above plus 1600 of the state-chartered banks which voluntarily participate.

Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. Supervises all national banks and state-chartered Federal Reserve System

member banks plus all state-chartered non-member banks insured by FDIC.

Savings and Loan Associations

Federal Home Loan Bank Board. Charters and supervises all the 1906 Federal savings and loan associations.

Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation. FSLIC, an agency of the FHLBB, insures the accounts of all Federal savings and loan associations and more than half of the 4452 state-chartered savings and loan associations.

Federal Home Loan Bank System. Supervises all member banks of the FHLBB, all state-chartered savings and loans insured by FSLIC, plus additional non-insured associations.

In the banking community, FDIC thus achieves the broadest reach of Federal supervision and control. Similarly, among savings and loan associations the broadest supervision is held by the FHLBS.

The simple fact is that, in a large part of the nation's housing market which is profoundly affected by the operations of Federal agencies, discrimination is still practiced without restraint. The Federal Government has a clear responsibility, under the Constitution, to put an end to this scandalous situation. In order to obtain effective coverage of federally-supervised banks and mortgage institutions, the Executive Order should therefore be extended to include all FDIC-insured banks and all FHLBS member associations.

Federally Assisted Housing Contracted Prior to November 20, 1962

The second major deficiency of Executive Order 11063 lies in its

failure to require a policy of nondiscrimination in federally-aided housing contracted for prior to November 20, 1962. This serious shortcoming permits a major segment of the nation's housing supply to continue operations in the very same discriminatory manner that originally necessitated the issuance of the Order. There appears to be no logical or legal basis to support the principle that a constitutional requirement of nondiscrimination is applicable to new federally-assisted projects but is inapplicable to old ones. Indeed, Title VI of the newly-enacted Civil Rights Act of 1964 strongly reinforces the principle that "no person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance."

While it is true that Section 102 of the Order directs executive departments and agencies to use their good offices and take other appropriate action to end discriminatory practices in existing federally-aided housing, the fact remains that the experience of the last two years shows that this falls far short of the mandatory provision affecting future contracts.

The enormous supply of housing built with Federal assistance during the 25-year period preceding the Executive Order must be brought within the purview of the Order and made available to all Americans without regard to race, color, creed or national origin.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing therefore

respectfully urges President Johnson to amend Executive Order No. 11063 as follows:

1. To prohibit discriminatory practices in mortgage loans by all banks and lending institutions which are subject in any manner to regulation, supervision or control by an agency of the Federal Government.
2. To cover all federally-aided housing which was built or contracted for prior to November 20, 1962, and which continues to enjoy Federal assistance.

In addition to the foregoing recommendations dealing with the substance of the Order, the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing also urges action on the following administrative matters:

1. The procedural power provided various Federal housing agencies to grant exemptions from the scope of the Order should be withdrawn. Under this power FHA has excluded the resale of single family homes. This exemption vitiates the reach of the Order and minimizes its effectiveness.
2. The President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing should be directed to assume broader responsibility for the implementation of the Order and should be provided with sufficient staff and budget expansion to administer an effective, national program.

Adopted by
NCDH Executive Committee
Washington, D.C.
November 19, 1964

#

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
323 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 • 685-8911

Charles Abrams
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Chairman of the Board

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General Counsel

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Edward Rutledge
Executive Director

Jack E. Wood, Jr.
Associate Executive Director

Margaret Fisher
Director of Information and Publications

Barbara Chirse
Administrative Assistant

March 9, 1965

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress on Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Jim:

Immediately after the November 3rd Election results were tabulated, revealing that initiative and referenda campaigns in California and Akron, Ohio had, in effect, nullified existing fair housing laws, the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing (NCDH) moved to initiate a series of program activities which would give maximum assistance to the housing/civil rights movement.

On February 5 and 6, the NCDH in co-sponsorship with the University of California Law School in Berkeley held a National Legal Conference on Equal Opportunity in Housing in Berkeley, California. The purpose of the conference was to provide a forum at which some of the nation's leading scholars and practitioners of law could examine the constitutionality of anti-fair housing referenda and discuss the legality of other actions which impede the achievement of equal opportunity in housing. A copy of the program of the National Legal Conference is enclosed.

As you probably know, we extended an invitation to Carl Rachlin, however, it was not possible for him to attend. I am sending kits to Carl and George Wiley and I will forward copies of the full report to them as soon as it is available. All of the sessions, by the way, were taped and a comprehensive report containing the papers and reflecting the discussions is being prepared. A copy of this also will be forwarded to you as soon as it is completed.

Another program activity agreed upon was a nationwide campaign to seek an expansion of the Executive Order on Housing. The Executive Order is not subject to popular referendum. Moreover, it seems fairly obvious that the

(Board Members, Member Organizations and Advisory Council listed on reverse side)

spread of anti-fair housing referenda would be blunted if the Order were extended to prohibit discrimination by federally-aided banks dealing in the conventional mortgage market.

In this connection, we have prepared a memorandum on the extension of the Order (copy enclosed) and we are awaiting response to our request for a meeting with President Johnson or Vice President Humphrey. Charles Abrams, Al Black and Edward Rutledge join me in expressing the hope that you will find it convenient in the midst of your heavy calendar to attend this meeting and thus kick off a national campaign of far-reaching importance. In addition to the foregoing persons and yourself, we also are inviting Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young. We will be in touch with you as soon as we receive some dates from Washington.

Meanwhile, it has been much too long since we have had a chance simply to sit down and talk. In this connection, Ed and I would like to meet with you sometime soon and get the benefit of your thinking regarding both the NCDH program and ways in which we can be of greater service to CORE. Perhaps you can have your secretary call me and arrange a lunch date or some other time suitable to you.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,

Jack

Jack E. Wood, Jr.
Associate Executive Director

JEW/jpb
Enclosures

Housing

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST
DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING

March 15, 1965

323 Lexington Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016
685-8911

To NCDH Board, Advisory Council and Friends

From Margaret Fisher, Director of Information and Publications

Subject NCDH Survey of State Legislative Activities

We are pleased to send you a report of NCDH's national survey of 1965 fair housing and related measures which have been introduced or are scheduled for introduction in state legislatures across the country. Also enclosed is a copy of a press release based on the survey. A similar roundup will be issued at the close of this year's legislative sessions.

In light of the serious threat posed by the real estate lobby's nationwide drive for referenda to repeal or prevent legislation designed to protect equal opportunity in housing, it seems to us particularly significant that the number of states - a total of 18 - involved in campaigns for new fair housing laws or for strengthening amendments to existing statutes sets a new record this year.

It is especially gratifying that Indiana has joined the fair housing roster of states with passage of a new law covering the private housing market. Also, that an effort to take the issue to a referendum was overwhelmingly defeated in the lower House of the Legislature.

As part of NCDH's information services, we undertake to keep groups and key individuals working for the enactment of fair housing measures over the country advised throughout the legislative sessions of important developments in other states where similar campaigns are being waged. This report and earlier spot information has, of course, been rushed to them.

Also, a digest of the survey will be carried in the upcoming issue of TRENDS IN HOUSING which is now on the press.

8

A PRESS RELEASE

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
323 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 • 685-8911

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Barbara Chirse
Administrative Assistant

Contact: Margaret Fisher

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

March 13, 1965

Indiana has become the first state in the nation to adopt a fair housing law during 1965, and efforts to secure legislation dealing with housing discrimination are underway in 16 additional states, according to a nationwide survey just released by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. The committee reports that the number of states involved in drives for legislation in this field is setting a new record in 1965. In 1963, campaigns were waged in 10 states.

The new Indiana law was overwhelmingly approved by the State Legislature after an effort to take the issue to a referendum was struck down in the House of Representatives. The fair housing bill passed in the House by a vote of 86 to 10, and in the Senate by 47 to 2. It was signed into law by Democratic Governor Roger Branigin on March 9.

"The good judgment of the Indiana Legislature and the approval of Governor Branigin are especially heartening at this time when all thoughful Americans are deeply troubled about the cruel and wanton violation of human rights by the Governor and officials of another state in our country," NCDH Executive Director Edward Rutledge told the press. "While nothing will erase the horror of the situation in Alabama, the State of Indiana has served not only her own people but the entire nation by her enlightened action. We call upon the governors and legislators of other states to join Indiana in recognizing that housing lies at the very root of

MORE

(Board Members, Member Organizations and Advisory Council listed on reverse side)

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Robert Penn Warren
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Member Organizations

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO
AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION, DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL CONCERN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD, AFL-CIO
AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, AFL-CIO/CLC
COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO, DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, MIGRATION DIVISION
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY – CORE
COOPERATIVE LEAGUE OF THE USA
FRIENDSHIP HOUSE
INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT, AFL-CIO
INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, AFL-CIO
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS, AFL-CIO
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
THE METHODIST CHURCH, WOMAN'S DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE – NAACP
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST, DEPARTMENT OF RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS, COMMISSION ON SOCIAL ACTION
UNITARIAN FELLOWSHIP FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE
UNITED AUTO WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION, AND RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT, BOARD OF HOMELAND MINISTRIES
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, OFFICE OF CHURCH AND SOCIETY, BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO

the civil rights struggle in our nation, and to establish, by law, the right of every citizen to have equal opportunity in securing a home for his family."

Referendum Motion

The motion in the lower House to take the question of fair housing legislation to a vote of the Indiana electorate was defeated by a vote of 75 to 18. Arguments against submitting the issue to a popular vote included such statements as: "If Abraham Lincoln had put the Emancipation Proclamation to a referendum, it would have been defeated." ... "No tax bill would be approved in a referendum." ... "The proper place to act on legislation is in this legislative chamber."

Mr. Rutledge congratulated the lawmakers on their refusal to involve the issue in an election campaign. "We are extremely gratified," he said, "that the Indiana House of Representatives refused to subject this state to the increased tension, the hysteria, the distortions and the divisive tactics which the real estate lobby inflicted on the people of California and several cities over the country. The Indiana Legislators used reason and good sense in looking at the experience of 17 states and many cities. It has been proved beyond question that those who really believe in a system of equal opportunity have nothing to fear or lose, and much to gain, from fair housing legislation."

The Indiana fair housing law, which will go into operation in July 1965, will cover all sales and rentals of both commercial and residential property, including vacant land. It will apply to all transactions handled by real estate brokers, salesmen and mortgage lenders, as well as to real estate advertising. It does, however, carry a new type of exemption which provides that the Indiana Civil Rights Commission, which will enforce the statute, cannot issue cease and desist orders against owner-occupants of buildings with three or less units. Thus, if a complaint against an owner-occupant of a single-family, two-family, or three-family

house is found to be valid, the Commission's efforts to adjust the matter will be limited to persuasion and conciliation.

Indiana had previously prohibited discrimination in public housing and urban renewal projects.

Other States

New laws to prohibit discrimination in the private housing market are being sought in nine additional states: Delaware, Illinois, Kansas, Maryland, Nebraska, Ohio, Rhode Island, Utah and Washington. Also, campaigns are underway to strengthen existing fair housing statutes in seven states: Colorado, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania.

On the other side, bills have been introduced in the states of Arkansas, Georgia, Nevada, Rhode Island, Texas and Washington which would take the issue of fair housing legislation to a referendum. And last month, a fair housing bill was defeated by the New Mexico Legislature.

(A summary of legislative activity in the housing-civil rights field in each of the above states is attached.)

Mr. Rutledge points out that the NCDH legislative survey reveals a marked trend this year to press for enactment of new fair housing laws which will "start off" with broad coverage of the housing supply. In most states the measures which are being proposed would apply to all sales of residential property and to almost all rental accommodations, as a rule exempting only the rental of apartments in owner-occupied two-family houses and rooms in private residences.

"Experience has shown that comprehensive nondiscrimination laws which apply to substantially the total housing market are not only the most effective, but are much more widely accepted," he said. "In a number of states, members of the real estate industry, as well as civil rights groups, have urged that limited statutes be expanded to put all suppliers of housing on the same basis."

MORE

Mr. Rutledge said that the National Committee and its member organizations are continuing to urge President Johnson to recognize the same need for broader coverage under the Executive Order barring discrimination in federally-aided housing which was issued by President Kennedy in 1962. The committee and its affiliates are spearheading the campaign for extension of the Order to cover all existing federally-aided housing and all mortgage lending institutions which are supervised by the Federal Government.

"The present limited Order simply will not accomplish its stated objectives," he declared. "Furthermore, as it stands it pleases no one -- neither those who are working in the civil rights movements nor members of the real estate industry. Important representatives of the industry, including the president of the Mortgage Bankers Association of America, the Baltimore Real Estate Board, the Home Builders Association of Greater St. Louis, builder William J. Levitt, and many other members of the industry, have called for its expansion."

"We believe the President is dedicated to building the Great Society," Mr. Rutledge continued. "We believe he will recognize that this cannot be accomplished unless the full power of government is used to end racial discrimination in housing and the evils of the racial ghetto. We believe he will extend the Executive Order on housing because it is the right and practical thing to do."

Mr. Rutledge said 18 states, the District of Columbia, the Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico and 34 cities in the United States have legislation which prohibits discrimination in housing. Most of the laws and ordinances now on the books apply to both government-aided and privately-financed housing.

The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing is an affiliation of 37 major religious, civil rights, labor and civic organizations, with headquarters at 323 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

(Survey of State Legislative Activities Relating to Housing Discrimination is attached.)

# # # # #

NCDH - NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING - NCDH
323 Lexington Avenue New York, N. Y. 10016
685-8911

1965 SURVEY OF STATE LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES

AFFECTING DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING

(As of March 10, 1965)

NEW PRIVATE HOUSING MEASURES

1. Indiana. On March 9, 1965, Democratic Governor Roger Branigin signed the first state fair housing law enacted this year. The measure, which will become effective in July 1965, will apply to both residential and commercial property. It will cover all sales, including vacant land, and all rental accommodations. However, it carries a new type of exemption which provides that the Indiana Civil Rights Commission, which will enforce the statute, cannot issue cease and desist orders against owner-occupants of buildings with three or less dwelling units. Thus, when a complaint is filed against the owner-occupant of a single-family, two-family, or three-family house, and the owner-occupant is found to have committed a discriminatory act, the Commission's efforts to adjust the matter will be limited to persuasion and conciliation. This limitation in enforcement powers applies only to owner-occupants. All transactions of real estate brokers, salesmen and mortgage lenders are fully covered. The law also prohibits discriminatory real estate advertising.

   The vote in the lower House of the Legislature was 86 to 10, with all Democratic members and 12 of the 22 Republicans voting in favor of the bill. The Senate vote was 47 to 2. The bill was adopted by the Legislature on March 3.

   A move to carry the issue to a referendum was defeated in the lower House by a vote of 75 to 18, following a vigorous debate. Statements such as the following highlighted the argument against a referendum: "If Abraham Lincoln had put the Emancipation Proclamation to a referendum, it would have been defeated." ... "No tax bill would win on a referendum." ... "The proper place to act on legislation is in this legislative chamber."

   Earlier Indiana laws bar discrimination in public housing and urban renewal projects.

2. Delaware. A bill sponsored by official State Human Relations Commission is scheduled for introduction during March. Would cover all residential property sales; all rentals except apartments in owner-occupied two-family buildings and rooms (up to 5) in private homes; brokers and salesmen; mortgage lenders; advertising. Would provide for injunctive relief, but would require complainant to post security to cover costs and damages if the respondent should be found innocent. Includes criminal penalties - fines up to $500, 90 days imprisonment, or both. Would be enforced by State Commission.

   Delaware has no nondiscrimination housing laws.

3. Illinois. H. B. 257, introduced Feb. 3, 1965. Would cover all residential sales; all rentals except rooms (up to 4) in private residences; brokers and salesmen; and mortgage lenders. Would provide for injunctive relief. Would be enforced by a newly-created State Fair Housing Practices Commission, empowered to initiate investigations on its own motion. Backed by Governor Otto Kerner.

   Illinois prohibits restrictive covenants on urban redevelopment land.

4. Kansas. S. B. 166 introduced by Senate Committee on Federal and State Affairs in late February. Would cover all residential sales; all rentals except apartments in owner-occupied two-family buildings and rooms (up to 4) in private residences; brokers and salesmen; mortgage lenders; advertising. Provides for injunctive relief. Would be enforced by Kansas Commission on Civil Rights. Kansas Advisory Council on Civil Rights is spearheading statewide campaign for enactment. Kansas has no nondiscrimination housing laws.

5. Maryland. S. B. 262 (H. B. 332), sponsored by the State Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations, introduced on Feb. 5, 1965. Now in House Judiciary Committee, which held hearings on March 3. Would cover all residential property sales; all rentals except apartments in owner-occupied two-family houses and rooms in private residences; brokers and salesmen; mortgage lenders; and advertising. Would be enforced by the State Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations. Backed by Democratic Governor J. Millard Tawes. Endorsed by Chamber of Commerce of Metropolitan Baltimore. Opposed by Maryland Association of Real Estate Boards. Baltimore Sun reports some opponents speaking at the hearing were "marshalled by Samuel J. Setta, a Talbot County motel owner and a leader of the segregationist Maryland Petition Committee." Reported that leaders of the California referendum fight will be in Maryland to work against the fair housing proposal through local real estate boards. Maryland has no nondiscrimination housing laws.

6. Nebraska. Two bills have been introduced in this State Legislature (which, incidentally, has only one House). Legislative Bill 661, introduced Feb. 1, 1965, would cover all sales and rentals of residential property, including vacant land, with only the traditional exemption of religious and other nonprofit institutions. It would apply to brokers and salesmen; mortgage lenders; and to advertising. However, no provision is made for administrative enforcement. The bill would require the district court to grant a reasonable attorney's fee to the prevailing party in civil suits which are instituted under the law. Bill 661 is in the Legislature's Miscellaneous Subjects Committee, which held a hearing on March 4. Backed by Democratic Governor Frank B. Morrison. Endorsed by Omaha Public School Superintendent and Omaha Health Director. Opposed by several members of the real estate industry, including the president of the Nebraska Real Estate Association.

   Legislative Bill 119, introduced Jan. 8, 1965, would amend the statutes governing the State Real Estate Commission to provide that brokers and salesmen who refuse to accept or to show property listings because of "race, color, or national origin, or ethnic groups" would be subject to suspension of their licenses.

   Nebraska has no nondiscrimination housing laws.

7. Ohio. S. B. 113 introduced in late February. Now in Senate Commerce and Labor Committee, which has scheduled hearings during March. Would cover all residential property sales; all rentals except apartments in owner-occupied two-family houses and rooms in private residences; brokers and salesmen; mortgage lenders; and advertising. Provides for injunctive relief. Would be enforced by Ohio Civil Rights Commission. Broadly representative Ohio Committee for Civil Rights Legislation spearheading campaign for enactment.

   Ohio has no nondiscrimination housing laws.

8. Rhode Island. Three fair housing bills introduced in February. Republican Administration bill H-1047 is sponsored by ten Republican Assemblymen, including some who voted against fair housing legislation last year. Similar bill (H-1160) introduced by Democratic leadership. Would cover all residential property sales; all rentals except apartments in owner-occupied two- and three-family houses and rooms in owner-occupied homes; brokers and salesmen; mortgage lenders; advertising. Would be enforced by Rhode Island Commission Against Discrimination, which whould be empowered to initiate investigations. Third bill (S-13) is all-inclusive, with no exemptions. Administration bill backed by Republican Governor John H. Chafee.

   Also before the Legislature is H-1193, which would provide for a referendum at the general election in November 1966 on the question of whether the Rhode Island Legislature should enact a fair housing law.

   Rhode Island prohibits discrimination in public housing.

9. Utah. H. B. 63, introduced in mid-February, would prohibit discrimination in a major part of the state's housing supply, including private housing. It would establish a State Citizens Council on Civil Rights, with enforcement jurisdiction. Also before the Utah Legislature is H. B. 107, calling for a referendum - described as "virtually another Proposition 14."

   Utah has no nondiscrimination housing laws.

10. Washington State. An Administration bill, 200-E, has been introduced in the Legislature. It would prohibit discriminatory practices by real estate brokers and salesmen.

    At present, complaints against brokers and salesmen are processed by the Washington State Board Against Discrimination under a court ruling that the business activities of members of the real estate industry are covered by the State's public accommodations law.

    Otherwise, Washington has no nondiscrimination legislation relating to public or private housing. A 1957 statute barring discrimination in publicly-assisted housing was struck down by a five to four vote of the State Supreme Court in 1961. The court held that the statute was invalid under both state and Federal constitutions on the ground that, among other things, it made an unreasonable classification between housing having a government-insured loan and privately-financed or mortgage-free housing.

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO STRENGTHEN EXISTING LAWS
WHICH REACH THE PRIVATE HOUSING MARKET

11. Colorado. Passed by the Colorado House of Representatives on Feb. 16, 1965 (vote of 56 to 9), strengthening amendments to the 1959 fair housing law. Would extend coverage to all owner-occupied structures; provide injunctive relief; and make violators liable to fines up to $500. Bill now before the Senate.

Present fair housing law, adopted in 1959, covers all sales and rentals (including vacant land), except premises occupied by owner or lessee as household of his family. Applies to brokers, salesmen, mortgage lenders and real estate advertising. Enforcement by the Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission.

12. Connecticut. A measure has been introduced to provide for injunctive relief to hold housing units involved in complaints available during the processing of such complaints.

Connecticut's fair housing law, adopted in 1959 and strengthened in 1961 and 1963, now covers sale or rental of all housing (including vacant land), except rental of a unit in an owner-occupied two-family house and rental of rooms in private homes. Applies to brokers, salesmen and mortgage lenders. Enforcement by the Connecticut Civil Rights Commission.

13. Massachusetts. Several bills have been introduced. H-998 would remove the requirement that a three-day notice be given respondents before applying for an injunction. H-776 would include commercial real estate under the fair housing law. H-779 would cut back coverage of the existing law to exclude the rental of apartments in owner-occupied three-family houses, as well as in the presently-exempted owner-occupied two-family structures. A measure similar to H-779 was introduced last year and was killed by the Legislature. H-758 is an anti-blockbusting measure which would impose criminal sanctions for those who incite "fear of a racial or ethnic invasion" among owners or tenants.

Present law, adopted in 1959 and strengthened in 1960, 1961 and 1963, covers sale or rental of all "publicly-offered" housing (including vacant land), except rental of a unit in an owner-occupied two-family house. (Administrative ruling holds that rental of rooms in private homes is covered by state's public accommodations statute.) Applies to brokers, salesmen, mortgage lenders and real estate advertising. Provides for injunctive relief to hold the housing at issue available during the pendency of a complaint. Also, brokers and salesmen who refuse to obey an enforcement order are liable to loss of license. Enforcement by the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination.

14. Minnesota. A bill has been introduced to empower the Minnesota Commission Against Discrimination to seek injunctive relief in housing cases.

Minnesota's fair housing law, in operation since Jan. 1, 1963, covers sale or rental of all housing except the rental of a unit in an owner-occupied two-family house and rental of rooms in private residences, and except sale of owner-occupied "privately-financed" single-family houses. (All houses with outstanding FHA-insured and VA-guaranteed mortgages are covered.) Applies to vacant land, commercial space and advertising. Covers brokers, salesmen and mortgage lenders. Enforcement by the Minnesota Commission Against Discrimination.

15. New Jersey. A. B. No. 111, introduced Jan. 18, 1965, would extend the present law to cover all residential property sales and all rentals except units in owner-occupied two-family houses and rental of rooms in one-family dwellings.

Present law, adopted 1961, covers sales and rentals in developments of 10 or more houses on contiguous land and buildings containing three or more dwelling units, excluding owner-occupied three-family houses. One- and two-family houses with outstanding FHA and VA mortgages are covered. Applies to brokers, salesmen, mortgage lenders and real estate advertising. Enforcement by New Jersey Division on Civil Rights. (See also "REFERENDUM MEASURES," page 6.)

16. New York State. Several bills were pre-filed in January. Senate Print No. 423 (Introductory 423) would make violation of the state's fair housing law a criminal offense. Assembly Print No. 454 (Introductory 454) would empower the State Commission for Human Rights, official enforcement agency, to seek injunctive relief. Senate Print No. 425 (Introductory 425) would empower the Commission to initiate investigations on its own motion. Assembly Print 1111 (Introductory 1111) would permit organizations to file verified complaints with the Commission. Assembly Print 103 (Introductory 103) would amend the penal law to establish criminal penalties for "racial blockbusting," providing that any person who incites fear among owners or tenants based on occupancy or prospective occupancy of a neighborhood by persons of certain racial, ethnic or religious affiliation shall be liable to fines up to $1000, imprisonment of one year, or both. This measure would specifically cover both licensed and unlicensed real estate agents.

New York's fair housing law, adopted in 1961 and strengthened in 1963, covers sale or rental of all housing except rental of a unit in an owner-occupied two-family house and rental of rooms in private residences. Also covers commercial space. Applies to brokers, salesmen, mortgage lenders and real estate advertising. Does not make provision for the State Commission to apply directly to the courts for injunctive relief, but the State Attorney General, upon the Commission's request, will seek restraining orders to hold the housing at issue in status quo during the pendency of a complaint. Enforcement (see above).

17. Pennsylvania. The State Human Relations Commission, which enforces this state's fair housing law, has filed with the legislative leadership official recommendations for amendments to strengthen the existing civil rights act, including provision for the Commission to seek injunctive relief.

Present law, adopted in 1961, covers sales or rental of all housing (including vacant land), except owner-occupied one- and two-family houses. Applies to brokers, salesmen, mortgage lenders and real estate advertising. Enforcement (see above).

FAIR HOUSING MEASURES DEFEATED

18. New Mexico. The House of Representatives recently defeated a comprehensive fair housing bill by a vote of 48 to 28. The measure would have covered all sales and rentals except the rental of rooms in single-family dwellings, and would have applied to brokers, salesmen and mortgage lenders. Violations would have been misdemeanors.

New Mexico has no nondiscrimination housing laws.

THE CALIFORNIA SITUATION

A bill (A. B. 1153) has been introduced in the lower House of the State Legislature. This measure would establish a State Housing Conciliation Commission, authorized to receive and investigate complaints of discrimination, but with no enforcement powers. Efforts to adjust cases would be limited to the use of persuasion and attempts to secure voluntary agreements.

At the general election last November, a majority of the California electorate voted in favor of Proposition 14, a constitutional amendment aimed at nullifying the state's fair housing laws and prohibiting such legislation in the future. The constitutionality of this amendment is now being challenged in the courts.

However, the State Attorney General has taken the position that in any event Proposition 14 would apply only to the owners of property, and that the Rumford Act, which prohibits discrimination by real estate brokers, salesmen and mortgage lenders, remains in full force. Upon the advice of the Attorney General, the Fair Employment Practice Commission (which also has jurisdiction over nondiscrimination housing laws) has continued handling complaints filed against those engaged in the real estate or mortgage financing business. In addition to its enforcement powers, FEPC is also authorized to carry out all of the educational and conciliatory functions which A.B. 1153 proposes.

REFERENDUM MEASURES

In addition to the referendum bill which has been introduced in Rhode Island (see above), measures similar to California's Proposition 14 have been introduced this year in the state legislatures of Arkansas, Georgia, Nevada, Texas and Washington. As noted heretofore, a referendum move was overwhelmingly defeated by the Indiana Legislature.

Late Note on New Jersey: Also before the Legislature in this state is Assembly Concurrent Resolution No. 31, which would amend the state constitution to permit constitutional amendments by referendum.

A referendum bill has also been introduced in Utah (see above).

: : :

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
323 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 • 685-8911

Charles Abrams
President

Algernon D. Black
Chairman of the Board

Jack T. Conway
Frank S. Horne
Charlotte Meacham
Loren Miller
William H. Oliver
Boris Shishkin
Vice Presidents

Roland M. Sawyer
Secretary

D. John Heyman
Treasurer

Joseph B. Robison
General Counsel

■

Edward Rutledge
Executive Director

Jack E. Wood, Jr.
Associate Executive Director

Margaret Fisher
Director of Information and Publications

Barbara Chirse
Administrative Assistant

March 29, 1965

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress on Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Jim:

This is just a brief note of transmittal to enclose a copy of the recommendations for an extended Executive Order, prepared by the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing. This memorandum was handed to me while in Washington last week with the general understanding that I would see that it got to you.

Although there has been no public statement thus far, it is my understanding that the recommendations were forwarded to Vice President Humphrey during the middle of last week. The decision to place this report before the Vice President rather than the President was made in deference to Mr. Humphrey's coordinative responsibility in civil rights. It is expected that he, in turn, will forward the recommendations to President Johnson after due consideration and review by his office.

The meeting that we expect to hold with Vice President Humphrey had been delayed pending his receipt of these recommendations. That conference, which I ernestly hope you will be able to attend, now becomes doubly important in view of the inadequacies of this report.

I am getting out, as quickly as possible, a memorandum to the heads of member agencies affiliated with NCDH and also to members of our Board of Directors. The memorandum will point out that the President's Committee is recommending only that the Order be extended to include federally-aided banks and lending institutions

(Board Members, Member Organizations and Advisory Council listed on reverse side)

file Housing

April 1, 1965

Mr. Jack E. Wood, Jr.
Associate Executive Director
National Committee Against Discrimination
in Housing
323 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Mr. Wood:

Enclosed is the copy of the night letter Mr. Farmer has sent to Hubert Humphrey regarding Executive Order 11063.

Mr. Farmer has been out of the office almost constantly during the past weeks and will be leaving again tomorrow for another couple of weeks, but will be in touch with you as soon as he can.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

file

NIGHT LETTER
APRIL 1, 1965

THE HONORABLE HUBERT HUMPHREY
VICE PRESIDENT"
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

STRONGLY URGE EXTENSIVE BROADENING EXECUTIVE ORDER 11063 TO HALT DISCRIMINATION BY FEDERALLY AIDED BANKS AND LENDING INSTITUTTIONS TO INCLUDE ALL FEDERALLY AIDED HOUSING BUILT PRIOR TO EXECUTIVE ORDER, TO INCLUDE ONE AND TWO FAMILY OWNER-OCCUPIED HOMES AND TO GIVE BROADER RESPONSIBILITY TO COMMITTEE ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF ORDER.

JAMES FARMER
NATIONAL DIRECTOR
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

JACK E. WOOD, JR.

Jim

I hope that you will be able to give this matter your personal attention

J.

P.S. How about lunch sometime?

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
323 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 • 685-8911

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Edward Rutledge
Executive Director

Jack E. Wood, Jr.
Associate Executive Director

Margaret Fisher
Director of Information and Publications

Barbara Chirse
Administrative Assistant

MEMORANDUM

March 31, 1965

TO: Executive Directors of NCDH Affiliate Organizations and Members of the Board of Directors

FROM: Edward Rutledge and Jack E. Wood, Jr.

RE: CAMPAIGN FOR AN EXTENSION OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11063

We have just learned that the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing has forwarded to Vice President Hubert Humphrey its formal report containing recommendations for an extension of the Executive Order. Although there has been no public announcement as yet, we also know that the scope of coverage being recommended by the President's Committee has been sharply narrowed to a single area -- the inclusion of housing financed by federally supervised lending institutions.

It is expected that this report will be forwarded to the White House after consideration and review by the office of the Vice President.

In view of this development, it becomes extremely important that we act NOW. We strongly recommend, therefore, that you forward letters or telegrams to the President and Vice President, urging immediate and extensive broadening of the Order.

* * * *

To clarify - the single recommendation that the Order be extended to include federally assisted banks and lending institutions falls far short of the expansive coverage which has been urged by NCDH in behalf of its 37 affiliate organizations. The NCDH memorandum, as you will recall, recommended:

1. (Halting discrimination by all federally-aided banks and lending institutions.) This would include commercial and national banks

(Board Members, Member Organizations and Advisory Council listed on reverse side)

and savings and loan associations which are chartered, regulated or insured by agencies of the federal government.

2. Extending the Order (retroactively) to include all federally-aided housing built prior to November 20, 1962.

3. Revising administrative regulations and procedures which have resulted in excluding certain types of housing from the scope of the Order. Included are FHA and VA 1 and 2 family owner-occupied homes which arbitrarily have been exempted.

4. Giving the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing specific authority and broader responsibility in order to guarantee that the Order will be vigorously and effectively implemented.

(A copy of the NCDH recommendations is enclosed for your information.)

* * * *

At our most recent Board of Directors meeting, it was recommended that, in addition to the memorandum submitted by the NCDH in behalf of its affiliate organizations, each agency be requested to take separate action urging an immediate expansion of the Executive Order. The NCDH staff also was directed to request a meeting with Vice President Humphrey to discuss the need for an expansion of the Order and we are waiting to be advised of the date of the conference.

In order to enable us to present a picture of nationwide support for an expanded Order, it would be helpful if you could share with us a copy of the letters or telegrams that are sent by your agency.

JEW/jpb
Enclosure

A PRESS RELEASE from:

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
323 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 • 685-8911

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Jack E. Wood, Jr.
Associate Executive Director

Margaret Fisher
Director of Information and Publications

Barbara Chirse
Administrative Assistant

File - Housing

APR 7 1965

Contact: Margaret Fisher

April 6, 1965

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The creation of a Department of Housing and Urban Development, as proposed by President Johnson in his March 2nd message to Congress, was urged today (April 6) by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing.

Speaking before the Subcommittee on Executive and Legislative Reorganization of the U. S. House Committee on Government Operations, Edward Rutledge, executive director of NCDH, said that coordination of the Government's vast housing operations in a single Department should result in more effective implementation of the Federal policy of nondiscrimination and achievement of the Federal promise of equal opportunity in housing.

The NCDH spokesman told the committee that housing discrimination and segregation lie at the very root of the nation's urban crisis. "The massive and mounting problems of our metropolitan areas will never be solved as long as the white walls of housing exclusion and the teeming racial ghettos stand unassailed," he declared.

MORE

(Board Members, Member Organizations and Advisory Council listed on reverse side)

Mr. Rutledge pointed out that almost two-thirds of the nation's population increase between 1950 and 1960 took place in suburban communities, and that this increase was almost entirely white. He said that during the same period the Negro populations in central cities had expanded enormously.

Citing examples, he told the committee that Negroes now make up more than half the population of Washington, D. C. and Newark, N. J.; more than one-third in Baltimore and New Orleans; and more than one-fourth in Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland, Oakland and St. Louis. He forecast that unless the housing market is freed of racial restrictions, within a few years numerous American cities will have Negro majorities.

Mr. Rutledge said that housing segregation is seriously affecting urban renewal; social welfare programs; planning for metropolitan growth; the public schools; programs to alleviate poverty and to prevent juvenile delinquency; and municipal government and taxation.

The NCDH Executive Director said that his agency and its 37 affiliated organizations are urging President Johnson to extend the Executive Order prohibiting discrimination in federally-aided housing to cover existing as well as future housing, and to reach the conventional mortgage lending market. He said the present Order, which was issued by President Kennedy in 1962, affects only about 18 per cent of the new housing supply. "It has scarcely made a dent on segregated housing patterns," he told the Congressmen.

Mr. Rutledge said that neither the traditional civil rights forces nor important segments of the housing industry are satisfied with the Order as it stands. He pointed out that a number of industry representatives, including the Greater Baltimore Real Estate Board and the Home Builders Association of Greater St. Louis, have urged President Johnson to extend the Housing Order.

MORE

The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing is an affiliation of 37 major religious, civil rights, labor and civic organizations which are listed on the reverse side of page 1 of this release.

A copy of Mr. Rutledge's statement before the Congressional Sub-committee is attached.

# # #

STATEMENT OF EDWARD RUTLEDGE, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
Before The
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE REORGANIZATION
Of The
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

April 6, 1965

Chairman Dawson and distinguished members of the committee:

My name is Edward Rutledge. I would like to thank you for this opportunity to present a statement on behalf of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, of which I am executive director. Our committee, generally referred to as NCDH, was formed in 1950. It is an affiliation of 37 major religious, civil rights, labor and civic organizations which are committed, through a united effort, to ending racial, religious and ethnic barriers to housing and to encouraging the development of communities in which families of diverse racial, religious and ethnic backgrounds may live in dignity and with mutual respect. A list of the NCDH member organizations is attached to the copy of this statement which I am filing with your committee.

NCDH supports and urges the establishment within the executive branch of the Government of a Department of Housing and Urban Development. We believe that simple justice demands that the Nation's urban citizens -

now almost 75 per cent and soon to be more than 80 per cent of the total American population - be represented as equals at the Cabinet table.

We believe the creation of such a Department is essential if the Federal Government is to meet its proper, necessary and expanding responsibility to provide leadership and assistance to state and local governments as they struggle to cope with the enormous problems of urban growth - problems which are as complex as they are manifold.

We believe that practical considerations alone, such as efficient administration and sound management practices, provide common sense reasons for coordinating the vast and essential range of Federal programs relating to urban needs. For too many years, Federal activities in housing and urban affairs have been spread throughout a welter of programs and agencies. As a result, the most crucial problems of our metropolitan areas, affecting the social and economic life of the entire Nation, are being treated in bits and pieces. Inevitably there is a lack of overall planning, inconsistency in carrying out Federal policy, confusion, overlapping, duplication and waste.

The concern of NCDH, however, reaches far beyond the mere establishment of coordinated, efficient administrative machinery - important as this may be.

Studied from any angle, it is apparent that the massive and mounting problems of our metropolitan areas will never be solved as long as the white walls of housing exclusion and the teeming racial ghettos stand unassailed. Racial discrimination in housing has built a national pattern of segregated living which pervades and warps almost every phase of Negro life and Negro-white relationships. Our segregated communities - white and black - are the breeding ground of prejudice, fear and arrogance. Our children are growing up in a Negro society or a white society, each set against the other.

The outgrowth of housing segregation threatens the very foundation of our country's social and economic stability, as well as its future progress. We have reaped segregated schools, churches, hospitals and recreational facilities; barriers to employment opportunities; the cultural and economic deprivation of millions of our people; low aspirations and an appalling loss of potential skills and human resources; concentration in high density areas of low-income and unemployed minority-group families; overcrowded, slum-

lord exploited, rat-infested tenements and the bitterness, apathy and despair which are part and parcel of slum living; and psychological and spiritual damage to the vast majority of Americans, black and white alike.

Between 1950 and 1960, almost two-thirds of the Nation's population increase took place in the suburbs, an increase which was almost entirely white. During the same decade, there was enormous growth of the Negro population in the central cities. Today, Negroes make up over half of the population of Washington and Newark; more than one-third of Baltimore and New Orleans; and over one-fourth of the populations of Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland, Oakland and St. Louis. Unless the entire housing market is opened and the confinement of Negroes to circumscribed areas within the central cities is stopped, within a very few years numerous American cities will have Negro majorities.

Segregated patterns of residence have the most profound impact upon urban renewal; upon social welfare programs; upon planning for orderly metropolitan growth; upon public school systems; upon programs to alleviate poverty and to prevent juvenile delinquency; and upon municipal government and taxation.

5--NCDH Statement on
Department of Housing & Urban Development
April 6, 1965

As President Johnson stated on March 2 of this year in his message entitled The Problems and Future of the Central City and its Suburbs:

> "The old, the poor, the discriminated against are increasingly concentrated in central city ghettos; while others move to the suburbs leaving the central city to battle against immense odds."

It is an indisputable fact that housing discrimination and segregation hamper virtually every facet of public action dealing with the critical domestic problems of our increasingly urbanized Nation.

The Federal Government bears a very heavy responsibility for this situation which lies at the very root of the urban crisis. I need not review for this committee the Government's long history of sustaining - indeed, of promoting - residential segregation. All of us know that 80 per cent of federally-sponsored public housing is operated on a racially segregated basis. All of us have seen the huge subdivisions which circle every city, made possible only by FHA and VA assistance - subdivisions which were built as all-white communities. All of us know that urban renewal has caused wholesale

removal of nonwhite families from areas of long continued occupancy, and that many integrated neighborhoods have been "renewed" on a segregated basis. The Federal Government's role in extending housing segregation as a national institution is a shameful fact.

Today, the Government has taken its stand behind the constitutional promise of equal rights for all - except in housing. Once the voting rights bill passes Congress, housing will be the major gap in Federal policy. It is our great hope that President Johnson will soon close that gap.

The Executive Order prohibiting discrimination in federally-aided housing, issued by President Kennedy in 1962, is so limited in scope that it has scarcely made a dent on segregated housing patterns. Almost all federally-aided private housing contracted for prior to November 20, 1962, was exempt from coverage. Less than one-fifth of all new construction is covered. Mortgage lending institutions are affected only to the extent that they engage in FHA and VA loans. Housing provided through conventional financing by federally-supervised mortgage lenders, who enjoy - among other things - the benefit of federally-guaranteed insurance of their deposits, is entirely excluded from coverage.

As a consequence, the Order applied to only 18 per cent of the 1,522,200 nonfarm private housing units started in 1964. Substantial Federal benefits were involved in more than 80 per cent of this new housing.

Moreover, with responsibility spread through numerous agencies, implementation of the present limited Order has been inadequate and inconsistent.

NCDH and its member organizations are urging President Johnson to expand the Housing Order to bring under its reach existing as well as future federally-aided housing, and all mortgage lending institutions which are supervised in any manner by the Federal Government. As it stands, the Order satisfies no one - neither those involved in the civil rights movement nor important segments of the housing industry. A number of industry representatives, most recently the Greater Baltimore Real Estate Board and the Home Builders Association of Greater St. Louis have urged President Johnson to extend the Order. It is our hope that the President, both on the basis of moral and practical considerations, will soon bring housing completely in line with the Federal policy of nondiscrimination.

8--NCDH Statement on
Department of Housing & Urban Development
April 6, 1965

As the nation moves toward meeting the housing needs of its people by the creation of new towns and cities and greatly increased efforts to renew and rehabilitate existing communities, it becomes even more imperative that affirmative, vigorous and well-organized action be taken to insure the rights of every citizen.

Of course, the mere creation of a Department of Housing and Urban Development will not guarantee the end of discrimination in federally-aided housing. As members of this committee are aware, the U. S. Department of Agriculture, established 75 years ago to serve a predominantly rural America, recently came under severe criticism from the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights because of its systematic discrimination against Negro farmers, particularly those in the South. We were gratified to see reports in the press last week indicating that the Secretary of Agriculture is moving to correct this situation.

However, a Department of Housing and Urban Development, created in these days when the demand for Freedom Now is the foremost domestic challenge facing our country, should be expected to write a new page in the history of Federal involvement in the housing field. Responsibility for the Government's far-flung housing operations would re-

side in one Department, functioning under the President's direction. This coordinated authority and administration should not only carry out the Federal policy of nondiscrimination with firmness and effectiveness, but should take vigorous action to make the Federal promise of equal opportunity in housing a reality.

It would be our further expectation that a Department of Housing and Urban Development would move with all possible speed toward the realization of the 1949 Housing Act's commitment of "a decent home and a suitable environment for every American family." And a "suitable environment," in our opinion, is one which is in line with the NCDH objective stated above: communities in which families of diverse racial, religious and ethnic backgrounds may live in dignity and with mutual respect.

For the reasons we have outlined, the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing respectfully urges that the Subcommittee on Executive and Legislative Reorganization of the House Committee on Government Operations recommend the immediate creation of a Department of Housing and Urban Development, as proposed under the Administration's bill No. H. R. 6654.

Thank you again for the opportunity to present this statement.

: : :

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST
DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING

MEMORANDUM

April 9, 1965

323 Lexington Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016
685-8911

To NCDH Board and Friends

From Margaret Fisher, Director of Information and Publications

Subject 1965 Legislative Information

NEWS FLASH! FAIR HOUSING FORCES WIN VICTORY IN RHODE ISLAND!

The Rhode Island Legislature has passed a law barring discrimination in a substantial part of the state's housing market. Late yesterday afternoon (April 8), the Democratic-controlled Senate approved the measure by a vote of 28 to 16, with two abstentions. It had passed the House, also Democratic-controlled, one week earlier by a vote of 54 to 42. Both Republican Governor John H. Chafee and the Democratic leadership in both Houses strongly supported the legislation, and the Governor is expected to sign it on Monday, April 12.

The new Rhode Island fair housing law will apply to all sales of residential property and to all rentals except apartments in owner-occupied two- and three-family houses. Also exempt are rentals of rooms in private residences. Real estate brokers and salesmen, mortgage lenders and advertising are covered. It will be enforced by the Rhode Island Commission Against Discrimination, which will be empowered to initiate complaints on its own motion. The legislation will become effective immediately after it is signed into law.

Rhode Island previously had prohibited discrimination only in public housing projects.

Earlier in the session, a bill which would have taken the issue of fair housing legislation to a referendum at the next general election was defeated by an overwhelming voice vote in the lower House.

Passage of the Rhode Island fair housing law came after civil rights supporters had waged statewide campaigns for such legislation for seven consecutive years, beginning in 1959 and going down to defeat each year — until 1965.

(MORE)

THIS YEAR'S SCORE TO DATE

Thus far, legislative campaigns in 1965 have added Rhode Island and Indiana (See NCDH Legislative Information Memo of March 10) to the 12 states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and some 27 cities which have adopted measures prohibiting discrimination in the general housing market. The 12 states are Alaska, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Oregon and Pennsylvania. In addition, the State of Washington bars discrimination by real estate brokers and mortgage lenders under its public accommodations statute; Montana and Wisconsin have nondiscrimination laws covering publicly-assisted housing; and Illinois prohibits discrimination in public housing and bars the use of restrictive covenants on urban redevelopment land.

ANOTHER VICTORY IN COLORADO

On April 2, the Colorado State Legislature passed strengthening amendments to the state's 1959 Fair Housing Act to cover the sale and rental of owner-occupied structures, previously exempt from coverage. Rentals of rooms in private residences are still excluded. The vote to broaden the law was 30 to 5 in the Senate, and 57 to 3 in the House. Republican Governor John A. Love is expected to sign the bill immediately.

ONGOING CAMPAIGNS

Elsewhere, campaigns for new fair housing laws are underway in Delaware, Illinois, Maine, Nebraska, Ohio, Washington State, Wisconsin and Missouri. Proposals to strengthen existing laws are pending in the state legislatures of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York. Also, a comprehensive fair housing bill has been introduced in the City Council of Baltimore, Maryland.

1965 DEFEATS

Fair housing bills have been defeated this year in Kansas, Maryland and New Mexico, and a bill died in Utah.

THE ANTI-FAIR HOUSING REFERENDUM MOVEMENT

Proposals for anti-fair housing referenda have been raised this year in the state legislatures of Arkansas, Indiana, Maryland, Nevada, Rhode Island, Texas, Utah and Washington State. Thus far, they have been defeated in Indiana, Nevada and in Rhode Island, and the Texas bill is reported dead in committee. An interfaith group composed of clergy and laity representing the Texas Council of Churches, the Baptist General Convention of Texas, B'nai B'rith, and the Texas Catholic Conference is credited with killing the effort to involve the issue of fair housing in an election campaign in that state.

: : :

file Housing

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
323 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 • 685-8911

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General Counsel

■

Edward Rutledge
Executive Director

Jack E. Wood, Jr.
Associate Executive Director

Margaret Fisher
Director of Information and Publications

Barbara Chirse
Administrative Assistant

April 14, 1965

5/6

APR 15 1965

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress on Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Jim:

As previously advised, our appointment to confer with Vice President Hubert Humphrey in Washington has been confirmed for Thursday, May 6, 1965 at 10:30 a.m. in his office.

The purpose of the conference, as you may know, is to discuss the need for expansion of Executive Order 11063 on Equal Opportunity in Housing and to present our views and recommendations regarding areas of coverage and means of implementation.

A memorandum with additional detail and information will follow.

Sincerely yours,

Jack

Jack E. Wood, Jr.
Associate Executive Director

JEW/jpb

(Board Members, Member Organizations and Advisory Council listed on reverse side)

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

5/6

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

1965 APR 9 PM 3 11

VUA035 NBB266 SYD231
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ND NEW YORK NY 9 NFT
JAMES FARMER, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, CONGRESS ON RACIAL EQUALITY
38 PARK ROW NYK

AS PREVIOUSLY ADVISED THE MEETING WITH VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY TO DISCUSS THE EXTENSION OF THE EXECUTIVE ORDER ON HOUSING HAS BEEN ARRANGED. THE VICE PRESIDENT HAS AGREED TO MEET WITH US IN HIS OFFICE AT 10:30 A.M. EITHER MAY 6 OR MAY 7. MAY 6 IS PREFERRED AND IF AT ALL POSSIBLE WE HOPE YOU WILL CONFIRM THIS DATE. YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THIS MEETING IS VITAL. WE MUST CONFIRM THIS APPOINTMENT WITH VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY BY MONDAY APRIL 12. WE WILL PHONE YOUR OFFICE MONDAY MORNING FOR CONFIRMATION

EDWARD RUTLEDGE, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR JACK E. WOOD, JR. ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

Yale
Holyoke
pm

CLASS OF SERVICE
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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

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IN HOUSING.

A PRESS RELEASE from the

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
323 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 • 685-8911

Charles Abrams
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Executive Director

Jack E. Wood, Jr.
Associate Executive Director

Margaret Fisher
Director of Information and Publications

Barbara Chirse
Administrative Assistant

Contact: Margaret Fisher
685-8911 (New York City)

MAY 7 1965

FOR RELEASE MAY 7, 1965

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey was urged yesterday (May 6) by a top-level delegation representing the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing (NCDH) to recommend to President Johnson that the Executive Order barring discrimination in federally-aided housing be immediately expanded to cover conventional mortgage lenders and all existing housing which continues to receive Federal assistance.

The Housing Order, issued by President Kennedy on Nov. 20, 1962, affects mortgage lending institutions only to the extent they engage in loans which are insured by the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) or guaranteed by the Veterans Administration (VA). Also, the non-discrimination requirement does not apply to housing which was built or contracted for prior to Nov. 20, 1962, unless such housing is owned or operated by the Federal Government.

The National Committee, an affiliation of 37 major religious, civil rights, labor and civic organizations, initiated the movement for an Executive Order on housing in 1952, and conducted a 10-year educational drive to secure its issuance. Last November, NCDH submitted to President Johnson four specific proposals for strengthening the Order: 1) coverage of commercial banks and savings and loan associations which are chartered, supervised, or whose deposits are insured by the Federal Government; 2) inclusion of all existing federally-aided housing; 3) withdrawal of administrative powers which permit Federal housing agencies to grant

MORE

(Board Members, Member Organizations and Advisory Council listed on reverse side)

certain exemptions, such as FHA's exemption of the resale of one and two-family houses; and 4) increasing the responsibility and authority of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing for implementation of the Order.

At a press conference held in Washington after the NCDH delegation met with the Vice President, Algernon D. Black, chairman of the organization's board of directors, and a religious Leader of the American Ethical Movement, said that the Order "has scarcely made a dent on discriminatory housing practices" in the two and a half years it has been in operation.

"Notwithstanding its laudable purpose," Mr. Black declared, "it is clear that this Order can never achieve its expressed goal. Its limited coverage makes it applicable to less than 10 per cent of the federally-aided housing supply, new and old. We must remember that an enormous supply of federally-aided housing was built during the span of 28 years before the Order became effective. Moreover, narrow interpretation of its provisions and inadequate enforcement have further crippled its effectiveness."

"In actual operation," the NCDH chairman went on, "the hopes and promises of equal opportunity in housing which the Order held out to millions of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans and other minorities have become bitter disappointments and frustrations. Housing remains the major gap in the Federal Government's policy of nondiscrimination, and the evils of housing discrimination and segregation remain largely unchecked."

Mr. Black said that in 1964 there were 1,522,200 private nonfarm dwellings started in the United States, and that only 18 per cent of these were within the Housing Order's reach. "If all mortgage lending institutions which are benefited and supervised by the National Government had been covered, about 83 per cent of these new homes would be subject to the nondiscrimination mandate."

The NCDH spokesman said another serious shortcoming was failure to cover existing housing. "There simply is no logical basis to support the principle that a constitutional requirement of nondiscrimination applies to a new house which is receiving

Federal aid, but not to an old house which is receiving Federal aid. This unwarranted exemption leaves racial and ethnic restrictions entirely untouched in a major part of the Nation's housing supply."

Mr. Black said that NCDH and its member agencies are disturbed by the failure of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing to include existing homes in the recommendations it recently submitted to President Johnson. "We consider totally inadequate this committee's limited proposal which asks only that the Order be enlarged to include the conventional mortgage lending market," he declared.

The chairman's statement continued as follows:

"Population experts tell us that our country must plan for a population of 300 million people within the next 25 years. The 1965 Housing Act recognizes the increasing enormity of securing decent shelter for American families. Our Government is about to embark on a dramatic new national housing effort which looks not only toward the essential renewal of our present stock of homes, but the creation of many new towns and cities.

"Such an undertaking will be absolute folly unless the Federal Government makes sure that these vast projects are not built on a decaying foundation of segregation and discrimination. We will never solve the problems which are plaguing every city in the country -- segregated schools, jobs, recreation, and the tragedy of slums -- until we eliminate housing discrimination and segregation.

"There is every logical reason for President Johnson to extend the Executive Order straight across the board to insure that the benefits of housing, new and old, which result directly or indirectly from Federal assistance are made available to all Americans without regard to their race, color, creed or national origin. This is not only the right thing to do, it is the practical thing to do. No one is satisfied with the Housing Order as it stands. Leading representatives of the housing and mortgage lending industries have joined in urging its expansion to cover conventional mortgage lenders. And bringing existing housing under its reach would be no innovation.

Laws in 14 states and 27 cities go farther. Certainly the Federal Government should not lag behind."

In addition to Mr. Black, the delegation which conferred with Vice President Humphrey included the following: Paget L. Alves, Jr., Associate Director, National Urban League and NCDH Board Member; Robert Carter, General Counsel, NAACP, and member, NCDH Legal Committee; James Farmer, National Director, Congress of Racial Equality, and NCDH Board Member; Walter Fauntroy, Director of Washington Bureau, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., and member, NCDH Legal Committee; Miss Dorothy Height, Consultant-Director, National Board, YWCA, and NCDH Board Member; Norman Hill, Civil Rights Director, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, and NCDH Board Member; Mrs. Charlotte Meacham, National Representative for Housing Programs, American Friends Service Committee, and NCDH Vice President; John A. Morsell, Assistant Executive Director, NAACP; William H. Oliver, Co-Director, Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department, United Auto Workers, AFL-CIO, and NCDH Vice President; Joseph B. Robison, Director, Commission on Law and Social Action, American Jewish Congress, and NCDH General Counsel; Edward Rutledge, Executive Director, NCDH; James H. Scheuer, U. S. Congressman from New York and member of NCDH Advisory Council; Boris Shishkin, Secretary, Housing Committee, AFL-CIO, and NCDH Vice President; Donald S. Slaiman, Director Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO, and NCDH Board Member; and Jack E. Wood, Jr., Associate Executive Director, NCDH.

A list of the NCDH member organizations will be found on the reverse side of page 1 of this release.

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NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
323 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 • 685-8911

Charles Abrams
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Algernon D. Black
Chairman of the Board

Jack T. Conway
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Edward Rutledge
Executive Director

Jack E. Wood, Jr.
Associate Executive Director

Margaret Fisher
Director of Information and Publications

Barbara Chirse
Administrative Assistant

file Housing

May 17, 1965

MAY 19 1965

Mr. George Wiley, General Counsel
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Wiley:

In his absence from the office, Mr. Wood has requested that I forward the enclosed packet of material for your information.

Any comments or recommendations you may have would be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Janie P. Butts

Janie P. Butts
Secretary to Jack E. Wood, Jr.

/jpb
Enclosures

(Board Members, Member Organizations and Advisory Council listed on reverse side)

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Joseph Monserrat
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Constance B. Motley
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Thomasina Norford
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Henry Edward Schultz
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James H. Scheuer
Spyros Skouras
Rex Stout
John L. Tishman
Marietta Tree
Mike Wallace
Robert Penn Warren
Robert Wechsler
G. Mennen Williams

Member Organizations

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO
AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION, DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL CONCERN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD, AFL-CIO
AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, AFL-CIO/CLC
COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO, DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, MIGRATION DIVISION
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY – CORE
COOPERATIVE LEAGUE OF THE USA
FRIENDSHIP HOUSE
INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT, AFL-CIO
INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, AFL-CIO
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS, AFL-CIO
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
THE METHODIST CHURCH, WOMAN'S DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE – NAACP
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST, DEPARTMENT OF RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS, COMMISSION ON SOCIAL ACTION
UNITARIAN FELLOWSHIP FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE
UNITED AUTO WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION, AND RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT, BOARD OF HOMELAND MINISTRIES
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, OFFICE OF CHURCH AND SOCIETY, BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
323 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 • 685-8911

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Associate Executive Director

Margaret Fisher
Director of Information and Publications

Barbara Chirse
Administrative Assistant

MEMORANDUM

April 29, 1965

TO: Fair Housing Committees and Other Local Groups Engaged in Fair Housing Programs

FROM: Jack E. Wood, Director, Center for Fair Housing

This memorandum concerns a matter of the utmost importance to all those engaged in the field of housing and human relations and whose organizations are working to eliminate discrimination and to advance integration in housing.

As you know, the voluntary fair housing committee movement in a brief span of years has become an effort of vital significance in the nation's struggle to achieve full equality of opportunity. The NCDH has identified and recently been in touch with more than 1,000 such groups throughout the nation.

The rapid increase of local groups engaged in fair housing activities, however, not only has revealed the need for a nationally coordinated operation to provide them with a range of services, but also has led to widespread demand for affiliation with the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing.

In response to these demands, the NCDH has established the CENTER FOR FAIR HOUSING. An informational sheet, describing the Center, is enclosed for your use in interpreting this exciting new concept to the members of your group.

The first task of the CENTER FOR FAIR HOUSING is to conduct a comprehensive survey of the organization and program activities of local fair housing groups over the country. Questionnaires are being sent to the chairman or other appropriate contact persons for more than 1,000 committees. Information compiled through these questionnaires will facilitate the Center's efforts to provide maximum service to each local fair housing and community group.

Your organization is an integral part of the national fair housing movement and we are anxious to serve you. We would appreciate your filling out this questionnaire form and returning it to us, if at all possible, before May 12, 1965.

(Board Members, Member Organizations and Advisory Council listed on reverse side)

CENTER FOR FAIR HOUSING

The Center for Fair Housing, with which local fair housing groups may affiliate, is a program operation of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing recently created by the NCDH Executive Committee.

Initiation of the Center is in response to the growing number of requests from local fair housing and other community groups to affiliate with NCDH. Its purpose is to establish a national coordinated service which will give practical assistance to groups throughout the country in their work to combat discrimination and achieve integrated communities. It is also hoped that affiliation with the Center will provide them with a realistic sense of identification with the rapidly expanding national fair housing committee movement.

In addition to having a channel through which new program ideas and experiences can be shared, those groups affiliated with the Center will have available to them a wide range of specific services designed to enhance the effectiveness of their program efforts. These will include:

* Direct consultation and guidance in the development and implementation of local program activities.

* Technical assistance in the analysis and evaluation of urban renewal plans and of other programs or problems.

* Field visits to counsel with local groups on matters of particular complexity or significance.

* Regional and national conferences.

* Representation of the interests and concerns of local fair housing committees before national public and private organizations.

* Periodic distribution of informational literature, including pamphlets, brochures, reprints and other publications of significance. Special effort will be made to meet the needs and "gaps" as indicated by the affiliates of the Center.

* Development and distribution of a series of "how to" materials on specific techniques: how to encourage more rapid movement of minority groups into the general housing market; how to make effective use of the services and programs of local, state and Federal agencies; how to promote the cooperation and involvement of responsible builders, brokers and mortgage lenders; how to combat panic selling and maintain racially-integrated neighborhoods.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING (NCDH)
323 Lexington Avenue New York, N.Y. 10016

CENTER FOR FAIR HOUSING

a service of the

National Committee Against Discrimination In Housing

The CENTER FOR FAIR HOUSING, with which local fair housing groups may affiliate, is a program operation created by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. Its purpose is to establish a nationally coordinated service to assist these groups in their work to combat discrimination and achieve integration in housing. This questionnaire will provide the NCDH with the information necessary to give maximum assistance to each local fair housing effort.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING

323 Lexington Avenue New York, N. Y. 10016

CENTER FOR FAIR HOUSING

Program Questionnaire

- - - -

Organizational Structure

1. Name of Organization _____

   Does it maintain an office? Yes____ No____. If yes, give

   Address_____ Phone_____

2. Officers or principal contact persons:

Title	Name	Address	Phone

3. When was your organization formed? _____

4. Please indicate approximate membership: _____

5. Are there any minority group representatives among the active members of your organization? Yes____ No____.

Program Activities

6. Is your program administered wholly by volunteers? Yes____ No____. If no, please indicate number of paid employees____. Full-time____ Part-time____.

7. Has your organization undertaken a fair housing pledge card campaign? Yes____ No____. If so, please indicate approximate number of signatures obtained:_____.

8. Do you maintain a list of housing units available for sale or rent? Yes____ No____. If so, is that list regularly revised? (Please check).
   Monthly_____ Quarterly_____ Other (specify)_____

9. If you maintain listings, how are they acquired? (Please check)

   Real Estate Offices_____
   Federal Housing Agencies_____
   Ads_____
   Call ins_____
   Other Sources_____

10. Has your organization developed a buyer encouragement program or undertaken any similar activity designed to encourage nonwhite families to buy or rent dwelling units in predominantly white residential areas? Yes___ No___.

11. Does your organization engage in any form of direct action? Yes___ No___. If so please check type:

    Testing_____
    Escort Plan_____
    Other_____

12. Please list other local fair housing and human relations groups in your community whose program activities are similar to those of your organization:

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

13. Is your organization part of any metropolitan or regional association of fair housing committees? Yes___ No___. If so, please attach list of member organizations, if available.

14. Local insuring offices of the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and the Veterans Administration (VA) maintain listings of foreclosures (acquired properties) and listings of subdivision commitments. Do you receive these lists? Yes___ No___. If so, please indicate:

    FHA Foreclosures_____
    VA Foreclosures_____
    Sub-division commitments_____

15. The Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA) and its constituent agencies provide professional intergroup relations services in each regional area of the United States. Do you call upon these offices for service? Yes___ No___. If so, please indicate which agencies:

    URA (Urban Renewal Administration)_____
    PHA (Public Housing Administration)_____
    FHA (Federal Housing Administration)_____

16. Is there an official city, county or state human rights commission available to you? Yes___ No___. Please identify:

    City_____
    County_____
    State_____

If yes, also indicate whether you use their services in connection with your program. (Please check).

For educational purposes _____
To file complaints _____
Other _____

17. Executive Order 11063, titled: Equal Opportunity in Housing, prohibits discrimination in federally-aided housing constructed after November 20, 1962. In addition, federal housing agencies are required to "use their good offices" to eliminate discriminatory practices in such housing built prior to November 20, 1962. Has your agency filed any complaints under this Executive Order? Yes___ No___. If so, with which agencies? (Please check).

FHA _____
VA _____
PHA _____
URA _____

President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing _____

18. Title VI of the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1964 requires nondiscrimination in programs receiving federal assistance. The Act affects certain federal housing programs, including urban renewal and public housing projects. Regulations have been issued by HHFA to insure compliance. Are you familiar with these regulations? Yes____ No____. Has your agency filed any complaints under Title VI? Yes___ No___. If so, with which agency? (Please check).

HHFA _____
FHA _____
VA _____
PHA _____
URA _____

President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing _____

Federal Civil Rights Commission _____

19. In connection with your program to eliminate discrimination and segregation in housing, has your agency met or shared its concerns with any of the following? Also please check whether members of your agency serve on any of the private or governmental organizations listed below:

	Meetings	Members
The mayor		
Local Housing Authority		
Local Urban Renewal Authority		
Citizens Advisory Committee		
City Planning Commission		
City Council		
Zoning Board		
Board of Education		
Real Estate Board		

	Meetings	Members
Home Builders Association		
Banks and Lending Institutions		
Other local or national Organizations (Specify)		

20. The FAIR HOUSING HANDBOOK published by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing and the American Friends Service Committee (an affiliate of NCDH) is a practical manual designed to aid local fair housing committees. Please indicate whether members of your organization have copies of this manual. Yes___ No___.

21. TRENDS IN HOUSING is a national newsletter published bi-monthly by the NCDH. It is recognized as an invaluable resource not only for those engaged in the housing/civil rights field, but for all who are in any way concerned with problems related to race and housing. Please indicate whether members of your organization subscribe to TRENDS. Yes___ No___.

* * * * * *

The CENTER FOR FAIR HOUSING is a program operation created by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing in response to the increasing demand by fair housing and other community groups for affiliation with the NCDH. In addition to sharing new program ideas and experiences, groups affiliated with the Center receive a wide range of services designed to enhance the effectiveness of their local program efforts. Some of the services which will be provided by the Center include the following:

* Periodic distribution of informative material, including pamphlets, brochures, reprints and other publications of significance in the field of housing.

* Consultation service to assist in the development and implementation of local programs.

* Technical advice in the analysis and evaluation of urban renewal plans and other programs and problems, arising from the housing activities of government and private industry.

* Field visits to consult with local groups on housing matters of particular complexity or significance.

* Regional and national conferences to provide for an exchange of information, explore new techniques and approaches, and develop professional skills among volunteers.

* Development of a series of "how to" materials on specific techniques or problems: how to encourage greater participation by minority-groups in the general housing market; how to utilize effectively the services and programs of local, state and federal government; how to promote the cooperation and involvement of responsible builders, brokers and mortgage lenders.

* Representation of the concerns of local fair housing committees before national, public and private agencies such as: the federal housing agencies, the National Association of Home Builders, the National Association of Real Estate Boards, national savings and loan associations and others.

* * * * * *

Please indicate whether your organization would be interested in becoming an affiliate member of the NCDH CENTER FOR FAIR HOUSING and thus receive all of its services. Yes_____ No_____.

Name_____

Address_____

_____

Tel. No._____

Date_____

file Housing

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST
DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
323 Lexington Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016
685-8911

May 18, 1965

TO: NCDH Board of Directors

FROM: Edward Rutledge, Executive Director

SUBJECT: (1) Announcement of NCDH Board Meeting, June 28, 1965, from 3:30 p.m. to 6:30 p.m.

(2) Announcement of NCDH Conference of City and State Local Human Rights Commissions on Referenda, Legislation, Etc., June 29, 1965, from 9:30 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., both meetings to be held at Brotherhood-in-Action Building

The next Board Meeting will be held on Monday, June 28, 1965 from 3:30 p.m. to 6:30 p.m. at the Brotherhood-in-Action Building, 560 Seventh Avenue (near 40th Street). This date was selected to coincide with the NCDH convening of a June 29 conference of city and state commissions on human rights, some state attorneys general and federal representatives to discuss the findings of the National Legal Conference on Equal Opportunity in Housing held in Berkeley, California and the legislative and legal actions occurring since that conference as related to the program activities of these agencies. Both meetings will be held at the Brotherhood-in-Action Building, and it is our hope that we will have the fullest attendance of board members at both meetings.

For those of you who are interested, the Annual Conference of Commissions on Human Rights (CCHR) is being convened in New York City that week from June 30 through July 2. This, of course, is a meeting separate and apart from our conferences, but there will be many participants at the June 29 conference who will be attending the CCHR Conference. You will be getting greater detail in regard to these meetings in the near future, but we wanted to alert you at the earliest possible time of the dates that these conferences are scheduled.

I believe you will be interested in receiving the material on the Center for Fair Housing of NCDH, which was acted upon by the Executive Committee on April 8 and reported to the Board on May 12. It is our hope that local fair housing groups will affiliate in large numbers with this Center and that local affiliates of our national member agencies also will use the services of the Center for Fair Housing.

The Board accepted one new member agency, the National Association of Housing Cooperatives, with Harold Ostroff, President, as a delegate. The other agencies who have applied and been invited to attend our next Board Meeting on June 28 for formal acceptance are The Christian Family Movement, the National Council of Catholic Men and the Board of Christian Social Concerns of the Methodist Church.

The financial situation of the NCDH is now most critical. Funds are in sight only through the first of August. It is hoped that the whole question of membership participation in supporting the National Committee can be discussed at the June 28 Board Meeting. Obviously, any suggestions you may have for support of the NCDH during this period would be most welcome now; any financial assistance you can give at this time also will be most welcome.

I am sure you are pleased that TRENDS IN HOUSING is coming out regularly and on time. We are trying to provide assistance to Margaret Fisher and relieve her of administrative duties so that she can devote full time to her very important function as Director of Information and Publications.

Attached hereto is a news release of a speech I made recently at a conference sponsored by the Washington Urban League and the Metropolitan Housing Department of the American Friends Service Committee.

We hope you are following through on our memorandum on March 31 in regard to seeking extension of the Executive Order in Housing. We need the full support of our member agencies and their local affiliates from all parts of the country in order to impress both Vice President Hubert Humphrey and President Lyndon Johnson of the urgent need for immediate action.

The agenda of the May 12 Board Meeting also is attached for your information.

ER:bc
Encls.

A PRESS RELEASE from:

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
Center for Fair Housing
323 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 • 685-8911

Contact: Margaret Fisher

FOR RELEASE ON

Sunday, May 16, 1965

Charles Abrams
President

Algernon D. Black
Chairman of the Board

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Frank S. Horne
Charlotte Meacham
Loren Miller
William H. Oliver
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Associate Executive Director

Margaret Fisher
Director of Information and Publications

Barbara Chirse
Administrative Assistant

Edward Rutledge, executive director of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, said yesterday (May 15) that the committee is "increasingly disillusioned and impatient with the utter failure of the Federal Government to protect and extend the right of Negro families to secure homes in all sections of the Nation's cities and suburbs, without regard to race." He urged civil rights supporters throughout the country to call on President Johnson for immediate strengthening of the Executive Order prohibiting discrimination in federally-aided housing.

Speaking on Saturday at a "Freedom of Choice in Housing Workshop," held at the Zion Baptist Church under the joint sponsorship of the Washington Urban League and the Metropolitan Washington Housing Program of the American Friends Service Committee, Mr. Rutledge told a large group of potential Negro home buyers and representatives of local fair housing committees that the Executive Order has "scarcely made a dent on housing discrimination and segregation." The workshop was designed to acquaint Negro families with the suburban Washington housing market.

MORE

"This Administration is committed to achieving the system of equal opportunity guaranteed by our Constitution," Mr. Rutledge declared. "Yet the Government's policy of nondiscrimination barely touches housing - the very root of a segregated society. The Federal Government today is in the untenable position of withholding funds from school districts which operate segregated schools, while its housing activities maintain and extend the segregated neighborhoods which create and maintain segregated schools; of withholding government contracts from industries which do not comply with and promote fair employment practices, while Negroes frequently are barred from jobs in these industries because they are denied access to the local federally-aided housing supply."

The NCDH executive director gave little credit to the Federal Government for the fact that 170 Negro families, assisted by local fair housing groups, have moved into previously all-white neighborhoods in the Virginia and Maryland suburbs of Washington during the last two years.

"These and similar gains in other parts of the country have come about because of the determination of the Negro families to secure the "decent home in a suitable living environment for every American family" promised by the Federal Government in 1949, and the dedication of voluntary fair housing committees which have worked in partnership with these families," Mr. Rutledge declared.

MORE

"The housing dollars of these families have not only bought more and better housing, they have bought quality education for children, convenience to jobs, and good community facilities in good neighborhoods with good neighbors. They have also given white Americans in those areas the opportunity to experience the real meaning of democracy and the value and enrichment of diversity."

"These breakthroughs in the walls of exclusion, made without incident, are setting extremely important new patterns of residence," Mr. Rutledge continued. "But what would have happened these last two years if Negro citizens had been given a real sense of confidence by the Federal Government that they could count on its full weight and power to support their search for homes in the general market? Would 170 Negro families in Washington have secured the homes of their choice, or would several thousands have been encouraged and motivated to take advantage of good buys in the suburbs and new sections of the city?"

The NCDH executive director said that the present housing Order applies to less than 10 per cent of the federally-aided housing supply, new and old, and that only 18 per cent of the new housing starts in 1964 were affected by its nondiscrimination requirement. He went on to say that the limited scope alone deters minorities from attempting to use the Order because of the extreme difficulty of identifying housing which it covers.

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Mr. Rutledge pointed out that his organization and its 37 national member agencies are pressing a nationwide campaign for extension of the Executive Order to cover all existing federally-aided housing and all housing affected by mortgage loans provided by banks and savings and loan associations which are chartered, supervised, or whose deposits are insured by the Federal Government. Coverage of these two categories, he said, would bring a substantial part of the existing housing supply and about 83 per cent of all new homes under the Order's reach.

Mr. Rutledge continued: "Civil rights forces are shocked by the apparent reluctance of the President's legal advisors to recommend this expansion. Top constitutional lawyers across the Nation feel there is ample legal authority for an across-the-board Order, and that a narrow, timid interpretation of constitutional guarantees is totally unwarranted. Fair housing laws in 14 states and 27 cities go far beyond the expansions we are asking in the Order, and these laws have consistently withstood constitutional attacks in the courts. We say the President should broaden this Order, should broaden it now to the outer limits of his authority, and should see to it that it is liberally and vigorously enforced.

"In pressing for reform in the Federal Government's housing operations, we cannot overlook its past record of supporting, indeed of initiating, residential segregation. It was Federal

funds, Federal insurance, and a Federal policy of racial discrimination and segregation that made possible the construction of the all-white Levittowns, Park Forests, and the myriads of all-white suburban subdivisions that ring the Nation's cities today. It was the Federal Government's policy of aiding and abetting the discriminatory practices of the real estate industry which resulted in the confinement of Negro Americans to circumscribed areas in our central cities.

"The philosophy of racial segregation which permeated the Federal housing agencies from the time they were established in the 1930's has not been eradicated. Today, with top-flight Presidential appointees heading these housing agencies, in field offices across the country some of the old experts in apartheid are still working their way, crippling and blocking implementation of even the present limited housing Order. We say these long-time experts in apartheid should be retired.

"We say that if the Federal Government could successfully implement residential segregation for more than 30 years, it can successfully implement residential desegregation from here on out. This Order must be expanded, but that is not enough. As we have seen in other fields, such as schools and employment, reaffirming a right which already belongs to people is only the first essential step.

"Merely opening the door to housing rights does not mean that

those who have been denied those rights and have faced rejection over many decades, and who have had to accustom themselves to the limited confines of a segregated housing market - merely opening the door does not mean they will quickly forget all that is past and eagerly rush through the door to exercise their rights.

"The Federal housing agencies should be directed to carry out positive programs to encourage Negro and other minority families to move into the mainstream of the housing market. Minority group homeseekers, civil rights organizations and local fair housing committees should be able to count on the fullest cooperation at all levels of the Federal establishment."

Mr. Rutledge said that the NCDH Center for Fair Housing, a newly-created program operation of his organization, will provide a national coordinated service to assist the more than 1,000 voluntary fair housing groups working to create integrated communities across the United States. One of the major activities of the Center, he said, will be the development of new approaches for encouraging more rapid dispersion of minorities into all sections of the community, and more effective use of laws and regulations designed to achieve equal opportunity in housing.

The NCDH executive director urged increased participation by Negroes and other minority-group members in the local fair housing committee movement, and proposed an immediate 2-point

"Partnership Project":

1. A massive, continuing drive for broadening of the Executive Order, its effective implementation, and the institution of positive action by the Federal housing agencies to achieve integration.

2. A "Home Seekers Registration Drive," comparable to the Voters Registration Drive in the South, to make known the work of the fair housing groups and to assist Negro families in finding the homes of their choice. Such a program, he said, should include active involvement of representatives of all religious, civic, fraternal, political and social minority group organizations in the area. It should provide for widespread distribution of literature describing the laws and the services offered by local fair housing groups throughout the metropolitan area; arrangements for representatives of local committees to participate in membership and other meetings of the minority-group organizations; community-wide housing conferences and workshops held under the joint sponsorship of the minority-group organizations and fair housing committees, and direct referrals of prospective buyers and renters to appropriate groups.

The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, formed in 1950, is an affiliation of 37 national civil rights,

civic, religious and labor organizations which seek to end racial, ethnic, and religious discrimination and to achieve an integrated housing market. A list of the member agencies will be found on the back of page 1 of this release.

# # #

A Joint Press Release from:

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
323 Lexington Avenue New York, N. Y. 10016

and the

ASSOCIATION OF FAIR HOUSING COMMITTEES OF METROPOLITAN NEW YORK
2 West 20th Street - Room 220 New York, N. Y. 10011

Contact: Margaret Fisher
685-8911

FOR RELEASE SUNDAY, MAY 9, 1965

Leaders of New York City community organizations with predominantly nonwhite memberships were urged yesterday (May 8) to join forces with voluntary fair housing committees working in more than 200 communities in the Greater New York area in an accelerated program to encourage Negro and other minority group homeseekers to look for housing in all parts of the city, and its suburbs.

Speaking at a luncheon meeting sponsored by the Association of Fair Housing Committees of Metropolitan New York and the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing (NCDH), Edward Rutledge, executive director of the National Committee, told representatives of about 100 local organizations that housing segregation lies at the root of a segregated way of life, and that laws against discrimination must be recognized as an essential first step toward achieving a system of equal opportunity.

The luncheon meeting, held at the Community Church of New York, also heard brief statements from Paget Alves, Jr., associate director for housing, National Urban League; Dr. Ashley King, representing the Committee on Civil Rights in Metropolitan New York; and Thomas Elijah, chairman, and David Ludlow, executive director of the association.

Mr. Rutledge said that the NCDH Center for Fair Housing, a newly-created program operation of his organization, will provide a national coordinated service to assist more than 1,000 voluntary fair housing groups working to create integrated communities across the United States. One of the major activities of the Center, he reported, will be the development of new approaches for encouraging more rapid movement of minorities into the general housing market, and more effective use of laws and regulations prohibiting discrimination in housing.

"As we have seen in other fields such as schools, jobs, and recreational and other public facilities, our work has only begun when fair practices laws are on the books," the NCDH executive declared. "The law establishes the framework within which we can move toward achieving a society of freedom and equality. But merely opening the door, merely reaffirming by statute constitutional rights which already belong to people does

MORE

not mean that those who have been denied their rights, have faced rejection over many decades, and have had to accustom themselves to the limited confines of half of a dual housing market will quickly become aware of the housing opportunities offered in an open market, nor that they will quickly forget all that is past and eagerly rush through the door to exercise their rights."

"Nor," Mr. Rutledge continued, "does passage of a fair practices law mean that all of those among us who have abridged the rights of others will in good faith accept both the letter and the spirit of a necessary social reform. However, the law does set up machinery which, if adequate and properly used, can control discriminatory behavior to a substantial degree."

Mr. Rutledge drew a sharp contrast between the response of businessmen to fair employment and fair housing laws, commenting as follows:

"In the employment field, a large part of the business community is engaging in positive programs to carry out the spirit as well as the letter of the law. Many business organizations are conducting well-planned, vigorous programs to recruit nonwhite employees, and they have sought and are receiving the active help of minority-group organizations in a partnership effort to make equal job opportunity a reality.

"On the other hand, with notable exceptions, a large part of the housing and financing industry has clung to the discriminatory practices of the past. All too often the letter of the law is obeyed only when builders, brokers and bankers are compelled to obey it. All too often the spirit of the law is ignored or opposed.

"During the past two years we have seen a nationwide campaign, spearheaded by the National Association of Real Estate Boards, to persuade the electorate to wipe out by popular vote all existing fair housing laws and prevent their future enactment.

"Discriminatory practices are deeply institutionalized in much of the organized real estate industry. Brokers, builders and bankers tell us they respond to 'the mind of the market.' Actually, to a large extent their policies and practices create 'the mind of the market.'

"When a majority of the voters in Berkeley, Seattle, Tacoma, Detroit, Akron and the State of California voted against fair housing, latent personal prejudices were built into a 'mind for segregation' by the skillful propaganda of major segments of the real estate industry. Now, these areas are facing a loss of Federal funds for urban renewal and other housing programs, and are still suffering from the tensions and divisiveness created by racist elements during the referendum campaigns."

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Mr. Rutledge expressed gratification that real estate interests had been unsuccessful this year in their efforts to secure passage of legislation for anti-fair housing referenda in eight states: Arkansas, Indiana, Maryland, Nevada, Rhode Island, Texas, Utah and Washington.

The NCDH executive director said that dispersion of nonwhite families from areas of racial concentration is proceeding far too slowly in New York, where city and state fair housing laws are regarded as among the most far-reaching in the nation. Mr. Rutledge continued:

"Before the advent of local fair housing committees, a Negro homeseeker was called on to make an almost heroic effort to break through discriminatory real estate practices -- and often he had to make that effort alone.

"But today, many of those who worked in partnership with the Negro to get our fair housing laws are working in partnership with Negro homeseekers to make the promise of the laws a reality. One of the best by-products of our laws against discrimination has been the formation of this network of voluntary fair housing committees in New York City and its suburban communities, including northern New Jersey and southern Connecticut.

"There have, of course, been many gains. The fair housing laws, plus the determination of minority families to move into the mainstream and secure the homes of their choice, plus the assistance of local fair housing groups, has resulted in the movement of nonwhite families into hundreds of streets, neighborhoods and communities which formerly were restricted to white occupancy.

"During the last two years, local fair housing committees have directly assisted more than 200 Negro families in locating homes in the Greater New York area. And, I might add, all of the move-ins were made routinely and without incident of any kind.

"But overall, we have scarcely made a dent on housing segregation. Too many Negro Americans are still paying too much for too little with their housing dollars, and this will continue as long as accommodations are sought in overcrowded areas. Too many good housing buys are available in the general market, both apartments and homes for sale, that many Negro families looking for homes could readily afford but do not know about, do not see, and thus are by-passing. Too many communities with good homes, good schools, convenient transportation, good recreational and shopping facilities, and with good neighbors are being overlooked."

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Mr. Rutledge said that expanding employment opportunities arising from the decentralization of industry and the emphasis on quality education should make suburban housing increasingly attractive to nonwhite families. "We must work together," he declared, "to see to it that all citizens are informed about these expanding opportunities and are encouraged to take full advantage of them."

The NCDH Executive Director urged that a "partnership project" be undertaken by minority group organizations and the fair housing groups for achieving more rapid development of integrated housing patterns. He proposed the following three-point program:

1. Stimulating maximum use of all Federal, state and local laws and regulations affecting housing discrimination and segregation: state and local fair housing laws; state real estate licensing regulations; plans and programs of government housing agencies; and the Executive Order barring discrimination in federally-aided housing, including immediate participation in the campaign to secure strengthening of the Executive Order by President Johnson.

2. Working for more effective implementation of all laws and regulations, including provision for adequate budget and staff for the enforcement agencies; liberal enforcement policies; and full support of the enforcement agencies by the political power structure.

3. A broad and continuing informational program, beamed to reach the total minority community, to be spearheaded by the minority-group organizations in cooperation with the Association of Fair Housing Committees. Such a program should include active involvement of representatives of all religious, civic, fraternal, political and social minority group organizations in the work of the Association. It should provide for widespread distribution of literature describing the laws and the services offered by local fair housing groups throughout the metropolitan area; arrangements for representatives of the Association and various local committees to participate in membership and other meetings of the minority-group organizations; community-wide housing conferences and workshops held under the joint sponsorship of the minority-group organizations and the Association; and direct referrals of prospective buyers and renters to the Association.

The Association of Fair Housing Committees of Metropolitan New York is a federation of local voluntary fair housing groups.

The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, formed in 1950, is an affiliation of 37 national civil rights, civic, religious and labor organizations which seek to end racial, ethnic, and religious discrimination and to achieve an integrated housing market.

# # #

A PRESS RELEASE from the Housing

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
Center for Fair Housing
323 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 • 685-8911

Charles Abrams
President

Algernon D. Black
Chairman of the Board

Jack T. Conway
Frank S. Horne
Charlotte Meacham
Loren Miller
William H. Oliver
Boris Shishkin
Vice Presidents

Roland M. Sawyer
Secretary

D. John Heyman
Treasurer

Joseph B. Robison
General Counsel

■

Edward Rutledge
Executive Director

Jack E. Wood, Jr.
Associate Executive Director

Margaret Fisher
Director of Information and Publications

Barbara Chirse
Administrative Assistant

Contact: Margaret Fisher

FOR RELEASE
WEDNESDAY, MAY 26, 1965
AND THEREAFTER

Thirty of the Nation's leading representatives from the housing industry, government, philanthropic foundations, religious bodies, labor, and the field of intergroup relations are meeting this week at the Holly Knoll Conference Center in Capahosic, Virginia, to evaluate on-going programs and explore new approaches designed to accelerate integration in housing.

The Capahosic Housing Conference, which is being held Wednesday through Friday (May 26-28), was convened under the joint sponsorship of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing (NCDH).

A principal feature of the meeting will be an in-depth examination of the program activities of "Operation Open City," a pilot project initiated by the National Committee in January 1964 for the purpose of developing practical methods and techniques which would result in more rapid dispersion of Negro and other minority group families from areas of racial concentration to neighborhoods throughout New York City. Administration of this program was transferred to the Urban League of Greater New York in the fall of 1964, under a cooperation agreement with NCDH.

Participants also will study other local community action programs for achieving housing integration, such as those conducted in various

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metropolitan areas by the American Friends Service Committee and the National Urban League.

"The great internal problems which threaten our Nation will never be solved until we squarely face the root evil and pervasive effect of segregated housing," declared NCDH Executive Director Edward Rutledge and Associate Executive Director Jack E. Wood, Jr., in a statement announcing the Capahosic conference.

"Unless we move rapidly to stop the growth of housing segregation and reverse present trends, the conflict over segregated schools will get worse, not better," they continued. "Equal employment opportunities will be substantially nullified by the increasing movement of industry to outlying areas, while nonwhite job hunters are forced to live in the central cities. Our cities will face mounting difficulties in raising the money to provide essential services. Urban renewal programs will be stymied by almost insurmountable racial problems. Resentment and bitter despair will continue smouldering in our urban centers, inviting increasing conflict and explosion."

The NCDH executives called on the Federal Government, state and local governments, the housing industry, philanthropic foundations and other public interest organizations, labor unions, religious institutions, and citizens throughout the country to join forces in moving the issue of housing into a priority position in the current drive for civil rights.

"By bringing together leadership from all of these areas," they said, "the Capahosic Housing Conference should help create a new sense of urgency on this crucial issue."

Mr. Rutledge and Mr. Wood said another major item on the conference agenda will be a discussion of the role and responsibility of government, private industry and foundations in support of efforts to achieve equal opportunity in housing.

"The Federal Government should, of course, take the lead and set the standard," they declared. "It has a grave responsibility to put its full weight and power

behind efforts to end housing segregation. For 30 years the Federal housing agencies actively promoted residential segregation as a national institution. Federal programs resulted in the mammoth all-white suburban communities which surround our major cities, and the confinement of Negroes and other minorities to circumscribed areas in the urban core."

"Today," they continued, "the Executive Order prohibiting discrimination in federally-aided housing is so limited in scope and so narrowly interpreted that it has had practically no impact on housing segregation. Housing is the major gap in the Federal policy of nondiscrimination. The President should close the gap. He should immediately extend the Order to cover all existing federally-aided housing and all mortgage lending institutions which are chartered, supervised or whose deposits are insured by the Federal Government."

Mr. Rutledge and Mr. Wood said that the NCDH Center for Fair Housing, a program service their organization provides to assist local community groups throughout the country, will use the experience of Operation Open City to develop guidelines and to encourage local organizations in other metropolitan areas to undertake similar projects. They reported that the Center for Fair Housing is in contact with more than 1,000 voluntary fair housing committees working to advance integrated housing in 30 states.

The NCDH spokesmen said one of the principal reasons New York City was chosen as the testing ground for the demonstration program was the existence of comprehensive fair housing legislation in this area. However, they went on to say that the techniques and methods which are being developed can be adapted to any metropolitan area.

Open City's plan of action follows a two-pronged approach. First, the identification and cultivation of extensive contacts through which specific, current information on housing opportunities is widely communicated throughout the minority communities. Second, the identification of neighborhoods in all sections of the city which

are predominantly or entirely occupied by whites, where housing accommodations are frequently available, and finding residents in such neighborhoods who will take the lead in forming fair housing groups to provide a "helping hand" for nonwhite home-seekers.

"This program," the two executives commented, "involved an exhaustive and continuing study of New York City neighborhoods, covering patterns of residence, average housing costs, availability of housing, convenience to transportation, schools and other community facilities, and the development of widespread 'people to people' contacts in both white and Negro communities. Detailed community profiles, prepared by the neighborhood fair housing groups, are broadly distributed by Open City through churches, civil rights agencies, social and civic clubs, and other organizations with predominantly nonwhite memberships."

Mr. Rutledge and Mr. Wood pointed out that until very recently Operation Open City was manned entirely by volunteers. The two full-time workers who administer the program, they said, are now receiving modest stipends. They also reported that during the short time the demonstration project has been in operation, fair housing groups in the five boroughs of New York City have risen from 15 to 27, and more than 600 nonwhite families have used the program's services in looking for homes. More than 400 of these are currently in the market for living quarters outside traditional Negro neighborhoods.

Mr. Wood, who chaired the planning committee for the Capahosic Housing Conferenec, lists the following persons as participants: Paget L. Alves, Associate Director, National Urban League, New York City; Alexander Joe Allen, Executive Director, Greater New York Urban League, New York City; Algernon D. Black, Ethical Culture Society Leader and Chairman, NCDH Board of Directors, New York City; Leo Bohannon, Director Mid-Western Regional Office, National Urban League, St. Louis, Mo.; Robert L. Carter, General Counsel, NAACP, New York City; J. Lawrence Duncan, Assistant to the Commissioner

for Intergroup Relations, Urban Renewal Administration, Washington, D. C.; Christopher Edley, Program Associate, The Ford Foundation, New York City; Harold Fleming, Executive Vice President, Potomac Institute, Inc., Washington, D. C.; Miss Margaret Fisher, Director of Information and Publications, NCDH, New York City; Morris B. Fleissig, Planning and Community Development Consultant, Newark, N. J.; Mrs. Eunice Grier, NCDH Consultant, Washington, D. C.; D. John Heyman, Treasurer, NCDH, New York City; Norman Hill, Civil Rights Director, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Betty Hoeber, Greater New York Urban League, New York City; Edward Holmgren, Executive Director, Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc., Baltimore, Md.; Frank S. Horne, Consultant on Human Relations, Housing and Redevelopment Board, New York City; Arthur J. Levin, Staff Director, Potomac Institute, Inc., Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Charlotte Meacham, National Representative for Housing Programs, American Friends Service Committee and NCDH Vice President, Philadelphia, Pa.; H. Carl McCall, Project Director, Taconic Foundation, Inc., New York City; John McDermott, Executive Director, Catholic Interracial Council, Chicago, Ill.; Joseph McGrath, Director of Local Development Services, ACTION, Inc., New York City; Booker T. McGraw, Assistant to the Administrator for Intergroup Relations, Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington, D. C.; George Nesbitt, Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington, D. C.; Frederick D. Patterson, President, Phelps-Stokes Fund, New York City; Mrs. Sadelle R. Sacks, Executive Director, Fair Housing, Inc., Roxbury, Mass.; I. N. P. Stokes, Chairman of the Board, Phelps-Stokes Fund, New York City; Nathaniel H. Rogg, Chief Economist, National Association of Home Builders, Washington, D. C.; Edward Rutledge, Executive Director, NCDH, New York City; Mrs. Margery T. Ware, Executive Secretary, Neighbors, Inc., Washington, D. C.; Miss Ida Wood, Administrative Secretary, Phelps-Stokes Fund, New York City; and Jack E. Wood, Jr., Associate Executive Director, NCDH.

The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing is an affiliation of 38 religious, civil rights, labor and civic organizations which seek to end racial, ethnic, and religious discrimination and to achieve an integrated housing market. A list of the member agencies will be found on the back of page 1 of this release.

# # #

A PRESS RELEASE from the

file Housing

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
Center for Fair Housing
323 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 • 685-8911

Charles Abrams
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Edward Rutledge
Executive Director

Jack E. Wood, Jr.
Associate Executive Director

Margaret Fisher
Director of Information and Publications

Barbara Chirse
Administrative Assistant

Contact: Margaret Fisher

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 9, 1965
AND THEREAFTER

In a telegram congratulating President Johnson on his major civil rights speech presented at Howard University last Friday, Edward Rutledge, executive director of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing (NCDH), told the President yesterday (June 8) that immediate expansion of the Executive Order prohibiting discrimination in federally-aided housing would help ease tensions "in the uncertain months ahead."

"No President," the NCDH spokesman told the Chief Executive, "has ever spoken more eloquently or with such deep insight and knowledge of the problems which beset Negro citizens and damage all Americans. Nor has any President ever matched deed with word as you have done."

However, Mr. Rutledge went on to say that discrimination in housing "constitutes a barrier that confronts the Negro in his effort to achieve full freedom in every other aspect of life." He urged the President to use his power to "close the remaining gap in the Federal Government's policy of nondiscrimination by extending efforts to achieve full equality of opportunity to the housing field."

The present housing Order, issued by President Kennedy in November 1962, is largely restricted to new homes with mortgages insured by the Federal Housing Administration or guaranteed by the

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Veterans Administration. Mr. Rutledge reports that it applies to about 10 per cent of the federally-assisted housing supply, new and old, and that it covered about 18 per cent of the Nation's new housing starts during 1964.

NCDH and its 38 national member organizations have recommended that the President extend the nondiscrimination requirements of the Order in two respects: 1) to reach all existing federally-aided housing; and 2) to cover the conventional mortgage lending market, including all commercial banks and savings and loan associations which are chartered, supervised, or whose deposits are insured by agencies of the Federal Government. The committee has also called for strengthening the enforcement procedures of an expanded Order. Mr. Rutledge states that under the extensions recommended by his organization the housing mandate would cover an estimated 83 per cent of all new home construction and a substantial part of the existing housing stock.

In his telegram to President Johnson, the NCDH executive said that much of the turmoil faced by the Nation's cities is the outgrowth of housing segregation and the spread of racial ghettos. He cited the continuing strife over segregated schools arising from segregated neighborhoods; discrimination in housing as a barrier to employment opportunities; conflict over urban renewal programs which displace nonwhites into a restricted housing supply, extending areas of racial concentration; and the increasing difficulty of the cities in raising adequate tax income to provide essential services.

"Your swift action now," he told the President, "would accomplish much to ease tensions during the uncertain months ahead and to set the course for full freedom during this decade."

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The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing is an affiliation of 38 major religious, civil rights, labor and civic organizations which spearheaded the drive for issuance of the 1962 housing Order and are leading the nationwide campaign for its expansion. A list of the NCDH member agencies will be found on the reverse side of the first page of this release.

The text of Mr. Rutledge's telegram to President Johnson is attached.

# # # #

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST
DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
323 Lexington Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10016
Tel: 685-8911

TEXT OF TELEGRAM TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON
June 8, 1965

Dear Mr. President:

Our warmest congratulations for your magnificent and penetrating speech at Howard University. Surely the people of this Nation will be inspired and challenged by your deep personal and firm official commitment to building a society in which full equality becomes a reality for Negroes and all other people in our land. No President has ever spoken more eloquently or with such deep knowledge and insight of the problems which beset Negro citizens and damage all Americans. Nor has any President ever matched deed with word as you have done.

Once the voting bill is passed only one fundamental, but critical, gap will remain in the Federal policy of nondiscrimination. But that gap -- discrimination in housing -- constitutes a barrier that confronts the Negro in his effort to achieve full freedom in every other aspect of life. You alone, Mr. President, can knock down this remaining barrier by amending Executive Order No. 11063 to extend its coverage to all housing, past, present and future, in which the Federal Government is directly or indirectly involved, including all commercial banks and savings and loan associations which are chartered, regulated, or whose deposits are insured by agencies of the Federal Government.

There is an urgency for your action now. It will be hailed as a great promise of fulfillment to all Negroes and racial and ethnic minorities confined to racial ghettos, and to the millions of white American citizens who believe in equal opportunity in housing.

Racial discrimination in housing is one of the best known, longest standing and most intensively documented manifestations in American life. Almost as widely known is the fact that the most disruptive consequences of housing discrimination is the rise and spread of racial ghettos. Today, in the very eye of the storm of the Negro Revolution the racial ghetto stands, largely unassailed, as the rock upon which rests the pattern of segregated living which pervades and vitiates almost every phase of Negro life and Negro-white relationships.

Cities across the country are torn with strife over segregated schools arising out of segregated neighborhoods -- busing, ethnic balances, de facto -- have all become fighting words. Police brutality charges, counter-charges, violence and riots boil up in the ghettos. Dope traffic and other sordid violations with their accompanying crime statistics, graft and strongly alleged and deeply believed police involvement are rampant. School drop-outs and great numbers of unemployed youth sputter as the "social dynamite" exploding in the ghetto; city housing inspectors who "look the other way" at code infractions; courts that penalize

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housing lawlessness by "slaps on the wrists;" overcrowded, slumlord-exploited, rat- and vermin-infested tenements breed patterns of bitterness, antipathy and rent strikes; sullen masses provide ripe breeding grounds for provocation by Black Nationalists, Muslims, rabble-rousers and self-seeking politicians.

The rising turmoil involves the entire city; many run to the suburbs to "escape" the rising crescendo, leaving the inner-core to be agitated anew by urban renewal programs which displace nonwhites into restricted housing supply, and leaving the city with a declining tax base inadequate to provide essential services.

Your swift action now would accomplish much to ease tensions during the uncertain months ahead and to set the course for full freedom during this decade so that America can move realistically toward your goal of a Great Society -- neither white nor black, but one Nation, indivisible with liberty and justice for all.

We know you agree, Mr. President, it is imperative that this Nation provide fullest opportunities for Negro citizens to move freely into the mainstream of American life. We submit that this can never be accomplished in the framework of a segregated society stemming from segregated housing patterns.

We earnestly request that you extend the Housing Order now and we pledge you the fullest support of our 38 national member agencies with more than 60 million members, and the cooperation of more than one thousand local fair housing committees now working in 30 States.

Respectfully,

Edward Rutledge
Executive Director
NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST
DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING

HOUSING

- sent to Winston Lockett

SEP 27 1965

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST
DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
323 Lexington Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016
685-8911

September 24, 1965

TO: NCDH Board of Directors

FROM: Edward Rutledge, Executive Director

SUBJECT: Dates for NCDH National Conference, Election of New Officers and Board Members and Constitutional Changes

The purpose of this memorandum is to advise you of the following: (1) Dates of the National Conference and next NCDH Board Meeting; (2) Election of new officers and board members at the September 9th Board Meeting and (3) Recommended NCDH Constitutional amendments.

1. You have been notified in previous memoranda from the Chairman of the Board, Algernon D. Black, and in TRENDS IN HOUSING that NCDH is convening a National Conference in Chicago on October 21-23. It will be held at the Sherman House and will follow the National Annual Convention of NAIRO. The theme of the Conference will be "A Thousand Harlems: How to Break Up the Racial Ghetto."

We plan to hold the Board Meeting in Chicago at either a dinner meeting beginning at 7:00 p.m. on October 22 or on the afternoon of October 23 at 3:00 p.m., depending on hotel and conference program arrangements which will be announced to you shortly. Please reserve these dates.

In the event that you are unable to attend personally due to financial considerations, we hope you will feel free to designate a representative in your agency--perhaps from a Midwestern regional office--to represent your organization at both the Conference and the Board Meeting.

2. At the special NCDH Board Meeting held on September 9, the following officers and board members were unanimously elected: George R. Metcalf as President; Mrs. Marietta Tree as Vice President; Dr. Frank S. Horne as Chairman of the Executive Committee; Board Members:

Malcolm Andresen, Wayne Phillips, Richard Ravitch and William Scheide.

3. Recommended amendments to the NCDH Constitution, voted upon unanimously at the September 9 Board Meeting, are submitted in this memorandum and will be presented at the October Board Meeting for ratification. On the basis of the discussion held regarding these amendments, Frances Levenson, Chairman of NCDH's Membership Committee, has submitted the following constitutional changes adopted at the Board Meeting on September 9. These amendments provide for a Board of Directors composed of one representative from each member organization rather than two as applies now and for directors-at-large to be selected by the Board equal to the number of organizational members of the Board as follows:

Constitutional Changes

(From NCDH Constitution, Page 3):

Section (2)(a):	Each member shall designate (two) one representative(s) who shall be a Director(s).
Section (3):	Each member may also designate alternates to serve at meetings of the Board of Directors in the absence of the representative(s) designated as a Director(s).
Section (4):	The Board of Directors, by a majority vote, may elect Directors-at-large up to (one half) the number of Directors designated by the member(s) organizations. Such Directors shall be elected for a specific term not to exceed three years.

( ) indicate ommissions

___ indicate changes or additions

SEP 3

TRENDS IN HOUSING

Published bimonthly by the

National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing

Center for Fair Housing

323 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 • 685-8911

VOL. IX, No. 4 JULY-AUGUST 1965 $2 A YEAR

Fair Housing Law Enacted in Ohio

Five New Laws in 1965

On July 23, Ohio became the 16th state in the nation to enact legislation barring discrimination in private housing. Its law applies to all residential property except sale or rental of owner-occupied one- and two-family houses; to real estate agents with respect to housing covered by the law; and to all operations of mortgage lenders.

Enforcement will be by the Ohio Civil Rights Commission, which may investigate complaints, attempt conciliation, hold hearings, issue orders, and seek court enforcement when required. Before exercising enforcement powers, the commission must find that a complainant is a bona fide homeseeker. The law becomes effective Oct. 30, 1965.

Rental Housing

Maine's new law covers rental housing only, excluding units in owner-occupied 2-family houses and rooms in owner-occupied homes where four or less are rented. It provides no enforcement agency. (*Trends,* May-June, 1965.)

Gary, Ind. This city's new fair housing ordinance applies to all sales and rentals (including vacant lots), except rental of units in owner-occupied 2- or 3-family houses and rental of rooms in private homes; and to real estate agents and mortgage lenders with respect to housing covered by the law.

Enforcement is by a newly-created Commission on Human Relations, empowered to initiate investigations on its own motion; investigate charges of discrimination; to subpoena witnesses; hold public hearings; issue cease and desist orders; and seek court enforcement when necessary. The new ordinance became effective on June 4, 1965.

In 1965, four states adopted their first nondiscrimination housing laws covering private housing: Indiana, Rhode Island (*Trends,* Mar.-Apr., 1965), Maine and Ohio. Colorado, Connecticut and New York strengthened existing laws.

Positive Action Urged To Extend Integration

NCDH Meeting on Housing-Jobs-Schools

More than 200 government officials from all sections of the United States met in New York City on June 29 to discuss the urgent need for positive, aggressive action to make anti-discrimination laws and regulations more effective instruments for achieving an integrated society.

Convened by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing (NCDH), the conference was held at the Brotherhood-in-Action Building. It focused on four major topics: Jobs and Housing; Equality in Housing and the Law; Schools and Housing; and Achieving Integration in Housing.

"There is growing dissatisfaction, disillusionment and frustration with the limited impact of anti-discrimination laws and regulations on racial segregation," NCDH Executive Director Edward Rutledge said in a statement outlining the purpose of the meeting. "NCDH is calling for new, determined approaches in implementing these measures—for bold, affirmative, imaginative action to wipe out inherently discriminatory segregation and to actively promote the development of integrated communities."

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., Chairman of the Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, headed a list of distinguished speakers at the meeting. Attending were representatives of Federal agencies; chairmen and executive directors of state, county and city human relations commissions; state attorneys general; and top constitutional lawyers and intergroup relations officials.

(*Continued on page* 2)

Roosevelt Arriving to Speak on Jobs and Housing

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Jr., is greeted by NCDH President Charles Abrams (at podium) as he arrives to address the Brotherhood-in-Action Housing Conference. Mr. Roosevelt was introduced by Congressman James H. Scheuer of New York, long a member of the NCDH Advisory Council.

NCDH Conference

(*Continued from page* 1)

In opening remarks, NCDH President Charles Abrams reviewed the spread of nondiscrimination laws affecting housing. He reported that as of June 1, 1965, the Federal Government and at least 91 states and localities had taken official action to achieve an open market.

However, Mr. Abrams warned of the strength of opposition forces. "During the last two years," he declared, "we have witnessed a concerted effort, led by local real estate interests and actively promoted by the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB), to persuade the people to turn back the clock and legalize housing segregation at the ballot box. This is an extremely serious threat to the entire movement for equal rights."

(*The New York Times* June 30th report on the NCDH conference said officials of NAREB were unavailable for comment on Mr. Abrams's charge.)

Jobs and Housing

Representative James H. Scheuer, Democratic Member of Congress from New York, introduced Mr. Roosevelt. Congressman Scheuer has long been a member of the NCDH Advisory Council, and is a pioneering builder of open occupancy housing.

The head of the Government's fair employment commission stressed the interrelationship of housing, jobs and education. Quoting from President Johnson's address to graduates of Howard University on June 4, he said the injustices suffered by Negro Americans are "a seamless web. They cause each other. They result from each other. They reinforce each other."

Calling segregated housing a serious obstacle to employment opportunities, Mr. Roosevelt said the problem is growing with the movement of industries to outlying areas at the same time they are recruiting Negro employees. He said thousands of Negroes are losing jobs because they are denied homes near the location of new plants.

Bipartisan Greeting Between Two Noted Liberals

State Senator George R. Metcalf, Republican of New York and sponsor of the pioneering Metcalf-Baker Fair Housing Laws, and Mr. Roosevelt, a well-known Democrat also of New York, exchange greetings. Looking on are (*left to right*) NCDH Treasurer D. John Heyman, Associate Executive Director Jack E. Wood, Jr., and Edward Rutledge, NCDH Executive Director. Senator Metcalf, who decided to retire from the New York State Legislature this year, is a member of the NCDH Board of Directors.

"The American business community," the speaker declared, "should use its influence with those segments of the real estate industry which cling to ancient wrongs, with property owners, and with the public at large, to end racial barriers to housing. As employers, they have a stake—moral and financial—in doing this. As Americans in leadership positions, they have an obligation to their country to do it."

Mr. Roosevelt called on businessmen to use their political and civic leadership in support of open housing; to support laws for equal rights and promote their spread across the country; and to cooperate with public and private efforts to extend equal opportunity.

Fair Housing and the Law

Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., chaired the seminar on Equal Housing Opportunity and the Law. Mr. Greenberg reviewed the historic role of law in the civil rights struggle, and noted that this session would cover the substance of discussions at the National Legal Conference on Equal Opportunity in Housing, held in Berkeley last February under the sponsorship of NCDH and the University of California Law School (*Trends,* Mar.-Apr., 1965).

Reports on the Berkeley conference were presented by Sol Rabkin, Director, Law Department, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and Chairman of the NCDH Legal Committee; Joseph B. Robison, Director, Commission on Law and Social Action, American Jewish Congress, and NCDH General Counsel; and Martin E. Sloane, Washington attorney.

(Since the Berkeley meeting was reported in a past issue of *Trends,* this article will only cover points developed by Mr. Rabkin and Mr. Robison not reported heretofore. Copies of *Initiative and Referenda in Civil Rights,* by Rabkin; *The Possibility of a Frontal Assault on the State Action Concept,* by Robison; and *The Executive Order on Housing and Conventional Financing,* by Sloane are available from NCDH.)

Anti-Fair Housing Referenda

Mr. Rabkin questioned the propriety of civil rights forces opposing all use of initiative and referendum as a law-making process. He suggested greater attention be given to tightening state referendum provisions, as well as other action to protect civil rights under law. Major points emerging from the discussion:

- **Civil rights issues should be immune from referenda. Mr. Rabkin noted that Massachusetts exempts religious issues from referendum; Maryland bars appropriations laws; other states exempt public health and safety laws.**

(*Continued on page* 8)

TRENDS *IN HOUSING*
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Founded in 1950, the National Committee is composed of 39 religious, civil rights, labor and civic organizations which seek to end racial, ethnic and religious discrimination and to achieve an integrated housing market in which the Nation's commitment to "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family" becomes a reality. A subscription to *Trends in Housing* is $2 a year.

CHARLES ABRAMS, *President* ALGERNON D. BLACK, *Chairman*
EDWARD RUTLEDGE, *Executive Director*
JACK E. WOOD, JR., *Associate Executive Director*
MARGARET FISHER, *Director of Information and Publications*

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High Court Will Rule on Prop. 14

Fall Decision Expected

Litigation involving seven cases which attack the constitutionality of the "segregation amendment" to the California Constitution is scheduled for consideration by the State Supreme Court no later than Oct. 25, 1965, according to recent reports received by *Trends*. The amendment (Article I, Section 26) appeared on the ballot as Proposition 14 and was adopted by referendum on Nov. 3, 1964 (*Trends*, Jan.-Feb., 1965, and following issues).

NCDH has joined more than 40 California organizations in entering the case as friends of the court. Represented among those from California are the state's major religious bodies, civic and civil rights agencies, labor unions, fair housing committees, official human relations commissions, and city governments.

Major Arguments

Major arguments presented in the amicus brief include the following:

¶ By vesting "absolute discretion" in the owner as to disposition of his property, "the amendment attempts to sweep within the pale of state constitutional protection both reasonable and unreasonable motivations, ethical and unethical considerations, licit and illicit reasons for selecting willing buyers and renters."

¶ The amendment was proposed and passed for the precise objective of guaranteeing the right to discriminate on racial, religious and ethnic grounds in the sale and rental of real property. It was sponsored by California real estate interests, who made it clear during the initiative campaign that Proposition 14 was intended to nullify the state's fair housing laws and prevent the enactment of such legislation in the future.

¶ Article I, Section 26, of the California Constitution clearly violates the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution by placing the protection of the state's legal system behind those who discriminate against minority citizens, by denying those who suffer discrimination redress of law, and by arbitrarily barring the exercise of state power to regulate discrimination in the transfer of real property.

***The Fair Housing Statutes and Ordinances*, a special NCDH report on state and local legislative and administrative action as of June 1, 1965, is now available. 8 pages. Please include 25¢ for mailing and handling.**

Poll Finds New Outlook On Housing Integration

White Response Explodes "Flight" Theory

The response of white Americans to a question concerning a Negro neighbor next door "may point to a major breakthrough toward real integration in many parts of the United States," according to a LOOK MAGAZINE article on a comprehensive Gallup survey of the American mood today.

"Eight in ten white Americans said they would not move," reports LOOK, going on to note that support of integration is even more marked among teen-agers, and that less than one-fourth of the white Southerners polled said they would move. (See chart below.)

"Greatest Surprise"

The report also included the following observations:

"This unexpected response to the Negro as neighbor [LOOK said it was the greatest surprise of the survey] does not mean that Negroes will now receive a warm welcome from white real-estate dealers. It does suggest, however, that many Americans are willing to accept, in theory at least, an idea that seemed unthinkable to most of them a few years before. Whatever they might *think*, large numbers of Americans now seem to deem it socially unacceptable to express themselves as bigots."

A sharp change in the attitude of Americans on the subject of equal rights was shown by a comparison of two Gallup polls commissioned by LOOK: one in 1959 found that only 5 per cent cited integration as the most important problem facing the nation, whereas in the current survey almost 25 per cent considered it the number one problem. Only keeping the peace topped integration among the major concerns listed.

"The reaction of our white majority to the persistent Negro challenge strongly suggests that while the little men of our land have been making the ugly headlines, most Americans have been doing some basic thinking," says LOOK.

"Suppose a Negro family moved next door to you. What would you do?" The surprising response of whites:

	PERCENTAGES					
	East	Midwest	South	West	Adults	Youth
Accept them, welcome them, treat them like white people, be a good neighbor	22	19	13	21	19	33
Would stay here	13	14	12	9	12	6
Would do nothing at all	35	30	25	40	31	29
Depends (on the kind of people they are, etc.)	12	8	8	10	9	10
Would dislike it, wouldn't socialize, but generally do nothing about it.	6	11	10	8	9	10
Would move, sell, get out, etc.	9	15	23	12	15	11
Miscellaneous	1	1	4	*	2	2
Don't know, no answer	3	3	7	2	4	4

*less than 1 percent.

Totals may exceed 100 percent because of a few multiple answers.

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New Jersey Supreme Court Upholds Fair Housing Law

Rejects "Absolute Property Rights" Argument

In a unanimous decision handed down on June 28, the New Jersey Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the state's fair housing law. The high court's action resolved conflicting opinions by two lower courts—one having upheld the law, the other having ruled it invalid. The appeal against the statute was brought by the New Jersey Home Builders Association and the State Association of Real Estate Boards.

The New Jersey law, enacted in 1961, covers the sale of privately-financed homes in developments of 10 or more; rental of apartments in buildings with three or more units (excluding owner-occupied three-family houses); and all sales and rentals of government-aided housing, including homes with outstanding FHA-insured or VA-guaranteed mortgages. It also applies to real estate brokers and salesmen and to mortgage lenders with respect to housing covered by the law.

Highlights from the Ruling

The following excerpts are drawn from the June 28 decision:

"Private property rights are not absolute. They are always subject to the reasonable exercise of the police power. . . . In the State's exercise of its police power it has placed myriad restrictions upon the property owner's right to use land as he chooses. For example, the law of nuisance, easements by necessity, the division of the benefits of water, sanitary regulations, building codes, zoning ordinances and statutes, and planning regulations, have all been recognized as legitimate restrictions on the use of private property. . . .

More pertinent to the issue before us, the rule against perpetuities, the rule against certain restraints on the alienation of land, the rule prohibiting a testator from devising his property subject to a condition which violates the public welfare, and rent ceiling laws are all examples of legitimate police power restrictions upon the right of a private property owner to dispose of his property as he chooses. . . .

In short, the private property owner has the right to use and dispose of his property as he chooses *only* so long as his action is not contrary to the general welfare. . . . The statute here is certainly as reasonable a regulation of private property toward the achievement of a highly desirable public goal as are planning and zoning laws. The latter have long been upheld when attacked as taking property without due process of law."

Reasonable Classification

The Court also struck down arguments that the law was unconstitutional because it applies to some but not all housing:

"A classification having some reasonable basis is not invalid merely because it is not made with mathematical nicety or because in practice it results in some inequality. . . . evils in the same field may be of different dimensions and proportions, and the reform may, therefore, take one step at a time, attacking the evil where it seems most acute to the legislative mind. . . . It is common knowledge that the economic status of Negroes in New Jersey is considerably less than that of the white population. The Legislature, recognizing this fact, could have supposed that multiple housing developments are more likely to be within the Negroes' limited means. Furthermore, the Legislature could have found that by freeing the large multiple housing developments from discrimination, a desired pattern of interracial living will be more readily established in the whole community."

Background of the Case

The case grew out of a complaint of discrimination filed with the New Jersey Division on Civil Rights by Mrs. Delia David. Mrs. David charged she was denied rental of an apartment by the Vesta Company solely because she is a Negro. In this case, *David v. Vesta Co.*, 81 N. J. Super. 593 (Bergen Cty. Ct. 1963), the lower court held the law unconstitutional. An appeal was taken by Mrs. David and the Division on Civil Rights.

Meanwhile, a builder against whom no charge of discrimination was pending, together with the home builders and real estate associations, instituted a second constitutional challenge of the law. In this case, *N. J. Home Builders Ass'n. v. Div. on Civil Rights,* 81 N. J. Super. 243 (Ch. Div. 1963), the lower court upheld the statute, the home builders appealed, and the New Jersey Committee Against Discrimination in Housing and eight other public interest organizations entered the case as friends of the court.

In previous decisions, the New Jersey Supreme Court twice upheld the constitutionality of an earlier anti-discrimination law which applied only to government-aided housing. One of these cases, *Levitt & Sons, Inc. v. Division Against Discrimination,* 31 N. J. 514, 158 A 2d 177, was carried to the United States Supreme Court, which refused to consider an appeal. This particular litigation involved the 16,000-home New Jersey Levittown (now called Willingboro), which has been successfully integrated for several years (*Trends,* May-June, 1960; Sept.-Oct., 1963).

Pressure Mounts For Broad Order

Johnson Urged to Act

The drive for expansion of Executive Order 11063, prohibiting discrimination in federally-aided housing, is in full swing with groups and individuals in all sections of the country urging President Johnson to take immediate action.

NCDH is recommending that the housing order be extended to cover all existing federally-aided housing and all banks and savings and loan associations which are chartered, supervised, or whose deposits are insured by the Federal Government. Also, that the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing be directed to assume broad responsibilities to assure forceful and effective implementation of an expanded order, and that it be provided with adequate staff and budget to administer a comprehensive national program.

Religious Support

At the annual General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association, held in Boston from May 25 to May 28, the delegates adopted a broad resolution supporting open occupancy, and including a call on the President to extend the housing order. Similar action was taken at the convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, held during June. As noted elsewhere in this issue, the recent NAACP convention also urged the President to act in this area.

Copies of NCDH's recommendations to President Johnson and background information are available from NCDH. Communications to the President should be sent NOW, with copies to NCDH.

Important New Pamphlets

***Neighbors and Neighborhoods,* by Margaret Fisher. A housing handbook for building good communities. Includes a "check list" for learning about the local housing situation. Published by the National Board of the YWCA, 600 Lexington Ave., New York City 10022. Single copies available from NCDH at $1.50. For larger quantities, write publisher.**

***Toward Integration in Suburban Housing,* by Leacock, Deutsch, and Fishman. A scientific study of the successes and failures of an interracial community council in its efforts to stabilize an integrated area after so-called "panic moving" had been set off by real estate interests. Published by the Anti-Defamation League, 315 Lexington Ave., New York City 10016. 75¢ each.**

FAIR HOUSING NEWS EXCHANGE

A Reporting Service of the
NCDH Center for Fair Housing

Chicago's North Shore

Fifty college students and hundreds of adult residents have been working for several weeks with Chicago's North Shore Summer Project (NSSP), a grass-roots effort to secure equal treatment and equal service for all homeseekers by realtors in that city's northern suburban communities. NSSP is being sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee and a large number of local religious, fair housing and civil rights groups. One hundred twenty North Shore clergymen are supporting the project.

This symbol of Chicago's North Shore Summer Project has been made into window and car stickers and badges. NSSP is selling the badges for 25¢; and the stickers for 10¢; with lower quantity prices. Interested persons should write to NSSP, 730 Elm St., Winnetka, Ill.

NSSP's main targets are the more than 100 members of the Evanston-North Shore Real Estate Board, which serves 11 communities with 325,000 residents. In 1964, with at least 2,000 homes for sale through the multiple listing service in North Shore communities, and with 20,000 Negro families in Chicago who can afford this type of suburban housing, only five Negro families moved into the North Shore area.

"For three years," says the NSSP Statement of Purpose, "North Shore fair housing committees have helped Negro homeseekers look at the few houses open to them. Now, Negroes are asking to be served by real estate men as first-class citizens. And Negroes are being turned away, just as they are at the courthouses in the South."

The college students, most of whom are North Shore residents, were given training for one week before embarking on eight weeks of interviewing local homeowners whose houses are being offered for sale through the multiple listing service. Their goal is to persuade the owners to list on a nondiscriminatory basis and to sign petitions asking the realtors to service all prospective customers alike.

With a strong religious base, NSSP is putting emphasis on its community education program, including discussion groups and neighborhood seminars. In late July, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King spoke to an audience of 10,000 people at a meeting sponsored by NSSP on the village green of Winnetka. It was the first large-scale civil rights rally ever held in this North Shore suburb. A fair housing group is working in each community; a committee of clergymen is involving most of the ministers in the area. Another committee searches for and encourages buyers. In addition there are the usual organizational committees.

When attempts to negotiate with the Board of Realtors continued to be unsuccessful, a week's series of silent vigils were held in mid-July at the headquarters of the Evanston-North Shore Real Estate Board. Each vigil was limited to 15 "sentinels"—clergy, Negro and other minority-group homeseekers, North Shore property owners, and other NSSP workers.

Chicago's North Shore communities are notorious not only for barring Negro residents. A recent survey by the Anti-Defamation League found that 60 per cent of the homes in the suburban town of Kenilworth are closed to Jews; 32 per cent in Lake Bluff; 30 per cent in Winnetka; 29 per cent in Lake Forest; and 24 per cent in Northfield. In Evanston proper, more than 16 per cent of the homes were found to be unavailable to Jews.

New Haven's HOME

The Housing Opportunities Made Equal Program (HOME) of the Greater New Haven Human Relations Council assisted 131 minority-group families in securing homes in predominantly white neighborhoods during 1964. Rentals accounted for 110 of the 131 placements; buyers, 21. The program handled 174 applications for housing assistance, with requests from 17 renters and 26 buyers on the active list at the close of the one-year period.

Twelve per cent of the complaints of housing discrimination received by the Connecticut Civil Rights Commission during 1964 were referred by HOME.

Last spring, HOME attempted to help about 75 low-income and welfare-assisted families find shelter at the request of the Department of Social Welfare. Housing aides found most apartments available to these families were substandard, overpriced, too small, and generally segregated.

The Housing Committee of the New Haven HRC reports its major activities during the year included: efforts to secure Negro membership on the New Haven Real Estate Board; support of scattered site use for public housing; sparking formation of tenants unions; housing code enforcement; and support of fair housing and other civil rights legislation in the 1965 session of the Connecticut Legislature.

Hold These Dates—

October 21-23, 1965

NCDH Center for Fair Housing National Conference

on the

FAIR HOUSING MOVEMENT IN THE U.S.A.

Sherman House
Chicago

This important working conference will overlap the Annual Meeting of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials (NAIRO) also to be held at the Sherman House on October 19-21. NAIRO has scheduled a major session on housing for the 21st which NCDH conferees are invited to attend, and NAIRO members are invited to participate fully in the NCDH conference. Further details will be coming to you soon. Plan to attend!

"Ring for Rights"

Radio WMCA, a public-spirited radio station in New York City, in cooperation with the Committee on Civil Rights in Metropolitan New York (CCRM), is operating a call-in program, "Ring for Rights," to which persons may report cases of housing discrimination and get assistance. CCRM is a citywide fair housing organization.

(*Continued on page* 6)

FH News Exchange

(*Continued from page 5*)

At intervals throughout the day, WMCA announces a "Ring for Rights" telephone number and urges persons who have been subjected, or have reason to believe they have been subjected, to discrimination to make use of the service. Trained telephone volunteers direct callers to appropriate government and voluntary agencies for aid. Progress on each complaint is followed up by CCRM, and complaints under the fair housing law are filed when necessary and appropriate.

"Ring for Rights" is patterned on WMCA's "Call for Action" program which has handled more than 20,000 cases of housing code violations in the last two years.

Discriminatory Tactics

Discriminatory methods used by many real estate brokers and salesmen when approached by Negro customers range from the blatently overt to the extremely elusive. Often "checkers" are needed to establish discrimination. The following list, compiled by the Fair Housing Council of the Delaware Valley, highlights the need for fair housing groups to increase their efforts to locate and develop a cooperative working relationship with responsible real estate dealers.

1. Broker claims house has just been taken off the market.
2. Dummy agreement of sale kept on file to "prove" to Negro that house in which he is interested has been sold.
3. Salesman either gives no sales talk or makes derogatory remarks about the property.
4. Broker always out of town when Negro customer calls, and no one else can show the property.
5. Key is out with another salesman; can't find key, so house can't be shown.
6. Inflated asking price quoted Negro customer; quickly reduced for white buyer.
7. White neighbor encouraged to buy, rent or take option on property to take it off the market.
8. Tells Negro customer, "Don't call me; I'll call you." Never calls.
9. "For Sale" sign removed so Negro homeseeker passing by won't realize the house is on the market.
10. Price raised in middle of transaction.
11. Furniture kept in vacant house to give impression it's owner-occupied and therefore not subject to fair housing laws.
12. Broker refuses to cooperate with nondiscriminatory real estate agent, thereby forcing agent to pull out of transaction or forfeit commission.
13. Broker's service withdrawn from person wanting to sell on open market.
14. Salesman of development housing hides in closet or slips out back door to avoid talking with Negro customer.
15. Broker says openly he will not sell the property to a Negro.

Work with Realtors

In California, according to reports received by the NCDH Center for Fair Housing, relationships between real estate boards and fair housing groups range from very good to very poor.

The Palo Alto Board of Realtors recently voted unanimously not to accept any residential properties with racial restrictions for its multiple listing service. A good relationship between the local fair housing group and this Board has developed over the years.

Symbol of the Fair Housing Foundation of Long Beach, Calif.

In Centinella Bay, the Human Relations Committee recently held a meeting, described as "quite successful," with 8 of the 10 realty boards in the area.

Approximately 30 brokers and salesmen met with the Fair Housing Foundation of Long Beach at a recent luncheon, but the LB group reports efforts to establish cooperation with leadership of the Long Beach District Board of Realtors have not been productive thus far.

The chairman of the Equal Rights Committee of the Bellflower Real Estate Board attended the first meeting of a group which is interested in forming a fair housing committee in that town. Only one Negro family resides in Bellflower, where a major Kaiser hospital is now under construction. Kaiser is an equal opportunity employer, and it is expected Negro employees will be looking for homes nearby. The group is concerned with promoting integration and avoiding the development of a ghetto area.

40,000 Good Neighbors

Careful planning over a six-month period and first-class organization were the key to the more than 40,000 signatures secured in a recent Good Neighbor pledge signing campaign in the Northern Virginia suburban communities of Washington. This is believed to be by far the largest such campaign ever conducted.

Northern Virginia Fair Housing, Inc., sponsored the drive in cooperation with clergy of the three major faiths. One hundred forty churches and synagogues actively participated. A Fair Housing Sabbath, an Interfaith Convocation at a local high school, and a pulpit exchange of white and Negro ministers were part of the preparation for the canvass.

The three counties making up Northern Virginia were divided into regions for the campaign, with 21 areas and 173 precincts. More than 2,500 volunteers were responsible to precinct captains. The need for canvassers was publicized by an article in the *Washington Post*, and all those who volunteered were required to attend a training course in solicitation techniques.

Canvassers talked to 57,000 people during visits to 72,000 residences, representing one-third of the total number of homes in Northern Virginia. The average was 30 home visits per canvasser. Additional signatures received through cards distributed in churches and synagogues came to 11,000.

The campaign was launched prior to the canvassing by publicizing the fair housing pledge already signed by 100 prominent Northern Virginia residents.

Co-chairmen for the drive were the Most Reverend John J. Russell, Roman Catholic Bishop of Richmond; the Rev. David G. Colwell, President, Council of Churches of Greater Washington; and Rabbi Noah Golinken, past President, Washington Board of Rabbis.

According to *Commitment*, newsletter of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, prior to the pledge signing campaign Bishop Russell, suggested to priests of the Richmond Diocese that they remind their parishioners that segregation is immoral.

Using the Want Ads

Some 450 personal want ads supporting fair housing legislation, purchased by individual local citizens, appeared in *The Milwaukee Journal* on May 15. The paper said the project set a record in the paper's history.

The idea of using individual classified ads to show grass-roots support of fair housing grew out of an informal gathering of clergymen and laymen who met to discuss means of counteracting an advertisement run by the Milwaukee Board of Realtors opposing proposed fair housing legislation pending in the Wisconsin Legislature.

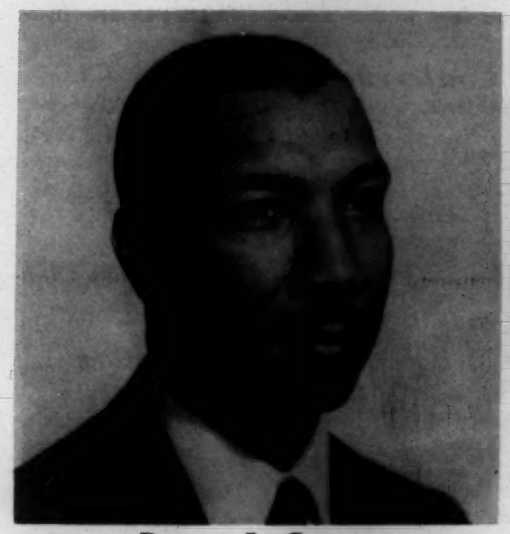
Letters were sent out asking individuals to buy three line ads costing approximately $2.10. The letter included several suggestions for the ad copy, and requested persons who participated to cut out the entire classified ad section of the *Journal*, circle their own ad, and mail it with a covering letter to their state assemblyman or senator, or both.

The advantages to such a project, its sponsors noted, are that it shows individual action and personal commitment, and the cost is insignificant as compared with that of a display ad placed by an organization.

NCDH Gains New Board Members

NCDH is gratified to announce the recent addition of several distinguished citizens to its Board of Directors as well as the affiliation of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., and the National Association of Housing Cooperatives. A total of 39 national organizations are now NCDH member agencies.

Additions to the Board are Mrs. Jonas E. Salk, member-at-large; Robert L. Carter for NAACP; Neil Gold for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, AFL-CIO; and Jack Greenberg for the Legal Defense Fund. Harold Ostroff now represents the Association of Housing Cooperatives, having previously served for the Jewish Labor Committee.



ROBERT L. CARTER

Robert L. Carter, NAACP General Counsel, has played a major role for the past 20 years in cases establishing constitutional precedents in the drive for equal rights in such areas as employment, schools and housing. This noted lawyer has won 23 of 24 cases argued before the U. S. Supreme Court. The author of many Law Review and magazine articles, he is one of four legal authorities whose essays appear in the new book, *Equality*, a symposium on "benign" quotas and compensatory treatment for Negroes, published by Pantheon.

MRS. JONAS E. SALK

Donna Salk, wife of the eminent scientist, was Chairman of the Pittsburgh Commission on Human Rights from 1959 to 1963, having served as a Commissioner from 1955. Now living in California, she was San Diego County Co-Chairman for "NO on Proposition 14," working against the anti-fair housing referendum. She heads the housing committee of the San Diego Citizens Interracial Council; is Vice President of the San Diego Urban League; Trustee of Tuskegee Institute; and Advisory Board member of the Republic National Bank.

JACK GREENBERG

Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., is a noted constitutional lawyer who has been the chief advocate in many history-making civil rights cases in such fields as housing, education and travel. Although only 30 years old at the time, while assistant to Thurgood Marshall he argued one of the historic 1954 school cases before the U. S. Supreme Court. A well-known author, his book, *Race Relations and American Law*, is widely regarded as a basic resource and is in the select White House library.

NEIL NEWTON GOLD

Neil Gold, Assistant to the President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL-CIO, came to his important post in the labor movement from an academic background. Educated at Columbia University, he has taught American History at Rutgers University and was a staff interviewer for Columbia University's Oral History Project. Mr. Gold is Executive Director of the Sidney Hillman Foundation and a member of the Executive Committee of the American Immigration and Citizenship Conference. He is a native of New York City.

HAROLD OSTROFF

Harold Ostroff is Executive Assistant to the President, United Housing Foundation. He also serves as President of the National Association of Housing Cooperatives, which has affiliates throughout the country. Trained as an engineer, he has been actively involved for many years in the construction aspects of the housing cooperative movement, serving as a director and Vice President of Community Services, Inc., a subsidiary organization of the United Housing Foundation which is concerned chiefly with construction.

Important New Books

***Urban Desegregation*, by L. K. Northwood and Ernest A. T. Barth. A scientific study of Negro "pioneers" and their white neighbors in 15 communities. Finds character of neighborhoods remains unchanged after integration: no drop in property values; no "inundation"; white neighbors have not sold and moved out. University of Washington Press, Seattle. 131 pages. $3.95.**

***Equality*. A symposium on "benign" quotas and compensatory treatment, with essays by four legal authorities, including NCDH Vice President Loren Miller, Judge of the Los Angeles Municipal Court, and NCDH Board member Robert L. Carter, NAACP General Counsel. Foreword by NCDH President Charles Abrams. Pantheon Books, New York City. 210 pages. $4.95.**

***Dark Ghetto*, by Kenneth B. Clark. One of the nation's leading authorities has written a candid and frank book about the racial situation in the United States, and its moral, social and economic impact. Harper & Row, New York City. 251 pages. $4.95.**

NCDH Conference

(*Continued from page* 2)

• Attention should be given to raising the percentage of voters required to sign petitions in order to get an issue on the ballot.

• Make it illegal to pay canvassers for obtaining signatures on petitions, as does Oregon.

• Inform the electorate on what the real issues are.

• Step up community education to increase support of equal opportunity.

• Immediate consultation of representative forces supporting civil rights when an anti-fair housing referendum is threatened, with agreement upon a united counter strategy. Participants from California and Detroit emphasized that early action and a well-organized, coordinated effort are crucial.

• Inform members of the legislature and the public of the cost to the entire community of an anti-fair housing referendum: violation of moral principles; intergroup tensions; threat to zoning regulations and urban renewal funds. These arguments were effectively used in Texas, where a 1965 referendum bill was buried in committee.

• Institute court cases challenging the constitutionality of measures adopted by referenda which would legalize discrimination.

Reach of the 14th Amendment

In discussing the "Application of the 14th Amendment to Discrimination in Housing," Mr. Robison said litigation to test the reach and "stretch" of the Constitution and direct operation of the 14th Amendment may be the most important area in which legal experts will move in the private housing field.

"Do we, in fact, have a Federal fair housing law already on the books?" he queried. "The prohibition of discrimination in the 14th Amendment is limited to state action, but what constitutes state action? The Supreme Court has held that private enterprises exercising governmental functions involve state action. How does this concept apply to large private developers who plan communities, zone areas into residential, business and industrial patterns, and pick school and park sites?"

Mr. Robison said, ideally, litigation to test the applicability of the 14th Amendment to private housing should be built on this type of development. He urged participants to be on the lookout for self-contained communities where the developer generally exercises governmental functions and at the same time engages in discrimination. Details on such cases should be sent to NCDH.

The speaker stressed that even when odds are against winning a case, litigation has a positive political function aside from law and the courts. He cited the Stuyvesant Town case, lost by civil rights forces in the courts, but which led to development of an expanding body of fair housing legislation.

Schools and Housing

Robert L. Carter, General Counsel of NAACP and member of the NCDH Legal Committee, spoke on "Schools and Housing: Affirmative Action Under Law," with NCDH Board Chairman Algernon D. Black presiding.

The NAACP counsel said that often government agencies, including those directed by public policy or law to achieve nondiscrimination, follow practices which intensify segregation, particularly in schools and housing. He charged that public school administrators, under a mandate to desegregate, have heightened confinement of the Negro to the racial ghetto by rigidly applying the neighborhood school concept—a practice resulting in massive and increasing concentration throughout the North of Negro and white children in schools that are separate and apart.

"When neighborhood school lines follow ethnic and socio-economic residential patterns," Mr. Carter declared, "schools of high quality and prestige are provided for some, while schools of low quality and academic disrepute are provided for others. Almost invariably, relegation to these latter schools is the lot of the mass of Negro children."

In housing, the speaker said the programs of city, state and Federal agencies—new construction, public housing, urban renewal, rehabilitation—have enormous influence on residential patterns. Often, he asserted, housing programs perpetuate existing ghettos, create new ones, and make more difficult a school board effort to rezone or reorganize for desegregation.

"Discrimination and segregation in housing are at the root of the whole syndrome of racism involved in the civil rights struggle," Mr. Carter declared. "Effective and permanent success in ending any single facet of the civil rights problem is improbable so long as segregation persists in housing."

He noted that the interrelationship of housing and all other aspects of segregation is most demonstrable in respect to schools, observing: that housing desegregation is critical to successful widespread desegregation of schools in large urban centers; that, under present housing patterns, reorganization of schools for desegregation can be most successful in smaller communities where the Negro ghetto is limited in size and depth; but

Discussion from the Conference Floor

Robert L. Carter, General Counsel of NAACP and NCDH Board member, answers a question from the floor following his address on schools and housing. Seated at the speakers table are (*left to right*) Martin E. Sloane, Washington attorney; Sol Rabkin, Director, Law Department, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and Chairman, NCDH Legal Committee; Joseph B. Robison, Director, Commission on Law and Social Action, American Jewish Congress and NCDH General Counsel; Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., and NCDH Board member; and Charles Abrams, NCDH President.

The Involuntary Ghetto

NCDH Board Chairman Algernon D. Black makes the point that today's racial ghettos are not voluntary and temporary as in the case of the European immigrants. Mr. Black chaired the session on Schools and Housing.

that *de facto* school segregation in every community can be minimized or alleviated by firm, creative action and new kinds of public school organization.

Mr. Carter said the majority of officials charged with the administration of local and state laws or public policies against discrimination have failed to consult with housing and school officials in order to assess the possible impact of their programs on segregation.

"The point I want to leave," he declared, "is that the agencies represented here, along with housing and school officials, have a responsibility they will not have assumed in the absence of a coordinated effort . . . Unless these evils—segregated housing and schools—are bested, the goal of equal rights and equal citizenship for all Americans, which is part of your official responsibility, will never be realized."

Achieving Integration

Dr. Frank S. Horne, NCDH Vice President, and Consultant on Human Relations, New York City Housing and Redevelopment Board, was the principal speaker at the final session, focused on "Achieving Integration in Housing: Affirmative Action Under the Law," with Mr. Rutledge presiding.

Needed: Educational Materials

Harold Hatcher, Executive Director of the Indiana Civil Rights Commission, consults with Carol Smith of the NCDH staff about educational literature to aid in implementing his state's new fair housing law.

Dr. Horne threw out a challenge for a change in policy from negative nondiscrimination to positive integration. "Integration in housing," he declared, "is the process through which we move from the restrictions of the ghetto to the freedom of the marketplace. It is vital to the inclusion of all Americans into every aspect of our way of life, on the same terms, without regard to race, religion or ethnic origin."

A Poet and Philosopher Calls for Practical Action

Dr. Frank S. Horne, often called the "dean of the housing-civil rights field," makes an impassioned plea for affirmative, practical action to achieve an integrated society. Dr. Horne developed and headed the Race Relations Service of the Federal housing agencies, served as Executive Director of the New York City Commission on Human Rights, and is now Consultant on Human Rights of the New York City Housing and Redevelopment Board. A Vice President and founding member of NCDH, Dr. Horne is also widely acclaimed as a poet.

Nondiscrimination alone, Dr. Horne said, is not enough. He noted that in some cases integration efforts have actually been stymied by narrow interpretation of anti-bias housing laws by official agencies.

"To move from the color consciousness of ghetto to a color-blind open market will require positive, aggressive color-conscious implementation of nondiscrimination policies covering the total housing supply," the speaker asserted. "It will call for a reorientation of the planning, financing and marketing policies of private and public agencies from the imposed racism of the ghetto to a consciously created inclusive pattern of integrated occupancy of buildings, projects, streets and neighborhoods."

Dr. Horne also quoted from the President's Howard University address:

> **It is not enough to open the gates of opportunity. All our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates . . . You do not take a man who for years has been hobbled by chains, liberate him, bring him to the starting line of a race, saying "You are free to compete with all the others," and still justly believe you have been completely fair.**

The speaker said that despite the spread of anti-bias laws, the Executive order, small shifts in governmental and real estate practices, and some dispersion of nonwhites, racial ghettos continue to expand. He said, however, "the portents are good and the signs fortuitous *if* we learn how to use the great new forces at hand, including the drive of the civil rights revolution and fair housing stirrings at the grass-roots."

He called for the following action:

¶ Immediate extension of the Executive order and action to insure its effective enforcement, in line with NCDH recommendations. **(See page 4.)**

¶ Action by the HHFA Administrator (Secretary for the Department of Housing and Urban Development when a newly-created Cabinet post is established) to insure that the constituent housing agencies follow policies and procedures to positively implement integration.

¶ Liberal and aggressive use of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to promote integration.

¶ More state and local fair housing laws, and vigorous, affirmative use of existing laws to advance integration.

¶ Public and private agencies in any way related to the housing market must give priority to advancing integration.

¶ Civil rights proponents must become deeply involved with housing and planning programs at state and local levels; and with the effective use of Federal aids to promote integration of low and moderate income families.

¶ Development of closer contact with members of the real estate and mortgage financing industries by seeking out personal and organizational relationships which may influence their policies and practices.

¶ Support and expansion of the voluntary fair housing committee movement; active recruitment and movement of nonwhite families into good neighborhoods largely occupied by whites; active recruitment and movement of white families into good neighborhoods largely occupied by nonwhites and into adjacent areas.

(NCDH expects to announce the availability of the texts of Mr. Carter's and Dr. Horne's addresses in the near future.)

Title VI and URA

NCDH Associate Executive Director Jack E. Wood, Jr., then spoke on the urgent need for an affirmative and consistent approach by the Federal establishment. He was sharply critical of the limited application of Title VI by the Urban Renewal Administration.

(*Continued on page* 10)

NAACP Adopts Broad Plan to Accelerate Open Occupancy

Convention Approves Multi-Pronged Program

NAACP's Annual Convention, meeting in Denver from June 28 through July 3, with more than 2,000 delegates attending, adopted the most far-reaching housing policy in the 56-year-old organization's history.

Jack E. Wood, Jr., NCDH Associate Executive Director and former NAACP Housing Director, played a leading role in developing the expanded 1965 housing program, and this year—as in the past—planned and directed the convention's housing workshops. Mr. Wood and NAACP General Counsel Robert L. Carter were the principal speakers at the workshops, with responses from a panel composed of Morris Fleissig, Planning and Community Development Consultant of Newark, N. J.; Harold Fleming, Executive Vice President, Potomac Institute of Washington, D. C.; Booker T. McGraw, Assistant to the Administrator for Intergroup Relations, HHFA; and NCDH Executive Director Edward Rutledge.

Promote Integration

The thrust of NAACP's 1965 Policy Statement on Housing is the active and affirmative promotion of racial and economic integration. With that goal in mind, local branches are urged to expand their housing activities: to become involved at every step in the planning and execution of urban renewal and other government housing programs; to demand that lending institutions expand the availability of mortgage funds; to secure the cooperation of private industry and local leadership in promoting integration; to lobby for fair housing laws with strong enforcement provisions; where necessary, to initiate litigation and direct action against government agencies and private institutions which directly or indirectly practice or encourage discrimination; to participate in and support local fair housing committees; and to cooperate with members of the National Association of Real Estate Brokers, known as Realtists.

NAACP also urges rent receivership legislation to permit municipalities to correct housing code violations; the selection by official housing agencies of sites which will advance integrated housing and schools; vest pocket public housing projects on scattered sites in good neighborhoods; construction of middle-income and public housing in urban renewal areas; support of rent subsidy and other Federal programs, such as 221d (3), to expand the supply of housing in integrated areas for low- and moderate-income families.

Citywide Sanctions

Another major point in the policy statement was emphasized by Mr. Wood in his address at the convention: insistence that the Urban Renewal Administration apply the nondiscrimination requirement under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act on a citywide basis, rather than its present limitation to the single renewal area. (For further discussion of this issue, see page 9.)

NAACP also issued a strong appeal to President Johnson for immediate expansion of the Executive order on housing and for action to insure its effective enforcement. (For more on the housing order, see page 4.)

Copies of the 1965 NAACP Policy Statement on Housing and Mr. Wood's address, "Operation Open Occupancy: An Affirmative Action Program for Local NAACP Branches," are available from NCDH.

●

"Men are shaped by their world. When it is a world of decay, ringed by an invisible wall, when escape is arduous and uncertain, and the saving pressures of a more hopeful society are unknown, it can cripple the youth and it can desolate the man."—From an Address by President Lyndon B. Johnson at Howard University on June 4, 1965.

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NCDH Conference

(Continued from page 9)

"URA may deal only with a local public agency established by the local government," he stated. "Every step of the program is predicated on the resources and authority of the city government as a whole. Yet, when it comes to nondiscrimination, URA sets aside the citywide concept and applies Title VI only to the small project area."

Problems in Kentucky

Galen Martin, Executive Director of the Kentucky Commission on Civil Rights (*second from right*) discusses the impact of segregated public housing projects in his state with (*left to right*) Robert Carter; William Hill, Intergroup Relations Officer, Public Housing Administration, Chicago Regional Office; and B. T. McGraw, Asst. to the Administrator for Intergroup Relations, HHFA.

Mr. Wood said URA's limitation is inconsistent with the regulations of other Federal agencies. "The U. S. Office of Education will not approve funds for the construction of one school building unless the entire city school system adopts and follows a policy of nondiscrimination," he said. Similarly, he went on, a unit of a hospital system cannot secure Federal funds unless the entire system complies with the nondiscrimination command of Title VI.

"Every urban renewal project is part and parcel of a city's total housing program, profoundly affecting its general housing patterns," he continued. "Every urban renewal grant is a Federal grant to a city. It should be withheld unless nondiscrimination is established and effectively enforced, under fair housing legislation, in the citywide housing market."

Mr. Wood said NCDH will continue to press URA to apply Title VI on a citywide basis, and that litigation should be instituted if it does not do so.

A group of distinguished officials presented responses at this session.

Jan. 19, 1966—Already delayed by New York City's transit strike, the press was stopped on this issue in order to bring our readers an immediate report on NCDH's position on the President's proposal for Federal fair housing legislation.

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Naming of Weaver Hailed by NCDH

SECRETARY WEAVER

The appointment of Robert C. Weaver as Secretary of the new Department of Housing and Urban Development was hailed by NCDH. One of the nation's top experts in urban affairs, Secretary Weaver was one of the founders of NCDH, and its president when he became HHFA Administrator in 1961.

The unprecedented speed with which the Senate unanimously confirmed his nomination is a historic tribute that strongly affirms the President's choice of "precisely the right man" for the new Cabinet post.

In a wire to the President, NCDH said that the naming of Weaver to head this important new Department of Government will bring "new hope and confidence" to urban areas that urgent problems will be dealt with fairly, democratically and expeditiously.

NCDH also praised the selection of M.I.T.'s Robert C. Wood, another noted expert on urban problems, as Under Secretary of HUD.

President Urged to Act Now on Housing Order

NCDH Asks Directive, Pending Legislation

NCDH has again urged President Johnson to expand the Executive Housing Order immediately, pending the enactment by Congress of Federal legislation outlawing discrimination in the sale and rental of housing, as called for by the President in his State of the Union Message. The following NCDH statement, adopted January 18, has been sent to the White House:

"The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing notes with gratification the recognition by President Johnson in his State of the Union Message, delivered to Congress on January 12, of the need for effective Federal action against the nationwide evil of housing segregation and discrimination.

"Since its formation in 1950, NCDH has favored use of the legislative process to outlaw all forms of housing discrimination. We, of course, support the use of comprehensive Federal legislation, as proposed by the President, to deal with those aspects of housing discrimination which cannot now be reached by Presidential mandate. However, because of the urgent and pervasive nature of this problem, we feel Executive action is essential now, pending enactment of such legislation.

Meaningful Implementation

"NCDH is convinced the most meaningful way of implementing the basic aims expressed by the President would be his immediate extension of the Executive Housing Order to encompass all housing which is affected in any manner whatsoever by Federal aids and powers, including the mortgage lending operations of commercial banks and savings and loan associations which are regulated by Federal agencies.

"Such Executive action is clearly within the President's authority and responsibility, and should be taken now. Enunciation of a firm and unequivocal Federal policy is particularly urgent at this time in order to insure that the new Department of Housing and Urban Development will be able to formulate and put into immediate operation practical, effective programs to eradicate the explosive problems which are the inevitable outgrowth of the racial ghettos of urban America.

"NCDH considers the appointment by the President of Robert C. Weaver and Robert C. Wood, two of the nation's top experts in urban affairs, as Secretary and Under Secretary of the new Department, a wise and sound judgment of the highest order. It is our hope that the directive under which this Department will operate will make it clear that one of its primary purposes is to eliminate the ghettoized pattern of urban housing which now exists and which is rapidly expanding because of lack of urgently needed counteraction."

Edward Rutledge, NCDH Executive Director, urges fair housing groups and individuals from all sections of the country to join in calling on President Johnson to take immediate Executive action.

"Neither our cities and their people nor the new Department of Housing and Urban Development can afford to have the issue of Federal support of segregated housing held in abeyance awaiting legislation when an immediate remedy is at hand," Mr. Rutledge declares.

New Program Offers Direct Legal Aid to Local Groups

Legal Defense Fund and NCDH Launch Service

A new legal program to assist local groups which are working to end housing discrimination and build integrated communities has been launched by NCDH and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

The program will provide fair housing committees and other community organizations with direct legal assistance for litigation aimed at combating housing activities—either by private or government action—which extend or perpetuate segregation.

Heretofore, many valid complaints and potential lawsuits in the housing field have not received attention because legal aid was not available. NCDH and the Legal Defense Fund (one of the 41 organizations affiliated with NCDH) believe this joint effort can result in significant cases of far-reaching import.

Agency Roles

As the principal legal arm of the civil rights movement, the Fund will provide counsel in appropriate cases, using its extensive contacts with lawyers throughout the country. As the central servicing agency for the fair housing movement, NCDH will encourage local groups to assemble the necessary data for legal action related to housing problems which should be resolved by the courts.

The types of lawsuits either contemplated or already in progress include the following:

¶ Suits against local real estate boards charging violation of anti-trust laws. This type of action has already been instituted by the Legal Defense Fund in Akron, Ohio (*Trends,* Mar.-Apr., 1965), and Trenton, N. J.

¶ Suits to challenge the selection of public housing sites which will virtually guarantee segregated projects.

¶ Suits to challenge urban renewal projects which will perpetuate or extend segregated housing and schools. An urban renewal project in North Carolina is being challenged because it would remove a small pocket of Negro residents from an otherwise white neighborhood and would effectively prevent the integration of schools.

¶ Cases against state and local anti-discrimination commissions which are lax in enforcing fair housing laws.

For the guidance of local groups which may wish to explore the feasibility of similar action, the anti-trust cases referred to above are briefly described:

Bratcher, et al v. The Akron Area Board of Realtors, et al. This case was brought by three groups of plaintiffs: Negro residents of Akron who had encountered discrimination in efforts to buy homes located in predominantly white areas; Negro real estate brokers who lost commissions when white brokers refused to work cooperatively with them; white sellers who had tried, without success, to sell property on a nondiscriminatory basis. The theory of the case is that the real estate board's policy and practice of keeping Negroes out of white neighborhoods restrains the trade or business of buying and selling real property, in violation of the Federal anti-trust laws.

Board Membership

Martin v. The Trenton and Mercer County Board of Realtors. In the New Jersey case, Mrs. Martin, a real estate broker, has for a period of 10 years attempted to become a member of the all-white real estate board and has been rejected without explanation six times. Her case also is being brought under the anti-trust laws and similarly alleges that there is a combination and conspiracy to keep Negroes out of predominantly white neighborhoods by depriving a Negro broker membership in the board and access to its multiple listing system.

NCDH urges local organizations to take a close look at the housing activities of both private and public agencies in their communities, and to consider making use of this important new legal service. Those interested in the possibility of litigation aimed at stopping housing abuses should make contact with NCDH, providing as detailed information as possible.

News Briefs

NCDH President George R. Metcalf announces that two additional national organizations have recently affiliated with NCDH, bringing the total number of agencies to 41. The two new affiliates are the *National Community Relations Advisory Council,* with Arnold Aronson, Director of Program Planning, to represent NCRAC on the NCDH board; and the *Unitarian Universalist Association, Department of Social Responsibility,* with Homer A. Jack, the Department's Director, as representative to the NCDH board.

***Ann Arbor, Mich.*, adopted sweeping amendments to its fair housing ordinance on Dec. 20, 1965. Expanded coverage will embrace all real property transactions, exempting only rental of rooms in private residences.**

NCDH's pilot project to develop a blueprint for programs to expand housing opportunities for families living in poverty areas, being conducted under contract with the Office of Economic Opportunity (*Trends,* Sept.-Oct., 1965), is well underway. Jack E. Wood, Jr., NCDH associate executive director, reports that the enthusiastic response from representatives of both public and private agencies in the four cities selected for study (Atlanta, Denver, Providence and Rochester) has been especially encouraging. Housing program plans for these cities are now in preparation.

During the spring, NCDH will hold a two-and-a-half day national workshop for top OEO officials from all sections of the country, and will lay before them a blueprint for similar projects which may be undertaken in their areas. A planning conference to firm up the content and format of the national workshop has been scheduled for early February. Participating in the planning sessions will be the OEO directors from the four study-cities, private agency leadership, housing experts, and representatives from OEO's Washington office.

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Founded in 1950, the National Committee is composed of 41 religious, civil rights, labor and civic organizations which seek to end racial, ethnic and religious discrimination and to achieve an integrated housing market in which the Nation's commitment to "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family" becomes a reality. A subscription to *Trends in Housing* is $2 a year.

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How the Fair Housing Laws Are Working

More Integrated Areas, But Ghettos Are Expanding

Fair housing laws in states and cities over the country have been an important factor in the slow but steady movement of Negro families of predominantly middle-class status into the general community during recent years. In many sections of the country, a considerable increase in the number of neighborhoods which are integrated to some degree can be attributed to existence of the laws.

On the other hand, the growing body of legislation designed to wipe out housing discrimination and segregation has had little impact thus far on the restrictions faced by the overwhelming majority of nonwhite Americans. *Even the most comprehensive statute has failed to halt or to substantially deter expansion of racial ghettos.*

These are the overriding conclusions emerging from a survey recently conducted by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. The NCDH study is based primarily on reports from 15 official agencies administering anti-discrimination laws, each of which applies to both government-aided and privately-financed housing, and which have been in operation for periods ranging from almost two to more than six years.

Scope of Survey

The survey covers fair housing laws in the states of California (see note page 4), Colorado, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Oregon and Pennsylvania; the District of Columbia; and the cities of Chicago, New York, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. Not included in the report are seven state and 24 city laws which apply to the general market. The majority of those not included have been in effect too short a period of time to warrant evaluation; others lack administrative machinery for providing the requested information; a few commissions failed to complete the NCDH questionnaires.

Other Conclusions

Other major conclusions to be drawn from the NCDH survey include the following:

¶ The intent of the fair housing laws cannot be realized unless prevailing concentration on the individual complaint process is broadened to include affirmative and extensive action to achieve integration. As NCDH Vice President Loren Miller recently commented, a fundamental weakness in implementation of the fair housing laws is the heavy reliance placed on individual initiative when the need is for massive social action.

¶ Even with respect to complaint loads, the laws are under-utilized in every jurisdiction. Only modest acceleration in the filing of complaints has occurred where the coverage of laws has been expanded and with the passage of time.

¶ The figures indicate widespread lack of information about the laws, and that relatively few minority-group homeseekers who *are* informed about them have faith in their effectiveness.

¶ The fact that only a small percentage of the aggrieved persons who file complaints get the housing to which they are entitled creates a negative attitude about the value of the laws, and indicates major weaknesses in enforcement procedures.

¶ The high percentage of cases which are dismissed for lack of evidence underscores the need for greatly expanded educational programs on how to use fair housing statutes and ordinances. It also suggests the need for more liberal interpretation of the laws and a more imaginative approach toward achieving their goal.

¶ Fair housing legislation is but one of many tools required to break up the racial ghettos. An increase in the supply of low-to-moderate cost housing, with dispersion of such housing throughout cities and suburbs, is absolutely essential in order to move beyond tokenism and develop an integrated community.

Additional Findings

Other findings confirm those of a similar NCDH survey conducted two years ago (*Trends*, Sept.-Oct., 1963). The fair housing laws have not had an adverse effect on business. With the exception of a few market areas where oversupply or general economic conditions have slowed construction, the building of homes and apartments continues apace.

Nor is there evidence that fair housing legislation has caused an increase in the movement of whites to suburbia, or accelerated racial change in neighborhoods which have become integrated and are vulnerable to resegregation. Both phenomena occur in areas with and without such laws, and there is no indication they have affected the degree of either. In fact, in some cases it can be shown that the fair housing law has helped stabilize changing neighborhoods.

Industry support of fair housing legislation has been notable in Massachusetts and Oregon. Reports from other states and cities show that response from real estate men ranges from a fair amount of cooperation to outright hostility. In general, home builders have shown more support for the laws, and boards of realtors have tended to spearhead the opposition to them.

The reports also indicate that some commissions are taking affirmative action

(Continued on page 4)

States and Cities Included in Fair Housing Law Survey

State	Total Population	Nonwhite Population	Average Segregation Index for Principal Cities	Years FH Law In Operation
California	15,717,204	1,261,974	78.9	1½
Colorado	1,753,947	53,247	85.5	6
Connecticut	2,535,234	111,418	75.8	6
Massachusetts	5,148,578	125,434	74.7	6
Michigan	7,823,194	737,329	87.5	1½
Minnesota	3,413,864	42,261	83.3	2½
New Jersey	6,066,782	527,779	77.9	6
New York	16,782,304	1,495,233	79.5	6
Oregon	1,768,687	36,650	76.7	6
Pennsylvania	11,319,366	865,362	83.7	4
City				
Chicago	3,550,404	812,637	92.6	1½
New York	7,781,984	1,087,931	79.3	6
Philadelphia	2,002,512	529,240	87.1	2
Pittsburgh	604,332	100,692	84.6	6
Washington, D. C.	763,956	418,693	79.7	1½

Legend: Population figures, 1960 census. Segregation index indicates per cent of Negro population required to disperse to all—or predominantly—white areas in order to achieve unsegregated residential patterns. Index based on method of calculation and percentages developed by University of Wisconsin sociologist, Karl E. Taeuber, see page 9.

Survey of FH Laws

(Continued from page 3)

to influence housing market practices on a broader scale, particularly through special programs beamed toward the real estate industry. Activities which focus directly on encouraging minority-group families to disperse throughout the community often are left largely to voluntary groups.

All commissions report the rapid growth and spread of local fair housing committees in their jurisdictions. The degree of cooperation between the public agencies and these voluntary committees, which serve as "goad and watchdog," varies from place to place. In some instances, a "partnership" attitude has developed which strengthens the work of each. Also, in a few areas, a heavy proportion of the complaints filed grow out of the activities of the fair housing groups.

Only a few of the commissions report regular liaison with planning bodies, housing and redevelopment boards, public housing authorities, relocation agencies, school boards, and other government agencies whose operations extensively influence racial patterns of residence.

Limiting Factors

Before examining the overall figures submitted by the reporting commissions, it should be pointed out that the effectiveness of the fair housing laws cannot be measured by complaint statistics alone. In some cases, the adjustment of a single complaint establishes a policy of open occupancy for all of the housing accommodations controlled by a large builder or real estate firm. (Of course, *all* settlements should include such a requirement.) Some commissions initiate investigations of discriminatory practices and take action to bring about compliance; some negotiate with real estate and financing interests, promoting voluntary open occupancy agreements. Also, in every jurisdiction competent observers report that a considerable number of nonwhite families have moved into formerly restricted areas without resort to the laws.

Another factor which should be taken into account is the weaknesses of the statutes and the evolutionary nature of their development. Throughout most of the time they have been in operation, most of the laws have been sharply limited as to coverage of the housing market and enforcement machinery and powers. Even now, only a few of the 46 state and city laws which apply to the private housing market have arrived at comprehensive coverage after a period of years.

Gap Closed Slowly

The chronology in New York State illustrates the latter point. Until 1961, the New York law prohibited discrimination only in government-aided housing. In that year, coverage was extended to a small portion of the private housing supply—most rentals in multiple dwellings with three or more units, and sales in developments of 10 or more homes. This expansion brought only 25 per cent of the state's housing supply outside of New York City (where coverage of apartment houses upped the percentage) under the purview of the law. The present coverage of all residential property sales and most rentals, encompassing 95 per cent of the state's housing supply, did not go into effect until Sept. 1, 1963.

Furthermore, despite its long history as a pioneer in civil rights legislation, it was not until 1965 that the Legislature provided the New York State Commission for Human Rights, charged with administering the fair housing law, with some of the most urgently needed enforcement provisions (*Trends,* Sept.-Oct., 1965).

Over the years, the laws in Connecticut, Colorado, Massachusetts and New York City have been similarly broadened, and those in New Hampshire and New Jersey strengthened somewhat.

Overview of the Record

Overall figures submitted by the commissions, adjusted to take care of minor variances in the closing dates of reports and methods of keeping records, indicate that through June 30, 1965:

- 7,300 formal complaints had been filed under the 15 laws covered by the NCDH survey. These range from 103 in Oregon to 3,906 in New York State, the latter figure representing the combined total for both state and New York City legislation. The Oregon, New York State and New York City records cover the entire six year reporting period.
- 42 per cent of the complaints were reported as "satisfactorily closed." In general, satisfactory closing means the complainant got or was offered the housing at issue or a comparable unit, or was placed on a waiting list, and the respondent agreed to comply with the law in future housing transactions.

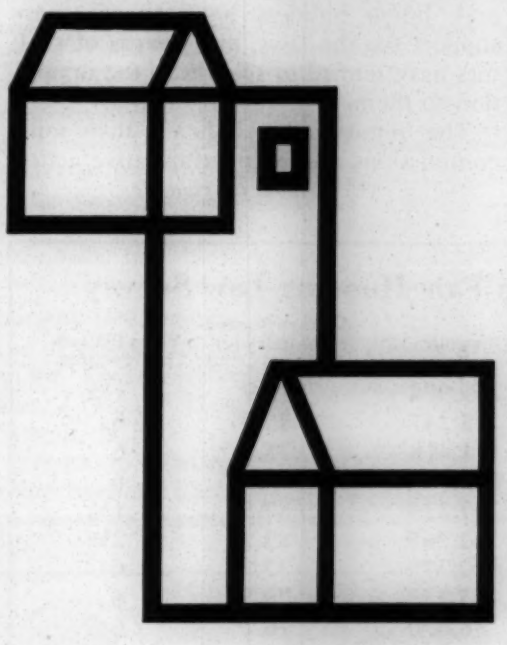
However, no more than 12 per cent of those filing complaints actually secured the housing they sought or a comparable unit. About 15 per cent were offered housing but refused it. Many complainants found it impossible to wait out the period of investigation and settlement; some found the housing offered unsuitable; others were no longer interested.

- 43 per cent of all complaints were dismissed. Some involved housing not covered by the law; the largest number were dismissed on grounds of insufficient evidence to substantiate the complaint; some cases were dropped by the complainants.
- Almost all settlements were made by conciliation, with less than one per cent of the cases reaching the courts. Slightly more than one per cent were scheduled for public hearings and many of these

(*Continued on page 7*)

Note on California: The precise status of fair housing legislation in California cannot be determined until pending litigation has been resolved by the courts. At the general election in November 1964, the California electorate adopted an initiative constitutional amendment (Proposition 14) aimed at wiping out the state's fair housing law (*Trends,* Jan.-Feb., 1965 and following issues). Constitutionality of that amendment is now under challenge in the courts. If it is held unconstitutional, California's fair housing laws remain intact. Even if upheld by the courts, the "segregation amendment" will not nullify all of the state's fair housing provisions, but will leave in effect at least those which prohibit discrimination by real estate brokers and mortgage financing institutions. Thus, California is properly included among the fair housing states.

OPEN DOORS



NEW JERSEY DIVISION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Department of Law and Public Safety

"Open Doors," an educational pamphlet of the New Jersey Division on Civil Rights, tells about many successfully integrated areas in that state, explodes the most common myths used to support segregation, and suggests specific action the average citizen can take to advance democratic neighborhood patterns.

FAIR HOUSING NEWS EXCHANGE

A Reporting Service of the

NCDH Center for Fair Housing

New Jersey's CHOICE

During recent months, some 200 Negro families have moved into formerly all-white neighborhoods in northern New Jersey, using the facilities offered by 60 grassroots fair housing committees whose listing service activities are coordinated by CHOICE (Clearing House: Opportunities for Integrating Communities).

Sponsored by the Urban League of Essex County and the New York Metropolitan Region of the American Friends Service Committee, CHOICE provides for cross-contact among the 60 groups which cover 300 communities in nine counties; finds and refers clients for their services; and carefully follows up each referral to be sure the customer's needs and desires are met in as routine and efficient fashion as possible.

The program is directed by Mrs. Irma Thexton, a housewife and mother of four, who works with nine other part-time volunteers out of the Urban League Office at 589 Central Avenue in Newark.

Finding Clients

Finding clients who are interested in "pioneering" is a big part of the job, and CHOICE concentrates on opening white neighborhoods. "We're not a bit interested in continuing or perpetuating the classic fringe move," Mrs. Thexton comments. These are some of the methods used to attract customers:

- Advertisements in daily newspapers and the Negro press in Newark and New York City.
- Announcements over radio stations, contributed as a public service.
- Widespread distribution of literature describing the services offered by CHOICE and the local groups.
- Close contact with civil rights and other organizations with predominantly minority-group memberships.
- Contact with personnel departments of fair employment firms and institutions.
- Holding conferences and workshops and providing speakers for meetings.
- Word-of-mouth, especially by satisfied customers.

Locating Housing

Locating available housing is the job of the local committees. Two resources are used: 1) lists of "open housing" are compiled and kept up-to-date by members of each of the 60 fair housing groups (An article in the *New York Herald Tribune* on Oct. 24, 1965, described copies of these lists on hand at the CHOICE office as a "telephone-size directory."); and 2) the multiple listing service used by real estate firms. (These must sometimes be pried open.)

Compiling fair housing group lists. Real estate pages of newspapers covering the area are regularly scanned for advertisements of housing on the market. Designated members of the committee covering the community identify appropriate properties and seek a pledge of nondiscrimination from each owner. Originally this was done by phone, but only about 20 per cent of the calls resulted in open occupancy commitments.

Now, one or more committee members call in person on the seller, usually accompanied by a "friendly neighbor" who lives near the location of the advertised property. "This works about 50 per cent of the time," says Mrs. Thexton. "The big thing is the neighbor. The seller can't very well say 'What will my neighbors think?' when we have a neighbor right there to answer him."

Year-Round Drive

The "friendly neighbor" is apt to be a person who has signed a Good Neighbor pledge. The New Jersey fair housing groups, as part of their year-round program, continuously seek these pledges from residents of the 300 communities. Their goal is to cover all neighborhoods in the area, including all newcomers.

Of course, additional listings are obtained from families who are moving and are in sympathy with the committees' goals.

Doing Business With Real Estate Firms. CHOICE and the 60 committees, according to the *Tribune* article, strike fear into the hearts of diehard real estate dealers. "Actually," comments the clearing house director, "the real estate people have come a long way from our first dealings with them." There are indications that Negro homeseekers calling at real estate offices are more likely to receive equal services than in times past. "The broker," Mrs. Thexton observes, "doesn't know whether the Negro buyer is by himself or working with us."

Nonetheless, unless the brokerage firm is known to be cooperative, CHOICE is convinced the homeseeker is more apt to get a complete look at the multiple listing books and to inspect all properties of interest in white neighborhoods if accompanied by a member of the local fair housing committee, using the "Escort System" developed by AFSC.

Also, it has become widely known throughout northern New Jersey that, when necessary, CHOICE and the local groups will not hesitate to take recourse to the New Jersey fair housing law or to engage in direct action.

Servicing Procedures

When a homeseeker makes contact with CHOICE, these steps are taken:

- During a conference with the client, CHOICE explains that it serves as a referral agency and that under the program all listings and contacts with real estate firms are handled through a local committee in accordance with the convenience and wishes of the client.
- At the same time, a *Client's Card* is filled out for CHOICE's master file. The completed card provides detailed information on the type and size of housing desired, price range, first and second choice of location, and an expression of the client's willingness to "pioneer."
- A copy of all information supplied by the homeseeker is then referred to the appropriate fair housing committee (or, in some cases, committees). A committee member assigned to each client makes direct contact with him and follows through. If the homeseeker wishes to buy a home, the cooperative house-hunting project may go on over an extended period of time—brokers say the average customer inspects from 30 to 35 homes before reaching a decision.
- Meanwhile, progress is carefully followed up in each case by the CHOICE office, and detailed records are maintained. Follow-up folders are geographically divided into five groups, and volunteers check on one group each day.

Important Adjunct

An important adjunct to CHOICE and the work of the 60 hometown groups is "Fair Housing Service Agency," the AFSC Housing Opportunities program for northern New Jersey. The Service Agency functions as a resource on "how-to" techniques, provides materials and speakers, maintains liaison with government agencies and edits a bimonthly area newsletter in cooperation with the New Jersey Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. It also conducts workshops and conferences.

(Continued on page 6)

FH News Exchange

(Continued from page 5)

Keeping Integration

"Ludlow," Mayor Paul Jones of Shaker Heights (Ohio) recently commented, "may represent a turning of the tide in transitional patterns." Many observers have expressed a similar view, for in Ludlow a fair housing group has succeeded in reversing a rapid trend toward conversion of an integrated community into an upper-class Negro ghetto.

For ten years, Negro and white residents of Ludlow, a suburban area which cuts across the city lines of Cleveland and Shaker Heights, have worked without professional help to keep the integrated character of their neighborhood. In the last four years, an accelerating rate of racial change among homeowners has been reduced from 10 per cent per year to less than one per cent in 1965. School enrollment has changed from 80 per cent Negro to 65 per cent, with the first three grades now almost evenly balanced and the racial composition of the kindergarten now standing at 50 per cent white, 50 per cent nonwhite.

Ludlow is a community of some 600 homes in the $18,000 to $60,000 range. Several high rise buildings, providing about 1,100 apartments, are located in one corner of the area. The neighborhood is handsome, with schools noted for their exceptionally high quality, fine shopping and community facilities, and excellent transportation. About half of Ludlow lies in high-income Shaker Heights (residents have the highest median income of any U. S. city of more than 25,000); it is also adjacent to a large predominantly-nonwhite area.

The first Negro families moved into Ludlow in 1955. A year later, tours along the tree-lined streets found 25 per cent of the houses posted with "For Sale" signs. After the garage of a new nonwhite resident was bombed in 1956, three Negro and three white couples set the wheels in motion to organize the Ludlow Community Association (LCA) for the specific purpose of maintaining a neighborhood in which "families of different religious, racial, nationality and social backgrounds live in harmony and freedom of thought and spirit." No "quotas" were to be considered, nor would LCA attempt to dissuade Negro families who had decided they wanted to live in Ludlow. The organization would, however, concentrate on attracting white buyers to give a psychological lift to white residents who were leaning toward moving out. LCA would also encourage Negroes to break the color barrier in other neighborhoods which were all-white.

There was never a dip in property values, and community relations were increasingly harmonious. Nonetheless, it was a downhill fight for LCA during the early years. Realtors and banks closed the Ludlow housing market to whites: they were not shown homes for sale in the area, and it became difficult—often impossible—for them to secure mortgage financing. In 1959 and 1960, no whites bought homes in Ludlow. By the end of 1960, Negroes comprised 42 per cent of all homeowners in the community. If the rate of change had continued, that percentage would have risen to 84 by 1965.

For Interracial Areas

A *National Newsletter for Interracial Communities* is being published periodically to provide a special forum through which fair housing groups which are concentrating on stabilization programs can share experiences and useful ideas.

Published by the Marynook Homeowners Association of Chicago, the second issue of the Newsletter (Autumn 1965) reports on the activities of five local organizations which are working to keep neighborhoods integrated, and carries a directory listing 18 similar groups over the country.

For further information, contact Mrs. Hugh Brodkey, 8624 University Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60619.

By 1962, the trend had been set in reverse and a steady acceleration of white buyers began. More than 50 whites have bought homes in Ludlow in recent years, and the rate of change has slowed to a trickle. The racial composition of the community is now 78 per cent white, 22 per cent nonwhite (apartment houses have about 98 per cent white occupancy); homeownership is stabilized at about 57 per cent nonwhite, 43 per cent white.

Ludlow, says Prof. Marvin Sussman, head of the department of sociology at Western Reserve University, "demonstrates what can be done if people want to do it."

How did LCA do it?

First, the dedicated and skilled leadership has involved substantially the entire community. The association was organized block-by-block, and more than 80 per cent of all homeowners are among its membership. In addition to working for integrated housing throughout the metropolitan area, LCA mounted four major activities to attract white buyers:

• A listing service to handle sales in Ludlow. (LCA's first president serves as its attorney without fee.) Prospective buyers are invited to small cocktail parties and taken on informal tours of homes for sale in the community.

• A continuing campaign to publicize the assets of the neighborhood and advertise available homes for sale. More than $20,000 in donations were secured from three Cleveland foundations and several business firms to cover the cost of promotional materials. (Donations are deductible for income tax purposes.) An attractive brochure was published, and 15,000 copies distributed to business firms, hospitals and universities. A 30-minute film about Ludlow was produced and has had about 100 showings at schools, churches, clubs, etc. LCA also spends $200 each month advertising available houses it is handling in three Cleveland newspapers.

• Its own financing subsidiary, The Ludlow Company, was set up to provide second mortgages for qualified buyers who lack sufficient capital for the down payment. The company will lend up to $5,000 for up to five years—long enough to build sufficient equity in the first mortgage—at an interest rate half a percentage point above the prevailing rate for first mortgage loans. The company was organized with 400 common shares publicly offered at $100 a share. Several Shaker Heights businessmen bought 130 shares and later donated them to LCA for resale.

• Meetings with real estate brokers, lending agency officials, and community leaders to stop panic peddling (Shaker Heights has an anti-blockbusting ordinance with stiff penalties) and to develop more cooperative attitudes and practices regarding the community. Also, an LCA Building Codes and Zoning Committee stopped several housing violations.

One additional point should be stressed: no single factor has contributed more to getting and to keeping integration in Ludlow than the excellence of the Shaker Heights school system which serves the community.

Kansas City

The Greater Kansas City Council on Religion and Race is sponsoring a six-county Good Neighbor pledge signing campaign as part of a drive to organize and blanket the entire metropolitan area with 22 fair housing councils. These groups are now underway and are concentrating on building membership and laying plans for the pledge campaign to be conducted in February and March.

A citizens committee, People for Fair Housing, has been formed with 16 subcommittees representing business and industry, religious and educational institutions, labor, government, civil rights groups, civic and social clubs. Special units handle speakers, publicity, literature, special events and record-keeping.

Survey of FH Laws

(Continued from page 7)

terms. They have held that fair housing legislation is clearly within the bounds of the police power of states and cities; that in the exercise of this power it is proper for the Legislature to take into account the changing needs of society; that Legislatures have wide discretion to determine the means of protecting the public interest; that the evil conditions stemming from discrimination and segregation in housing are within the competence of law makers to correct; and that neither property rights nor contract rights are absolute, but are, and have always been, subject to governmental regulations for the common good.

In a recent unanimous decision of the New Jersey Supreme Court upholding the validity of that state's fair housing statute, the high court had this to say: ". . . the private property owner has the right to use and dispose of his property as he chooses *only* so long as his action is not contrary to the general welfare . . . The statute here is certainly as reasonable a regulation of private property toward the achievement of a highly desirable public goal as are planning and zoning laws. The latter have long been upheld when attacked as taking property without due process of law." (*Trends,* July-Aug., 1965).

Strike Limited Law

In only one state has an anti-discrimination housing law been held unconstitutional. In 1961, the Washington State Supreme Court, in a 5-4 decision, struck down legislation which applied only to FHA-insured and other publicly-assisted housing. Three of the five judges in the majority condemned the law on the ground that it violated both Federal and state constitutions by making an unreasonable classification between homes having government-insured loans and all other housing; two of the judges ruled against the law on several counts. Apparently the statute would have been upheld 7-2 had it provided universal coverage of the housing supply (*Trends,* Sept.-Oct., 1961).

On the other hand, courts in New York State and New Jersey have upheld laws applying to some but not all housing. A year after the adverse decision in Washington, New Jersey's highest court turned down charges that a similar law made an unreasonable classification, declaring: "The statute need not be a perfect and all encompassing remedy so long as it represents a reasonable approach toward solution of the problem . . . when, as in the present situation, there is a fair basis for singling out the class or group affected, the regulation is constitutionally unassailable." (*Trends,* Mar.-Apr., 1962).

Statistical Reports

Digests of the statistical data reported by the 15 commissions follow in the order each law affecting the general housing market went into operation. All amendments indicated have been to expand the coverage of housing, or to strengthen enforcement provisions or both.

New York City. Effective April 1, 1958. Amended 1961, 1962, 1965. Covers all sales; all rentals except units in owner-occupied 2-family houses; brokers and salesmen; mortgage lenders; advertising. City Commission on Human Rights may initiate complaints and seek court injunctions to hold the housing at issue in status quo while complaint is pending.

Complaints filed – 1,722; satisfactorily closed–799; dismissed–806 (376 for lack of evidence to substantiate charges); pending–117. Complainant offered housing–527 (244 secured unit at issue or a comparable one, 283 refused the unit offered).

Existence of the law has resulted in a degree of integration in many formerly "all-white" neighborhoods in many sections of the city. An undetermined number of predominantly middle-class Negro families are known to have moved into rental and cooperative apartment houses and, to a lesser degree, into homes in outlying areas. Nonetheless, 80 per cent of the city's more than one million Negroes still live in four ghettos whose boundaries continue expanding.

The Commission reports the real estate industry is generally indifferent to the law or responds grudgingly on a case-by-case basis. It is working with cooperative brokers to secure agreements among real estate firms covering various market areas to provide equal services to all customers routinely.

Local fair housing and other community groups have been qualified by the Commission to serve as "outposts" for receiving complaints which are forwarded to its offices for processing. Shortage of staff (several key posts have remained vacant over extended periods), lack of sanctions, and administrative delays in securing injunctions are regarded as serious handicaps.

Colorado. Effective May 1, 1959. Amended 1965. Now covers all publicly-offered sales and apartment rentals; brokers and salesmen; mortgage lenders; advertising. State Civil Rights Commission may initiate, and may seek injunctive relief or damages up to $500.

Complaints filed–229; satisfactorily closed –177; dismissed–41; pending–11. Further breakdown of figures not available.

The Commission reports voluntary compliance by the real estate industry has increased in recent months as a result of the law's expanded coverage. It works in close cooperation with the six fair housing groups which have formed in the Denver suburbs in the last two years, and with the Fair Housing Center, a metropolitan-wide listing service recently organized with major religious and some industry support.

Prescription for Effective Fair Housing Laws

At the NCDH nationwide conference held in Chicago during the fall (*Trends,* Sept.-Oct., 1965), Robert L. Carter, General Counsel for NAACP and member of the NCDH Legal Committee, gave the following prescription for curing the weaknesses of fair housing laws and making them effective instruments for achieving integrated communities.

1. Comprehensive coverage of the housing market, applying to owners, builders, brokers, mortgage lenders, and advertising. Limited fair housing laws guarantee citizens *only part* of an established right; partial coverage creates complications and confusion for everyone — homeseekers, the industry, and enforcement commissions.

2. Vigorous and affirmative implementation, backed up by provision for enforcement commissions to initiate complaints (including industry-wide investigations), issue subpoenas, hold hearings, issue orders, seek injunctive relief, award compensatory damages, and go to court for enforcement. Enforcement procedures should be streamlined; most are far too cumbersome. Success stories should be widely publicized.

3. Liberal interpretation of the law and recognition by the commission and the political power structure that its basic objective is to end segregation and promote integration. Concentrated attention should be given to moving both the suppliers of housing and homeseekers beyond the case-by-case concept. The goal is to create positive business practices and home-shopping habits which will advance integration.

4. Genuine, unequivocal backing of the fair housing law and the commission that administers it by top political leadership. The commission should have a departmental standing equal in status to the most important agencies of government. It should influence all government activities which affect racial patterns of residence from the planning stage on, including the reorganization, construction, rehabilitation and up-grading of schools. The commission head should have "cabinet" rank and function as a member of the inner-circle of government. Adequate budget should be provided, with freedom to select staff on the basis of professional qualifications, and with no political strings attached.

"It's time," asserts Mr. Carter, "that governors and mayors stopped regarding civil rights commissions as appendages to be shown off at election time and then forgotten. In the final analysis, a commission's chance to do a really effective job hinges in large measure on the depth of commitment of government's man at the top."

Although Denver has had a "buyers' market" for about two years, the Commission reports the industry itself admits it stems from economic and housing market conditions and is unrelated to the fair housing law.

Pittsburgh. Effective June 1, 1959. Covers sales or rentals by persons owning or controlling five or more units whether or not contiguous; brokers and salesmen; mortgage lenders; advertising.

Complaints filed—208; satisfactorily closed —90; dismissed—107 (59 for lack of evidence, 18 not covered by law); pending—11. Complainant offered housing—40 (26 got unit at issue or comparable one, 14 refused unit offered.)

A 1965 survey by the Pittsburgh Commission on Human Relations, conducted in cooperation with the metropolitan area real estate board, found 57 per cent of local realtors oppose the law; 20 per cent approve. These findings served as the basis for proposals for affirmative action which the Commission has submitted to the board. Many nonwhite families have moved to formerly white neighborhoods without use of the law. Commission reports an increase in complaints from lower-income families in last two-and-a-half years. It works closely with fair housing groups, both in-city and suburban. Construction, sales, rentals and home ownership have increased in Pittsburgh in recent years.

Massachusetts. Effective July 21, 1959. Amended 1960, 1961, 1963, 1965. Now covers all publicly-offered sales and rentals except apartments in owner-occupied 2-family houses; brokers and salesmen; mortgage lenders; advertising. Brokers who refuse to obey an enforcement order are liable to loss of license. Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination can initiate and seek injunctive relief. Statistics through 1964 only.

Complaints filed—427; satisfactorily closed —227; dismissed—139 (90 for lack of evidence, 28 not covered by law); pending—61. Complainants offered housing—162 (60 got unit at issue or comparable one, 102 refused unit offered).

The Commission reports a sharp increase in its complaint load in 1965. Large percentage of all complaints are brought through Boston's Fair Housing, Inc. Commission has gained substantial support from real estate interests. Considers under-use of law and inadequate budget for informational and community education programs greatest weaknesses. Industry spokesmen say the law has not disrupted business in any way.

Oregon. Effective Aug. 5, 1959. Covers persons engaged in the business of selling and renting real property. Those charged with discrimination are required to hold the housing at issue available until complaint has been adjusted. Attorney General may initiate investigations. Brokers who violate the fair housing law are liable to loss of license.

Complaints filed—103; satisfactorily closed —74; dismissed—28 (19 for lack of evidence); pending—1. Complainants offered housing—45 (19 got unit at issue or a comparable one, 26 refused unit offered).

The Oregon Civil Rights Division reports that the real estate industry generally accepts the law, and that considerable voluntary compliance has led to a steady increase in integrated neighborhoods. The real estate board and the Oregon Real Estate Commissioner have stated the law has not adversely affected business.

Connecticut. Effective Oct. 1, 1959. Amended 1961, 1963, 1965. Covers all sales; all rentals except units in owner-occupied 2-family houses; brokers and salesmen; mortgage lenders. Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights can initiate and has limited injunctive relief provision. Violators are liable to fines up to $100, or 30 days in jail, or both.

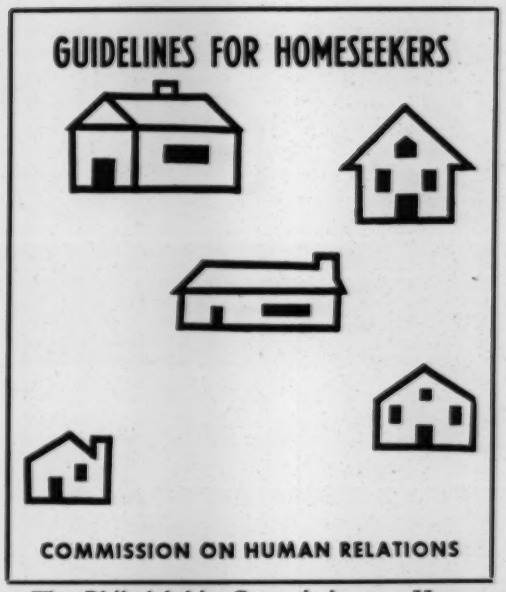
Complaints filed—302; satisfactorily closed —169; dismissed—107 (64 for lack of evidence, 15 not covered by law); pending—26. Complainants offered housing—147 (64 got the unit at issue or a comparable one, 83 refused unit offered).

The Commission reports industry generally is uncooperative, but that the number of "friendly" real estate agents is growing. The relationship with local fair housing groups is close, and Commission personnel have assisted in the formation and servicing of a growing number in the last two years. Real estate business is booming in the state.

New York State. Effective Sept. 1, 1961, for private housing. Amended 1963, 1965. (Earlier law covered publicly-assisted housing, including FHA and VA.) Now covers all sales; rentals except units in owner-occupied 2-family houses; brokers and salesmen; mortgage lenders; advertising. State Commission for Human Rights can initiate, seek injunctive relief, and award compensatory damages. Violators of the law are subject to penal action. Statistics which follow include 1959-1961 coverage of government-aided housing.

Complaints filed—2,184; satisfactorily closed—726; dismissed—1,266 (716 for lack of evidence, 434 not covered by law); pending—166. Complainants offered housing—309 (195 got unit at issue or a comparable one, 114 refused unit offered).

Surveys by the State Commission indicate that voluntary compliance because of existence of the law has opened far more housing than the individual complaint process. Working with limited coverage through 1963 and grossly inadequate enforcement provisions until mid-1965, the Housing Division of the Commission (complaints are handled by another unit) has opened large subdivisions and apartment developments in numerous parts of the state by negotiating agreements with the housing industry and other government agencies. Leading industry representatives participate in local housing advisory councils across the state, cooperating in the development and institution of such agreements.



The Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations distributes this booklet, "Guidelines for Homeseekers," to help families considering buying a home make a sound investment. Included is information about how to use laws and regulations which protect every family's freedom of choice. In one week after publication was announced, 1800 copies were requested.

Pennsylvania. Effective Sept. 1, 1961. Covers sales and rentals except those involving owner-occupied 1- and 2-family houses; brokers and salesmen; mortgage lenders; advertising. Commission may initiate complaints.

Complaints filed—558; satisfactorily closed —275; dismissed—178 (136 for lack of evidenee, 23 not covered by law); pending—96. Complainants offered housing—205 (80 got the unit at issue or a comparable one, 125 refused unit offered).

The Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission reports it can identify about 100 neighborhoods which have become integrated in recent years. It feels limited coverage and lack of injunctive relief the law's greatest weaknesses.

Reports housing business off in some market areas due to over-supply and local economic conditions.

(Continued on page 10)

An Important New Study of Race and Housing

NEGROES IN CITIES, by Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, of the University of Wisconsin, constitutes a warning to urban America that unless massive action is taken to end racial barriers to housing, the explosive conditions generated by confinement to ghettos will continue unabated. The Taeuber study examines contrasting patterns of residential segregation from city to city and neighborhood to neighborhood. Its major conclusion: of the three principal factors which trap the Negro in the ghetto — free choice, discrimination and poverty, discrimination is by far the strongest. Ranks the degree of residential segregation in 170 American cities. Available from Aldine Publishing Company, 64 East Van Buren St., Chicago, Ill., 60605. 352 pages. $9.75.

Survey of FH Laws

(Continued from page 9)

New Jersey. Effective Sept. 13, 1961, for private housing. (Earlier legislation covered publicly-aided housing, including FHA and VA.) Covers sales in developments of 10 or more; most apartment rentals; all housing built with FHA and VA assistance; brokers and salesmen; mortgage lenders; advertising. Statistics which follow include 1959-1961 coverage of government-aided housing.

Complaints filed—598; satisfactorily closed —154; dismissed—278 (178 for lack of evidence, 28 not covered by law); pending—166. Figures not available on number of complainants offered housing. However, the New Jersey Division on Civil Rights reports that in all satisfactory closings the complainant is offered housing or is given a pre-emptive right to the next available unit which is comparable to the accommodation sought.

Minnesota. Effective Dec. 31, 1962. Amended 1965. Covers all sales except owner-occupied 1-family houses (homes with FHA and VA assistance are covered); all rentals except units in owner-occupied 2-family homes; brokers and salesmen; mortgage lenders; advertising. Minnesota Commission Against Discrimination may initiate complaints.

Complaints filed—178; satisfactorily closed —89; dismissed—22 (4 for lack of evidence, 13 not covered by law); pending—67. Complainants got unit at issue—31. Breakdown not available for the remaining 58 satisfactory closings, but the Commission advises complainants were either offered housing or placed on waiting lists.

The Minnesota law reaches approximately 30 per cent of the state's housing supply—a condition which creates widespread confusion in attempts to identify housing covered by the statute and discourages use of the law.

Philadelphia. Effective June 10, 1963. Coverage substantially the same as the Pennsylvania law. Violators are liable to fines up to $300, 90 days in jail, or both.

Complaints filed—123; satisfactorily closed —47; dismissed—42 (33 for lack of evidence); pending—34. Complainants offered housing—49 (17 got the unit at issue, 32 refused unit offered).

The Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations is seeking amendments to provide comprehensive coverage and stronger enforcement machinery. Some home builders contend they are discriminated against by the law's exemption of owner-occupied houses and have indicated they would support universal coverage. Substantial opposition among realtors is reported.

California. Effective Sept. 20, 1963. Covers sales or rentals involving buildings with 4 or more units (applies to all government-aided housing, including FHA and VA); brokers and salesmen; mortgage lenders. (See note on California, page 4.) California Fair Employment Practice Commission, which administers the law, may initiate complaints, and may seek injunctive relief or damages up to $500.

Complaints filed—240; satisfactorily closed —95; dismissed—107 (65 for lack of evidence, 16 not covered by law); pending—38. Complainants offered housing—66 (31 got unit at issue or a comparable one, 35 refused unit offered). Other satisfactorily closed cases involved withdrawal of eviction notices, cash settlements, etc.

The Commission is faced with highly organized opposition spearheaded by real estate boards. Confusion over present status of the law (see note referred to above) has resulted in a heavy drop in the complaint load. Real estate business continues at a high level.

Chicago. Effective Sept. 24, 1963. Covers operations of licensed real estate brokers. Also prohibits "blockbusting." Violators of ordinance are liable to loss of license.

Complaints filed—110; satisfactorily closed —51; dismissed 46 (28 for lack of evidence, 18 not covered by law); pending—13. Breakdown of figures on cases satisfactorily closed not available.

The Chicago Commission on Human Relations reports existence of the ordinance is having some effect on industry policies. Management firms controlling 70,000 rental units have instituted nondiscriminatory policies. Of these, 30,000 were brought under open occupancy agreements through settlement of complaints by the Commission. It is also reported the law has stimulated an increasing "stay put" attitude among residents of integrated neighborhoods which were vulnerable to resegregation. Restriction of the ordinance to brokers and lack of state legislation to open the Chicago suburbs are considered greatest handicaps. Construction rate and real estate business generally continue at same high level.

Michigan. Effective Jan. 1, 1964. The State Attorney General has ruled that the new State Constitution prohibits discrimination in all housing and mortgage lending transactions. This ruling is now under attack in the courts.

Fair Housing Statutes and Ordinances **with digests of state laws and list of city measures available from NCDH. 9 pages. 25¢ each.**

Complaints filed—105; satisfactorily closed —32; dismissed—17 (14 for lack of evidence); pending—56. Further breakdown of figures not available.

The Michigan Civil Rights Commission has instituted a program to counter substantial opposition within the real estate industry and to promote affirmative compliance with the law. A proposed 6-point voluntary agreement is being presented to local real estate boards throughout the state, a number of which have cooperated with the Commission in setting up special workshops.

The Commission states that serious handicaps to effective implementation of the law are the traditional case-by-case approach; the time involved in processing complaints; and the fact that the Commission does not exercise the injunctive procedure to prevent cases from becoming moot because the housing at issue goes off the market before the matter is adjusted.

Construction is booming, particularly in the Detroit area, which has the state's largest concentration of nonwhite population.

District of Columbia. Effective Jan. 20, 1964. Covers all sales; all apartment rentals except units in owner-occupied 2-family houses; brokers and salesmen; mortgage lenders; advertising. District Commissioners' Council on Human Relations may initiate and may refer to corporation counsel cases for injunctive relief. Penalties provide fines up to $300 or imprisonment up to 10 days. Brokers who violate the regulation are liable to loss of license.

Complaints filed—170; satisfactorily closed —89; dismissed—73 (53 for lack of evidence); pending—8. Complainants offered housing—49 (27 got the unit at issue, 22 refused unit offered). The other satisfactorily closed cases involved withdrawal of eviction notices, discriminatory advertising, cases involving individually-owned properties which were no longer available, etc.

Efforts to achieve equal housing opportunities in metropolitan Washington are confronted by a situation unique in two respects. The 1960 census showed the nonwhite population of the District of Columbia represented 54 per cent of the total (now estimated by government sources at 63 per cent). Also, the suburbs which surround Washington lie in two different states, neither of which has fair housing legislation. Thus, the majority and rapidly-expanding nonwhite population of the nation's capital is entirely hemmed in by the "white noose" of Maryland and Virginia suburbs. In the last two years, more than 300 Negro families have broken through the barriers and moved into these suburban communities with the assistance of local fair housing committees. The five voluntary committees which blanket Greater Washington are among the few of more than 1,000 in the nation with waiting lists of homeseekers and insufficient lists of available housing to meet their needs.

National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing
323 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10016

☐ **I enclose $2.00 for a year's subscription to TRENDS IN HOUSING.**
☐ **To help support NCDH's work for equal opportunity in housing, my TAX DEDUCTIBLE contribution of $_____is enclosed.**

(Persons who contribute $10.00 or more per year receive an annual subscription to TRENDS.)

*NAME*_____

*ADDRESS*_____

_____

(Please include your postal ZIP CODE.)

Note to agencies: Please give exact name and address, using no more than 4 lines.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
323 Lexington Avenue New York, N. Y. 10016
685-8911

A REMINDER TO JOIN US

at the Nationwide Conference of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing (NCDH)

at Chicago's Sherman House, October 21-23, 1965.

Conference Theme: "A Thousand Harlems: How to Break Up The Racial Ghetto"

COME AND SHARE YOUR IDEAS WITH:

DR. ROBERT C. WEAVER
Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency
and former NCDH President

DR. KENNETH C. CLARK
Professor of Psychology, CCNY; author of Dark Ghetto

GEORGE R. METCALF
NCDH President and pioneering sponsor of Metcalf-Baker fair housing laws

ROBERT L. CARTER
General Counsel for NAACP

DR. FRANK S. HORNE
Chairman, NCDH Executive Committee

Share the knowledge and experience of many of your colleagues in the fair housing movement from across the country on HOW TO:

BREAK UP THE RACIAL GHETTO

BREAK OPEN SUBURBIA

FIND CUSTOMERS FOR FAIR HOUSING SERVICES

KEEP NEIGHBORHOODS INTEGRATED

GET MORE MODERATE AND LOW INCOME HOUSING

USE FAIR HOUSING LAWS AND FEDERAL PROGRAMS

INVOLVE BROKERS, BANKERS AND BUILDERS

* *

For those arriving early and who may be interested, NCDH has arranged a bus tour of the City of Chicago. The tour will take in the South Side, Lake Meadows, Prairie Shores and other points of special interest to the fair housing movement.

DATE: THURSDAY, OCTOBER 21 TIME: 4:30 P.M.

file Housing

NIGHT LETTER

MR. ALDRAN MOORE, CHAIRMAN
MID-QUEENS CITIZENS' COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS
POST OFFICE BOX 584
FLUSHING, NEW YORK 11352

INTEGRATED HOUSING IN EVERY SECTION OF OUR CITY IS IMPERATIVE. PRIMARILY THROUGH INTEGRATED HOUSING WILL WE BE ABLE TO INTEGRATE OUR SCHOOLS AND BRING AMERICA CLOSER TO ITS PROMISE OF EQUALITY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL.

JAMES FARMER
NATIONAL DIRECTOR
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

This is our 3rd copy
As you. We hope you
will act on it promptly.
Sincerely
H. Shneyer

Dear Moore

MID-QUEENS CITIZENS' COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS
Post Office Box 584
Flushing, New York 11352

Dear Friend:

For the past year and a half, our committee has been making efforts to make the management of Electchester Houses, a cooperative housing project sponsored by Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, live up to the open occupancy laws of our city and state.

The enclosed chronology of events details the frustrating story of the negotiations conducted by our committee under the auspices of the City Commission on Human Rights, including the agreements made and repudiated by Mr. Van Arsdale and the Electchester management. At this point, it is obvious that the Electchester management is not willing to move toward more than token integration (less than 1 per cent) and that the political influence of Mr. Van Arsdale has immobilized the City Commission.

Under these circumstances, our committee feels compelled to call for a public informational picket line on Tuesday, April 6 between twelve noon and 2:00 p.m. in front of Mr. Van Arsdale's office at the New York City Central Labor Council, 386 Park Avenue South (at 27th Street) in Manhattan.

We appeal to you to join us on the picket line and to take the other actions indicated below.

Sincerely,

MID-QUEENS CITIZENS' COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

Aldean Moore
Aldean Moore, Chairman

Hedy Schneyer
Hedy Schneyer, Co-Chairman

DS;gc

MQCCCR, Post Office Box 584, Flushing, New York 11352

_____ I will join the picket line on April 6.

_____ I have written to Mr. Van Arsdale.

_____ I have written to the City Human Rights Commission.

SIGNED_____

Mid-Queens Citizens Committee for Civil Rights

CHRONOLOGY OF EFFORTS TO INTEGRATE ELECTCHESTER

October 1963	Letter to Van Arsdale requesting a meeting.
November 1963	After numerous phone calls, Mr. Ottley, who has no powers to negotiate, meets with Committee. Promises to report to Van Arsdale.
Nov. 13, 1963	Letter to Van Arsdale requesting a personal meeting.
Nov. 27, 1963	Third letter to Van Arsdale requesting a meeting and formation of a joint committee.
Jan. 2, 1964	Another letter to Van Arsdale repeating same demands.
Jan. 1964	Meeting arranged between community leaders and a union committee. Only Mr. Ottley came, again with no powers to negotiate.
Feb. 4, 1964	Another letter to Van Arsdale, with copy to Commission on Human Rights.
Mar. 9, 1964	Distribution of leaflets throughout Electchester explaining the situation.
Mar. 10, 1964	Press conference at Pomonok Community Center. Van Arsdale appears, agrees to a meeting at Commission offices.
Mar. 26, 1964	Meeting at Commission office between Committee, Van Arsdale, management of Electchester Housing Corporations, City and State Commissions on Human Rights. City Commission finds "a pattern of exclusion" of minority groups, as proven by 0.3% minority occupancy. Recommends a 4-point program of overcoming the situation, including: Accelerated recruitment of minority group tenants, periodic meetings with both the Commission and this Committee, and reports on progress in this direction. Van Arsdale and the management representatives agree to Commission proposals.
Apr. 8, 1964	Commission confirms the agreement of March 26 in letter to all parties.
Apr. 24, 1964	Presidents of the Housing Companies deny by letter that agreement was reached on March 26. Claim to have admitted eight Negro families out of nine vacancies since March 26.*
May 25, 1964	Committee writes Van Arsdale, expressing shock at abrogation of agreement.
June 17, 1964	Meeting at Commission office. Van Arsdale and management spokesmen again deny any agreement. Claim 11 of 13 vacancies have gone to Negroes since March 26.*
Nov. 25, 1964	Committee writes to Human Rights Commission asking that they enforce the March 26 agreement and requesting another meeting be called with Van Arsdale and management representatives. [redacted]

*Note. This Committee's survey shows that as of December 4, 1964, there were only four new Negro families in Electchester.

DONALD M. FRASER
5TH DISTRICT, MINNESOTA

432 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
CA 4-3121, EXT. 4756

DALE MACIVER
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

SUBCOMMITTEES:
STATE DEPARTMENT ORGANIZATION AND FOREIGN OPERATIONS
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS

January 21, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

JAN 25 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am happy to announce that generous contributions by sponsors of The National Committee On Tithing in Investment make it possible for the board to go ahead with plans to announce the tithing movement by ads in the Times and elsewhere. A proof of the copy prepared by advertising friends is enclosed. We are ready to go to press.

However, although we already have your agreement to sponsor NCTI, the Times requires specific permission to list your name as a sponsor in a N. Y. Times ad. The enclosed list includes your name among those we would like to name in the ad.

Your listing on the enclosed card is as we would like it to appear in the ad. If this is agreeable with you, please check the card for accuracy, and make only necessary corrections. Please give your approval by signing the card, and return it promptly so that your name can be included in these major announcements.

These ads, in my opinion, will give new hope to countless Americans that equal housing opportunity may become a reality for them. A stamped reply envelope is enclosed to speed your answer.

Cordially,

Donald M Fraser

Donald M. Fraser

If you believe
equal opportun
in housing

Speak up!

Congressman Donald M. Fraser
432 House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515.

Dear Congressman Fraser:

I agree to become a sponsor of the National Committee on Tithin
in Investment...a proposal based on the idea that one's invest
ments can be an eloquent voice for integration. I understand ther
is no obligation, save belief in the idea.

Signature _____

Print Name _____

Position or occupation _____
(FOR IDENTIFICATION)

Address _____

Please send me_____copies of this advertisement. $_____enclosed

ADDITIONAL COPIES OF THIS AD: 10 FOR $1.00, 100 FOR $5.00, 1,00
FOR $25.00. MAKE CHECK PAYABLE TO NCTI (NATIONAL COMMITTE
ON TITHING IN INVESTMENT).

Many Americans want open occupancy in housing, but only a few of us in our daily lives can take the time and trouble to work for it. We are caught in what Life Magazine has called **"the terrible silence of the decent."**

The following proposal – Tithing in Investment – is based on the idea that one's investments can be an eloquent voice for integration. In just a few months – and with very little promotion – this plan has attracted nearly 3,000 sponsors. They

in a real estate investment trust or a partnership owning apartment houses, mortgages, securities of development companies, and deposits in commercial or savings institutions.

Is Open Housing Sound Business?

As with all investments, there is risk in open housing. But in our judgment there are many sound investment opportunities in this field; and these opportunities may multiply as NCTI's success encourages

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COMMITTEE

tional dollars in pension funds, trust funds and individual portfolios!

What Can You Do To Help?

You can become a sponsor of NCTI. This does not obligate you to contribute money. The only commitment you make is to the idea of Tithing in Investment. If you want to contribute money to be used for this educational work, wonderful. We can use it. There are other ways to help, too:

Seek sponsors—especially among people

Sponsors:

PARTIAL LIST:

Space does not permit full listing; sponsors include 126 college and theological seminary presidents and many other distinguished persons.

Morris Abram
PRES. AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

James Luther Adams
CHR. ETHICS DEPT. HARVARD DIVINITY SCHOOL

Matthew Ahmann
EXEC. DIR. NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

Conrad Aiken

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Charles Benton
PRES. ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITTANICA FILMS

Russell K. Berg
PRES. INTL. BROTHERHOOD OF BOILERMAKERS

with very little promotion—this plan has attracted nearly 3,000 sponsors. They include churchmen, educators, congressmen, businessmen, authors, union leaders, lawyers, economists, artists, entertainers and many others. The list grows longer every day.

Money talks. If you want your money to speak for your beliefs, you will want to consider this proposal for Tithing in Investment.

What Is Tithing In Investment?

It is investment by individuals or by non-profit institutions of about 10 per cent of their available investment capital in housing that is open to all. The National Committee on Tithing in Investment (NCTI) will serve as a clearinghouse for information about such investments. Organized as a non-profit agency, NCTI will not invest. But it will alert individuals and non-profit groups to investment opportunities in equal housing.

NCTI will bring together investors of good will and housing professionals who are committed to open occupancy. In this way the investor will gradually build up a "tithing portfolio," consisting of investments favorable to open occupancy housing. Such a portfolio might include equity

multiply as NCTI's success encourages builders and developers to open their housing to everyone. However, NCTI will not advise investors on the financial soundness or safety of the investment. That is clearly the responsibility of the investor's broker or banker. NCTI will provide information on the social soundness of the investment—that is, whether the company's selling and renting policies are in line with the investor's own convictions.

What Good Will It Do?

Plenty! There is today a tragic shortage of capital available to developers and apartment house owners who wish to practice equal housing. The consequences are all too clear: each year about 1.5 million new family units are built, nearly all of them on a "de facto" segregated basis. And each year we get larger "black belts" in our cities and larger "white belts" in our suburbs.

One clear way to reverse this trend is to pour investment capital into equal housing. The money is available. Think what a tremendous difference it would make if the churches, the colleges, the labor unions and the foundations earmarked a small portion of their investments for equal housing. Not to mention the millions of addi-

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***"We cannot keep our r
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justice in another pock***

BISHOP ARTHUR LICHTENBE
PAST PRESIDING BISHOP, PR

"The Tithing in Investment movement can be part of the great social revolution now taking place. Not all of us can go to Mississippi to register voters but we can act boldly to end the insufferable restrictions in housing. We must act now, as one Mississippi student volunteer has said, to do something about 'the closed society.'"

CONGRESSMAN DONALD M. FRASER
LETTER INVITING SPONSORS FOR NCTI.

National Committee On Tithing In In

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too:

Seek sponsors—especially among people who invest capital either personally or through their roles in churches, pension funds, foundations, universities and labor unions.

Be on the lookout for ways that you can influence investment policies: as a college alumnus, as a bank depositor, as a church member, as a member of any board, and even as a voting citizen with a stake in the administration of municipal and state pension funds.

Spread the word about NCTI. Send us names of concerned friends so we can send them material on tithing. And order reprints of this ad for friends (see coupon).

Send us names of brokers, bankers, persons holding investments and non-profit groups who believe in equal housing. Help us to build a national list of friendly investors and investment agencies.

And Send Us The Coupon

Right now send the coupon enrolling yourself as a sponsor. Send it today, whether or not you choose to send money as well. Tithing in Investment is one important and practical way of breaking "the terrible silence of the decent". You can speak up for equal housing. Do it now.

keep our moral convictions in our thoughts and actions about ss and politics and social order and other pocket quite apart."

IUR LICHTENBERGER
ING BISHOP, PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, U.S.A.

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Farmer Cites 3 New Goals For Civil Rights Drive

By ROBERT A. CARTER
Journal-Courier Staff Reporter

Between one and two million new Negro voters can be registered in the south within six to nine months after the passage of pending voter rights bills, James Farmer, head of the Congress of Racial Equality said here Thursday.

Farmer, speaking under the joint auspices of the Yale Political Union and the Yale Law Forum, told an audience of some 400 at the Yale Law School auditorium that political involvement was only one of three new goals the civil rights movement must now pursue.

The other two are job opportunities and compensatory education programs, he said.

Photo on page 4.

Although he called for passage of the voting rights bill, Farmer does not believe it will be sufficient. "In civil rights we tend to solve a problem by passing a law, then forgetting both the problem and the law," Farmer told his audience.

The articulate Farmer spent nearly two hours delivering an address that dealt with the origin, philosophical basis and the future of the civil rights movement.

He touched on a wide variety of subjects, often with wry comments that delighted the audience. His observations:

—On changing attitudes of northern police toward demonstraters: "Three Pinkerton men carried me away from the entrance to the World's Fair. All they had to say was 'Mr. Farmer, you should lose some weight.' "

—On nonviolence: "CORE advocates a policy of nonviolence; without it the last five years would have been a bloodbath. But the average Negro is no more non-violent than, say, a white man."

—On the cause of the civil rights movement: "Three things caused it; the war, increasing education, and Africa. When I was a boy we'd go to Tarzan movies and identify with Tarzan; now black men stand tall."

—On the effects of the movement: "We have won many victories, but the greatest has been over ourselves—over our lack of self-esteem. A boy came up to me the other day and said, 'Mr. Farmer, I desegregated that lunch counter. Not you, Not Martin Luther King. I did it.' "

The Negro's battle for equality, Farmer said, is not finished, but merely entering a more subtle and difficult phase.

"Marching with our feet was easy; the lunch counters were a pushover," he said.

More difficult tasks which lie ahead are political mobilization, the providing of jobs and the r e m e d y of century-long maleducation of Negro citizens.

A start toward the first had been made with the organization of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party and a similar Freedom Democratic Movement in Brooklyn, he said.

"Perhaps one contribution of the civil rights movement will be getting ordinary people involved in the political process," he said.

Job opportunities, unavailable in rapidly automating industry, must be found in the provision of new homes, roads, hospital facilities and in the solution of American transportation and educational problems, he said.

CORE is moving toward new solutions of job discrimination problems, through the use of such devices as consumer cooperatives, and credit unions, according to Farmer.

The third new goal — education — is perhaps the most massive, Farmer said. "I have seen high school drop-outs and even some who didn't drop out, who need extensive education before they are ready to even begin retraining," he said.

In the press conference held earlier Thursday Farmer vigorously denied recent reports that the civil rights movement was

(Continued on Page 19)

FARMER

(Continued from Page 1)

"infiltrated with Communists."

Such charges, he said, were "an insult to the Negro community and to the civil rights movement."

"This implies," the CORE leader said, "that Negroes would not protest if Communists were not there.

"In fact Negroes are protesting real injustices, and I believe that the incidence of Communists in the civil rights movement is rather less than the incidence of Communists in American society as a whole."

Reporters at the press conference repeatedly attempted to draw Farmer out on planned nation CORE policy. He was chary about committing himself to firm future action.

"We plan continued direct action in Louisiana, North Carolina and northern Florida," he said. Questioned further, he said that political action and legal remedies would also be undertaken.

The planned action in Louisiana, disclosed after the press conference, involves so-called "direct action," (non-violent protest demonstrations) in the rural areas of Louisiana.

Farmer said that only New Orleans and Baton Rouge, of all Louisiana communities, had demonstrated any degree of compliance with the public accommodations section of the Civil Rights Act.

"In the rural areas, there is still complete segregation," he said.

While CORE plans increased action in Louisiana to combat this, Farmer said, "this doesn't mean we are abandoning Mississippi."

Farmer said that, while CORE planned to continue to direct its efforts to the securing of "full citizenship" for Negroes, its quest was having effects on other areas of American life.

"We are still concentrating on civil rights," he said," but our methods are finding their way into other causes. The Free Speech Movement at (The University of California at) Berkeley is an example."

Farmer said he advocates passage of a federal statute against the murder of persons engaged in protecting or advocating the exercise of constitutional rights.

Such a statute would allow the prosecution for murder in federal courts of persons who murder civil rights workers.

Farmer said that, in his view, voting rights legislation before Congress was inadequate literacy test is outmod said. "People can ge quaintance with politic from radio and televisio Farmer [illegible] e

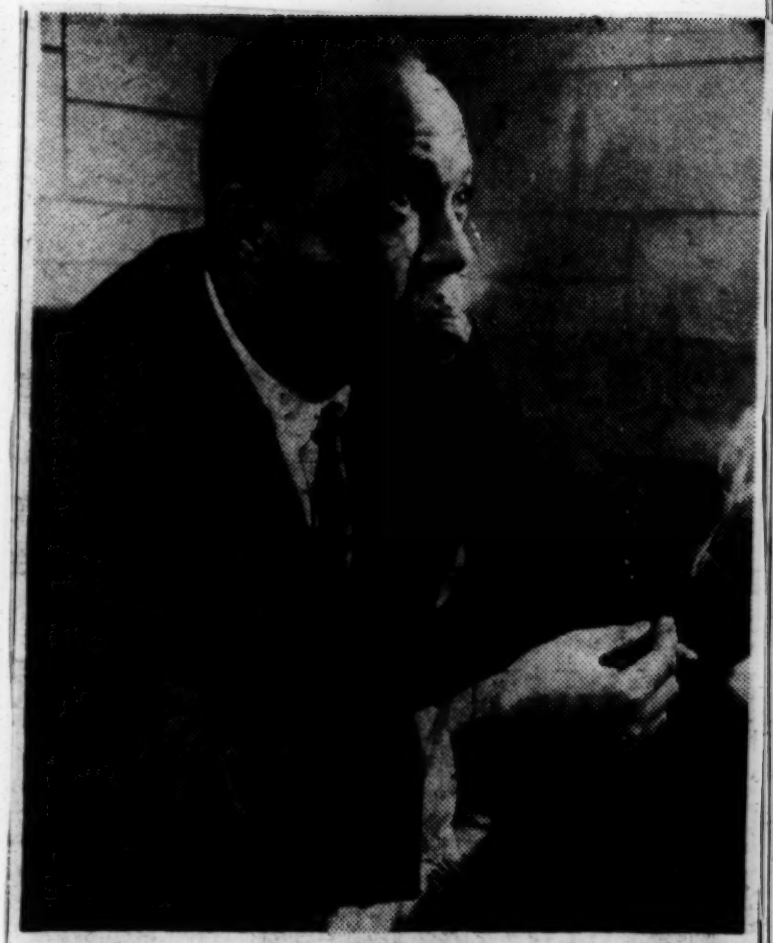
to abandon the high school diploma as a test for possible employment.

He pointed out that in many areas, full qualified minority group members cannot obtain jobs because they have not obtained diplomas —either because of school segregation, or because of the necessity to quit school to take jobs. "We can suggest candidates for jobs," he said, "but we can't give them high school diplomas."

Touching on another point, Farmer said that, while he believes President Johnson is sincere on his attack upon poverty, "many anti-poverty agencies do not include adequate representation of the poor themselves.

"It is quite possible that CORE chapters will undertake direct action against anti-poverty agencies —such as the one in New York —which do not represent the poor," he said.

"Not enough money is being spent," he said. Alluding to recent requests by the president for additional appropriations for the conduct of the war in Southeast Asia, he said: "I am for more talk in Viet Nam and the Dominican Republic and more action in the United States."



FARMER AT YALE — CORE National Director James Farmer fends reporters' questions at a press conferene Thursday, before addressing audience of 400 at Yale Law School. The Negro leader spoke on "The Future of the Civil Rights Movement."

J. Farmer publications

OCT 8 1963

What Next? Five Negro Leaders Reply

After the march on Washington, after the bombing in Birmingham, five principals in the civil-rights campaign discuss what action is called for now.

On Aug. 28, some 200,000 Americans — mostly Negroes, but including many whites — converged on Washington for the largest civil-rights demonstration the country has ever seen. Now, as the echoes of the march fade into history — and the echoes of the Birmingham bombing reverberate — these questions emerge: Where do Negroes go from here? What are the next steps in the civil-rights campaign? The New York Times Magazine put these questions to five Negro leaders. Here in alphabetical order are their answers.

'MORE EFFECTIVE TECHNIQUES'

By KENNETH B. CLARK

Professor of Psychology at City College

THE Aug. 28 march demonstrated the discipline, the seriousness, the persistence and the insistence of the bulk of American Negroes and some whites that racial injustices must now be eliminated from American life. Yet it is possible that the "success" of the march could confuse the issue and delay the attainment of the goal of racial equality. Some Negroes could interpret the demonstration as evidence of direct political power and believe the fact that it occurred will magically produce the desired results. And some whites could congratulate themselves on the fact that Negroes were permitted to let off steam harmlessly.

Such ideas, although comforting, would be serious misinterpretations of the meaning of the current civil-rights movement. Any political or other actions based upon them would be in error and probably tragic in their consequences.

IN a most disturbing sense, a society which permitted the perpetrators of 28 bombings in Birmingham to remain free and unpunished, a society which permits the convicted killer of a Negro woman to complete his harvest before enjoying the luxury of six months in a white prison, a society in which the highest elected official of a state incites the primitive passions of his people for personal political gain, a society which can continue to accept flagrant and subtle forms of racism in the same generation in which the horrors of death camps were exposed to the world is a society in serious trouble.

Negro organizations and their white allies must now develop precise and more effective techniques to deal directly with the areas of resistance to racial injustice in America. They must consolidate and conserve past gains and use them as the basis for removing the existing inequities. Specifically:

Ways must be found to make the Congress of the United States and the various state legislative bodies more sensitive and responsive to the present mood of urgency.

Serious negotiations with the leaders of American labor and of individual unions should be initiated and sustained.

If these discussions do not result in the elimination of patterns of racial exclusion from the American labor movement then more direct action techniques must be developed and used until these goals are obtained.

More systematic organized and sustained forms of selective patronage should be used by Negroes to eliminate the remaining forms of racial discrimination in employment and in places of public accommodation.

The problem of residential segregation has to be attacked by direct action and effective protests against the discriminatory practices of banks, real-estate groups and offending landlords.

Police brutality must be curbed and law-enforcement agencies and officials made to understand that it is their duty and responsibility to protect all citizens impartially. If this cannot be done by reason it must be done by disciplined civil disobedience.

Desegregation of schools, from the elementary through graduate and professional levels, must be accelerated. The present snail's pace of grudging tokenism should give way to a pace more consistent with the letter and the spirit of the May 17, 1954, Supreme Court decision and the trained manpower needs of the nation. Here, too, it may be necessary, unfortunately, for Negroes to develop and use appropriate, nonviolent direct-action approaches.

Massive pressure for voter registration among Negroes in the South must be developed and sustained without regard to the risk. The executive and judicial branches of the Federal Government must protect the constitutional rights of Negroes to vote and participate in their government. These rights either must be enforced by representation sanctions against the states or Negroes must find some way of withholding the taxes paid in these states in direct proportion to their representation. Taxation without representation is still tyranny.

As for the next steps, apathy, indifference, battle weariness, return to inertia and wishful thinking are some of the major dangers to be counteracted. The momentum of the Negro surge for equality during the past few years and particularly during recent months has been admirable—but also exhausting. The challenge now is to sustain the dynamism of recent demonstrations until the legitimate goals are achieved.

'WE CANNOT AFFORD TO FAIL'

By JAMES FARMER

National director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

GOVERNOR WALLACE of Alabama is probably most to blame for the outrage of Birmingham. However, Wallace is not alone. All of us share the blame because we have not done enough to end racial injustice. I have not been able to sleep since Birmingham because I have not done enough. Those who are not on the picket lines share the blame. Those who remain silent share the blame. Those who are neutral share the blame.

Birmingham will not stop the movement. It will not slow it down, rather it will help speed up the process of mass involvement of the Negro community. *(Continued on Page 91)*

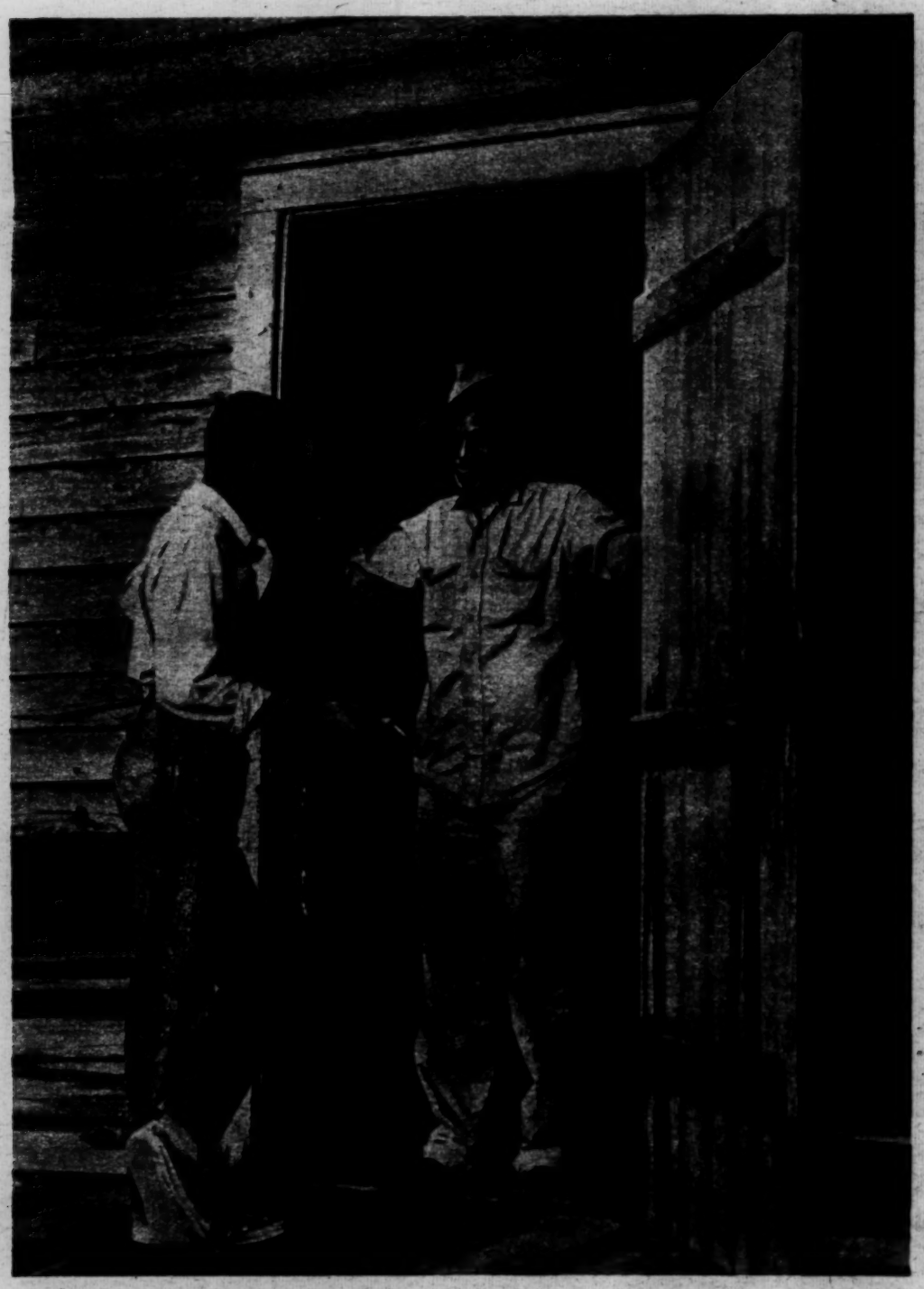
JOBS WITHOUT BIAS—Negroes must "demonstrate in the streets" until they attain this goal, says an integration leader.

For pictures of a Southern Negro vote drive, turn page

The Southern Negro Drives for the Vote

"The most important step a Negro can take is in the direction of the ballot box," the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. has said. Traditionally, Negroes of the rural Deep South have been reluctant to register, some out of fear of physical or economic retaliation, others out of apathy born of deprivation and the absence of any real choice among the segregationist candidates of a one-party system. Now thousands of volunteers, assisted by a handful of professionals, are conducting voter registration campaigns that, they hope, will assure the Negro a voice in government. This mammoth, occasionally dangerous, task was once almost the sole province of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Today, the N.A.A.C.P. has been joined by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the National Urban League, and state and local groups. In all, 27 registration campaigns are in progress across the South. They are coordinated and financed by the Voter Education Project, an organization with a budget of $262,000 underwritten by several Northern foundations. This new concern for the rights and responsibilities of full citizenship already has made itself felt in other phases of the Negro's struggle. It will assume overriding importance as the legal efforts of the Justice Department and other forces eliminate discriminatory disfranchisement. The pictures on these pages are scenes of a typical registration drive—this one conducted by CORE in the Sixth Congressional District of Louisiana. —CLAUDE SITTON.

TARGET AREA—This house in a Negro enclave near Plaquemine, La., is typical of the homes in the region where registration workers call. An open sewer runs in the foreground.



CANVASS—Danny Mitchell, a member of the CORE task force in Iberville Parish, tries to persuade a resident to register. The group has numbered about 45, most of them volunteers.

REHEARSAL—Bette Poole, right, helps a would-be voter practice filling out registration forms. Negroes have been turned down, CORE workers say, for failing to dot an "i."

CRAM SESSION—Registrants must pass a "citizenship test" with six questions chosen from a list of 42. Here, Mimi Feingold, a CORE volunteer, coaches a prospective voter.

Photographs by BOB ADELMAN

PROTEST—Some of the 200,000 in the March on Washington.

What Next?: A Symposium

(Continued from Page 27)

No longer are we just a few scattered militants and intellectuals. Now the revolt has cut across the formerly divisive lines of class, cultural achievement and education. To a greater extent than ever before, even the timorous, the former "Uncle Toms," have been swept along in the tide of Negro self-consciousness and revolt against discrimination. They have become involved not so much by choice as by necessity. The realization has come to most Negroes that there is no escape for them as individuals. We are in what might be called the "everyman" stage of development in the struggle.

The problems are obviously enormous. To mention just two: (1) Sloganeering is frequently mistaken for a program. (2) A dangerous racial polarization in the national community seems possible.

To combat the first problem, more sweep needs to be given to the present revolutionary struggle by analysis and criticism and creative thought, as well as by more detailed planning.

Real differences in point of view should be expressed and encouraged. Unity of goal should not be mistaken for uniformity of action and approach.

In combating the second danger, the march on Washington was a good first step. Its interracial character was impressive. Now we need steps to make constructive use of the millions of potential white allies according to the stage of their present commitment in the struggle. Ways must be found to let each add his thrust to the movement as far as he is at present willing to go, without hampering or holding back those who are willing to go further. Churches and unions must be encouraged to go beyond lip service and to take specific action for equality.

Direct - action demonstrations will be continued, but objectives should be more clearly pointed out in each campaign—both for better understanding among the demonstrators and for greater appreciation and support among the general public. In addition, means of maintaining the discipline of nonviolence need to be tightened. We require schools and workshops in every area of the country to train demonstrators and potential demonstrators in the discipline of nonviolence. We need, also, to train special cadres to monitor each mass demonstration, to stop trouble before it occurs, to isolate difficulties and move the demonstration on.

OUR ultimate objective is equality — economic, political, educational, cultural, social. These things will not be achieved merely by breaking down the barriers of segregation and discrimination. The wounds inflicted by 350 years of deprivation will not be erased automatically. Nothing short of a massive program of remedial education and training for skills can even begin to solve the problem. The nation cannot afford to fail to take the necessary compensatory steps to advance those whom it has deprived over the years. Such a program requires billions of dollars—perhaps as much as $3,000,000,000 a year for a period of five or 10 years—in order to be effective. Money in that amount can come only from the Government. It may be the President's prime opportunity to achieve lasting greatness.

'IN A WORD—NOW'

By MARTIN LUTHER KING Jr.

Founder of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference

VICTOR HUGO once said that progress is the mode of man; that when it is blocked, just as an obstacle in a river makes the water foam, so an obstacle to

(Continued on Following Page)

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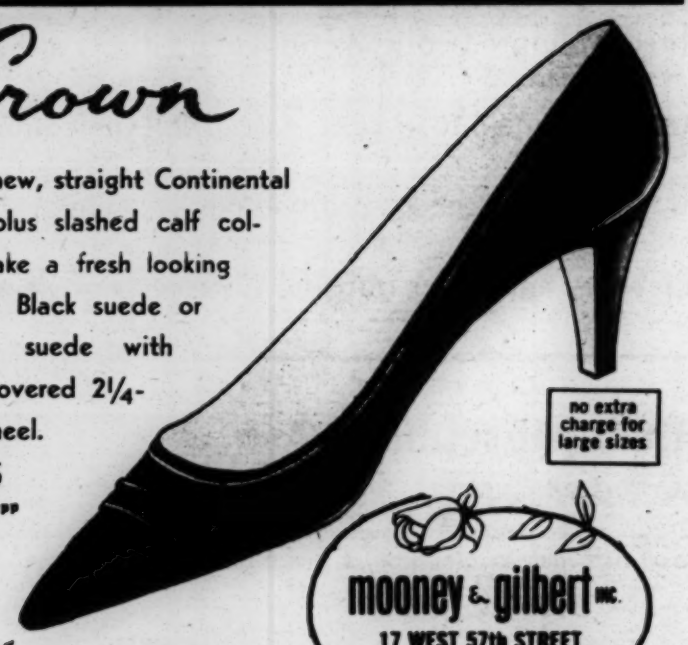

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progress makes humanity seethe.

Any plan for the future, therefore, which seeks to calm troubled waters will have to sweep barriers away, rather than pour oil over turbulent tides.

The hundreds of thousands who marched in Washington marched to level barriers. They summed up everything in a word—NOW. What is the content of NOW?

Everything, not some things, in the President's civil-rights bill is part of NOW.

IMMEDIATE and effective Federal action to curb the shocking police brutality in the South is an urgent part of NOW. Just lately, the Department of Justice has indicted leaders of the civil-rights movement in Albany, Ga., and Birmingham, Ala., alleging that false statements were made under oath. This zealousness to punish Negroes for statements is in sharp contrast to the inaction of the same department in hundreds of cases of extreme police brutality.

The right to vote is part of NOW. To walk unafraid to the ballot box and cast a free vote remains still a myth in most of the South.

Unemployment is a form of brutality, especially violent for those who live on the edge of poverty. Negroes have twice as much of it as others. NOW means jobs, F.E.P.C., training, leveling obstacles of discrimination and the creation of new jobs by public works.

These are some of the imperatives of NOW. If they are met, the passionate determination Negroes have recently made so manifest can be mellowed without being compromised. Then slower, long-range planning can begin.

THE far-reaching solutions for lifting the "weight of centuries" will necessarily involve systematic liquidation of ghetto life, loans and grants to provide equal opportunities for the unequally equipped, adult education, remedial clinics for damaged families and individuals and integrated housing construction on a scale commensurate with the extent of slums, rather than with the extent of budgets.

The present spontaneous, largely disorganized and spasmodic methods of piecemeal approaches, differing from city to city, and with a variety of tempos, will have to give way to broad national planning. A nation which could put more than 11,000,000 men in arms in a few short years, which poured torrents of sophisticated munitions from hundreds of thousands of coordinated facilities and deployed them in war, has the capacity to master a problem of much less complexity. It needs only the same will it possessed when it felt its existence threatened.

The long-deferred issue of second-class citizenship has become our nation's first-class crisis. We can deal with it now, or we can drive a seething humanity to a desperation it tried, asked and hoped to avoid.

'FILIBUSTER OF THE PEOPLE'

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the Negro American Labor Council

THE objective of Aug. 28 was more than civil-rights legislation. The full march was a challenge to the conscience of the country; it was a creative dialogue between Negroes and their white allies, on the one hand, and the President, the Congress and our American democratic society, on the other. Its aim was to achieve a national consensus not only for civil-rights legislation— but for its implementation.

Historically, the social forces of revolutions have been expressed through human beings. Hence, the leadership of the civil-rights revolution cannot escape the moral responsibility for the maintenance of the highest order of unselfish, courageous and uncompromising fidelity to the ideals, values, hopes and faith of this sacred crusade for the recognition of, and respect for, the God-given human rights of Americans of color.

What then, is to be done?

First, Negro civil-rights leadership must maintain unity without uniformity.

Second, the coalition of the Negro community with the labor and church communities that supported the march must be preserved, broadened and deepened. If freedom is indivisible then the fight for freedom by those forces devoted to freedom should be indivisible. Negroes — like other minority groups — cannot win their rights alone. The coalition of moral forces represented by civil rights, labor and church groups is unquestionably one of the most powerful instrumentalities yet devised to help create that ethical basis for interracial brotherhood which is imperative to give meaningfulness to civil-rights laws.

Third, demonstrations in the streets—a recognized American tradition—by Negroes and their white allies must continue without relaxation until basic, tangible progress in the acquisition of jobs and apprenticeship training for jobs in industry, unions and government, and the abolition of race bias in public accommodations, schools and housing is made.

HAD it not been for demonstrations in the streets of Birmingham, Ala., and other cities in the North and South. it is quite unlikely that President Kennedy would have submitted his package of proposals for civil-rights legislation to the Congress. If street demonstrations were necessary to secure this action by

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the President, it is reasonable to assume that further street demonstrations will be indispensable to bring about the enactment of the proposals into laws, without emasculation.

Fourth, major emphasis should be placed upon building the unity of Negro leadership together with a coalition of the Negro, labor and church communities. This, of course, is the job of existing civil-rights organizations. No new movement is necessary.

The Birmingham tragedy—the wanton bombing of a church and the murder of four little girls—marked not only a breakdown of law and order but also has shaken and weakened the faith and confidence of Negroes and, no doubt, of numerous liberal-minded white people in constitutional government and our free, democratic, Christian society. It damages the image of the United States in Africa in particular, and the world of color in general.

IT is a matter of record that no white person or mob in the South responsible for the murder of a Negro has ever been brought to justice. However, Negroes, despite this unspeakable crime, must not forsake or abandon the nonviolent philosophy as a framework within which they should carry on their relentless struggle for the abolition of race bias.

We have no choice but to fight ceaselessly for civil-rights legislation. If it should be killed, joblessness will continue to worsen, and humiliation in places of accommodation will go on unabated. Then frustration—even desperation—may burst into fires of violent interracial conflict. Indeed, if the civil-rights revolution is aborted by a counter-revolution, symbolized by the filibuster, it may not only turn against white America but move to devour its own children.

MOURNERS—Members of the families of three of the four girls killed in the church bombing at Birmingham, Ala., are helped away after the funeral services. One has fainted.

'NEGROES WANT IN'

By ROY WILKINS

Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.)

NEGROES demand an end to the bestiality of Birmingham with its bombings and slaughter of innocent children. The spectacle of the Federal Government helpless in the face of such terror is incomprehensible to a people who have fought and died in its defense and who properly look to it for protection of their rights and lives. Failure to provide such protection increases frustration and seriously imperils continuance of the nonviolent character of the Negro protest. Prompt, effec-

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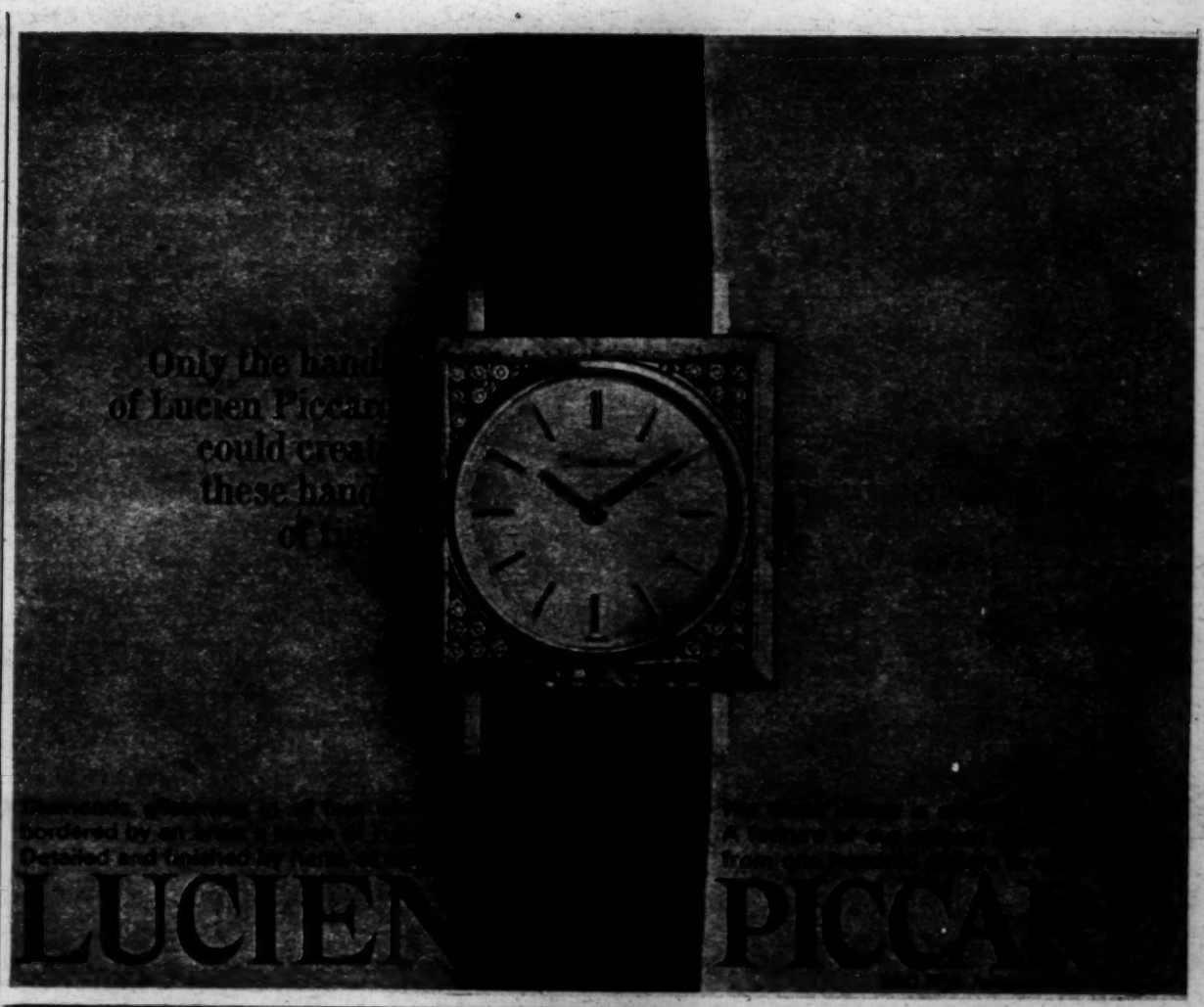

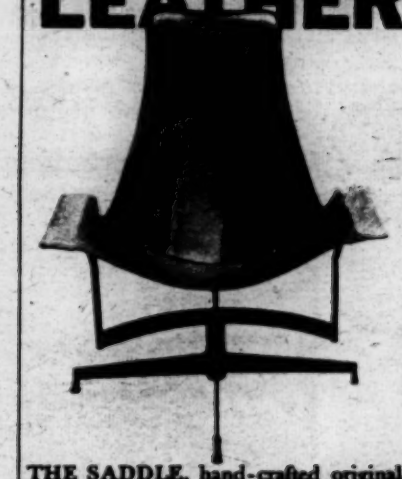

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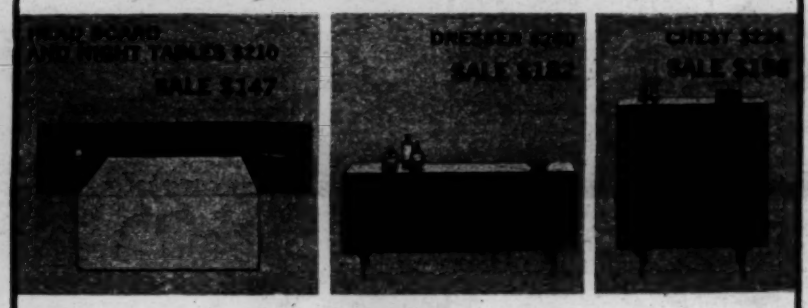

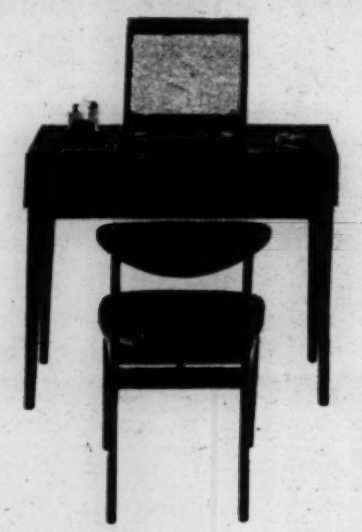

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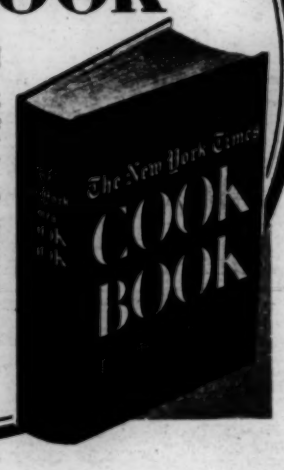

(Continued from Preceding Page)

tive action to end this terror is imperative.

The painfully slow pace of past desegregation can no longer be tolerated. To insist upon acceleration is neither radical nor extremist. It is rational and necessary.

Negroes want *in* in American society, and they want the ways opened *now*. They reject separation, whether advocated by the Black Muslims, the White Citizens Councils or the Communist party. They are committed to a pluralistic society with equal rights, opportunities and freedom for all.

EQUALLY clear are the indicated next steps. There is no likelihood of an abatement of the present upsurge of militancy among Negroes. What is required now more than ever is responsible militancy. Not demonstrations for demonstrations' sake. But demonstrations for specific purposes, pressed uncompromisingly, but conducted in an orderly fashion.

The presence of thousands of white persons in the Washington march revealed to Negroes and to the nation that colored citizens are not alone in this struggle for equal rights. A vast reservoir of goodwill exists in the white populace. This goodwill must be cultivated and mobilized for effective action in the struggle. The religious groups —Protestant, Catholic and Jewish—demonstrated by their participation in the march that they are prepared now to go beyond resolutions and to take an active role. Liberal elements in the labor movement reiterated the demand for an end to the color bar in employment.

THE church groups exert influence in areas where Negroes and other traditional civil - rights advocates are politically weak. With organized religion in support of the President's civil - rights bill, the chances for its enactment will be greatly enhanced. Senators from states where the issue of civil rights has not been regarded heretofore as urgent may be persuaded to vote for cloture to shut off a Senate filibuster.

The church groups can be an important factor in gaining support of both Republican and Democratic members of Congress in the nonindustrial states of the Midwest and Rocky Mountain regions. How they vote may well determine the outcome of the legislation.

Meanwhile, the civil-rights groups must redouble their efforts to increase the Negro vote in all regions, pursue a course of responsible militancy, conduct a vast program of public information, and enlist the active support of all possible elements within the American society.

MEMORIAL—Novelist James Baldwin addresses a rally in New York's Foley Square last Sunday in memory of the six children who were killed in Birmingham, Ala., a week before.

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CORE DEMONSTRATES AT NIAGARA-MOHAWK

A BLACK PAPER

Nineteen months ago CORE initiated its campaign to eliminate racial discrimination from the employment practices of the Niagara-Mohawk Power Corporation, largest of the publicly-sanctioned gas and electric power monopolies in America. Using sophisticated northern tactics, Niagara-Mohawk continues to practice showcase token integration as a substitute for honest integration of its extensive work forces: six Negroes out of 1400 personnel in Buffalo, 19 Negroes out of 1500 employees in Syracuse, no Negroes out of 200 workers in Niagara Falls. Moreover, even these "token" Negro employees continue to work in exclusively menial jobs; as janitors, meter readers, laborers. CORE testing revealed that until the present protests Negroes in Niagara Falls were not even permitted to apply for Niagara-Mohawk jobs. Recently in Syracuse, Niagara Mohawk responded to the application of a Negro college graduate with 10 years of administrative experience with the offer of a janitor's job so that he could "work his way up through the ranks". In Syracuse, after months of demonstrations and dozens of arrests, Negro employment still hovers at the all-time high of one percent of the Niagara Mohawk work force. Niagara Mohawk continues to refuse any meaningful assurance that it plans to live up to the Presidential Order requiring Federal contractors to bring their employment patterns in line with the ethnic and racial balance of the community. This is the substance of CORE's demands. CORE calls for Niagara Mohawk to publicly state this as their goal, and to say within a reasonable number of years they expect to achieve this goal. CORE calls on Niagara Mohawk to do

September 19, 1957

Mr. Charles R. Oldham
5110a Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Charlie:

I started work full time for CORE two days ago. There are so many loose ends at this point, I don't quite know where I am at, but at least I feel I have been putting in <u>full</u> time.

James T. McCain will arrive heseon Sunday, October 13th and will probably stay with me the entire time he is in New York. We hope to have a number of extended discussions with him and possibly a weekend out of town Friday, October 18 through Sunday, October 20. On October 22, the Committee against Discrimination in Housing is holding a Conference for the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Bill to outlaw discrimination in rental of apartments. The New York group will probably participate. Also planned is a demonstration and wide distribution of leaflets (this is CORE, not the Committee) aimed at the Democrats, possibly with a heading "Mayor Wagner -- Democrat or Dixiecrat?" If this campaign goes through, and I think it will, McCain will be occupied with a great deal of work. To make it effective, we have to make it clear that Negro voters can be permanently alienated from the Democrats if they refuse to pass needed legislation. My guess is that McCain will not be ready to leave New York until October 28th. If there is any possibility of your attending the weekend, please let us know.

I enclose copy for a two-page letter which we hope you will sign. As usual, the letter should be re-written and greatly tightened up. For this purpose, I hope you and Marian will do a re-write job and I am also sending copies to Peck, the Farmers and the Riches for this purpose.

I took final copy of THIS IS CORE and the RULES FOR ACTION to Si Frankel, commercial artist who did our red flyer of a few years ago, yesterday. First he is going to work on designing a simple two-color card appropriate for Chanukah or Christmas and New Years. This is an additional avenue for fund-raising, but is not to be counted on for much help this first year.

I should like to know more about what is going on in St. Louis. Is there a danger that CORE will disappear in the process of (OVER)

working with NAACP?

Please send several copies of your signature so that the letter house may choose the best one for making the signature cut for the letter. I have ordered a special business reply envelope with "Attention Charles R. Oldham, Chairman" written on it, for use with this appeal.

McCain said he had heard nothing further from you on the vote campaign. But he has some people in Columbia, South Carolina, interested in such a campaign and in affiliating the group with CORE. This would not conflict with King's Crusade for Freedom as that will concentrate on only ten of the larger Southern cities.

How about that Organizational Manual? I am sure that a new edition would be helpful to our groups and to McCain.

It has also been suggested that a somewhat extended discussion of nonviolence and race relations, north and south, would be useful to Crusade for Citizenship as well as CORE. Will work on getting such if I can get the time.

We never found the material for Henry Hodge. It may turn up in the reorganization of the files. What happened if you know?

I plan to write to the people in Nashville. I am wondering whether anything is functioning there. If so or not so, probably McCain should go there after St. Louis. Also, I should think that at some point it might be worth while for several St. Louis people to go to Nashville and try to give the group some aid and encouragement: soon the excitement about the schools will have quieted down.

So long,

Jim Robinson

enc.

CHARLES R. OLDHAM
ATTORNEY AT LAW
722 CHESTNUT - ROOM 218
ST. LOUIS 1, MISSOURI

CHESTNUT 1-5088 -- EVERGREEN 2-6051

October 8, 1957

Dear Jim,

I have looked at the James T. McCain flyer and I think it is pretty good. The last sentence, however, seems to be alittle cumbersome. I offer the following as a suggestion.

non-violent
New/techinques have been devised by CORE which c all for the full use of the New Civil Rights Legislation. Mr. McCain is anxious to establish new groups to sparkplug and implement the voting and registration for Negroes initiated by Martin Luther King.

The letter from Mr. Solomon from So. Car. interests me. I think that we should follow up on it as soon as possible. Maybe McCain could look into the situation a little bit before he comes to New York, then he could have a first hand report.

I think that we should start working now on the new techniques and ideas to be used in a voting and registration drive in the South using the Civil Rights bill as the basis for action. We should get several copies of the bill, then find out what has been done toward appointment of a commission and who the people are. Find out who will be handeling the matter in the Atty. Gen. office, to whom complaints should be made, what sort of information and evidence will be needed to prove a violation of the law particularly as pertains to voter registration, etc.

I think the big problem in all these cases will be to gather the proper type of evidence and obtain the necessary complaining witnesses. Jim should be briefied thoughly on just how far he can go in recruiting complaining witnesses. I suggest that the CORE office obtain a subscription to the Vanderbilt Race/Law Reporter - I think that approximates the name of the magazine. It has a complete report of all laws and court decisions affecting race relations. Jim will have to become familar with those laws and will have to work within the scope of them. Also we may be affected by the same type of tro uble that beset the NAACP. We can soft pedle the CORE name maybe if we feel there is danger of such involvement - maybe the groups will not want to formally affiliate with CORE to avoid the possibility of having the records subpoeaned. Or maybe we just wouldn't keep records.

I believe that we can still use Jim around the first of November in St. Louis for a training program of actual action. I am s ure that we should have some picket lines, etc going by that time. Incidently in the vote drive we should use the churches, and any other group that will provide us access tothe community. Hope this letter has been of some help. I think we should leave Gibbons on the letterhead. He could be a great help to us.

Charles R. Oldham

Contact McCain, c/o Anna Holden, 2010 Meharry Blvd., Nashville.

November 3, 1957

Mr. Charles R. Oldham
5110a Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Charlie:

I enclose a copy of a letter to Anna Holden. It will give you some picture of McCain's present field trip. If he gets anywhere with his contacts in Memphis, he may have to return there for a few days. Memphis was included in this initial trip because we wished to have him present at the Tuesday, November 5, meeting of the Southern Leaders Conference. But he arrived Friday night in Memphis and will try to contact some people there about the possible formation of a CORE group.

In addition to Memphis, Nashville and St. Louis, he may stop in Louisville also. In this case, all St. Louis people with Louisville contacts should give him the benefit of their information.

His next trip is sketched for December. It may start in Baltimore, but we are not certain of that. He will visit Arlington, Alexandria, Richmond, Newport News and Norfolk, Virginia (or at least some of them). A major effort will be to organize a group in that part of Virginia which is really a suburb of Washington. He will then go on to North Carolina and South Carolina. In the latter, he will spend at least three weeks, working on the Registration campaign and also on the formation of CORE groups in Sumter and Columbia (possible action on street buses as well as registration).

Last weekend in Baltimore, we had a hot discussion, bringing all the questions of personality clashes to the surface (everything from sex to politics was thrown in). The recommendation was that officers be chosen carefully, excluding both Adah Jenkins and Joan Wertheimer as the two major controversial (that is leaders of opposing factions) figures. Herb Kelman feels that officer compromise will go through, but he and the rest of us are not at all certain that the argument about taking over the Mondawmin project will not continue. As this argument is not over real issues so much as a way of expressing personality clashes, it could well mean the end of the Baltimore group. In any case, we feel we have done all we could; if trouble does not persist, we can give them some of McCain's time to help get new members. But if trouble persists, then we feel nothing can be done, and his time should not be wasted.

Jim Robinson, Exec. Secy.

copy to jim peck

November 29, 1957

Mr and Mrs Charles H. Oldham
5110a Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Charlie and Marian:

Mr. McCain has just returned. After seeing him briefly, I am writing you on the points he mentioned.

I am confused about the Howard Johnson matter and who was to get what information for whom. If Lula was securing information, she will know as I am sending her a copy of this letter.

I have not heard again from Henry Hodge. The return receipt on the certified mail sent to him is dated November 25 at Los Angeles. I shall ask him to send the entire story to both of us. His address: 4051 South Harvard, Los Angeles 62.

Did your copy of NEGRO VOTER IN SOUTH CAROLINA arrive? If not, McCain will send you a copy from here.

For the southern groups, I suggest the name, Committee on Registration Enlistments (CORE). As a National Organization, I should think that all those who join could become members of CORE with their names on our lists in New York and with very few records and no lists except of leaders in the South. Would not this accomplish a strong organizational tie-in without the possibility of segregationists being able to seize local lists?

CORE Finances: Returns have been excellent on your letter. Checking account now has over $3,000 and Reserve $5,000. Appeals to outside lists have been successful this fall although not as successful as last year. The Holiday Card proaction is a colossal flop and will cost us at least $1,000 more than it brings in this year. This can probably be recouped in future years through the sale of the left-over cards. Apparent difficulty: many people do not like the cards. Recommendation: designing next year's card right after the New Year, sending competing designs around to a few people to find which is generally popular. I gather that no one in St. Louis likes our card as, even with the good relations with NAACP there, we have had no orders at all from any of the local people.

CORE Council: How about New York February 22-23? Convention: Nashville? Dates: June 26-29 incl.? July3-6 incl.? Aug. 29- Sept. 1?

So long,

Jim Peck

MOVE

CHARLES R. OLDHAM
ATTORNEY AT LAW
722 CHESTNUT - ROOM 218
ST. LOUIS 1, MISSOURI

CHESTNUT 1-5088 -- EVERGREEN 2-6051

November 25, 1957

Mr. James Robinson
Ny. Ny.

Dear Jim,

Just a short letter with a few thoughts. McCain was here for about a week. I feel that he should do a pretty good job, unfortunately we did not have too much going on at the time he was here and he did not see as much CORE action as I wished that he could. He made some tests and was on a literature line in front of one of the chain stores for a while.

The literature line was put up by the NAACP and our group is cooperating with them in helping them maintain an action program. We have been doing some of their picket duty etc.

On the future of CORE. It is my opinion that McCain might be most helpful in and around Sumpter S.C. on a voters registration drive. He knows a lot of people down there and perhaps could get some good groups started. I would suggest that any groups in the south might be called Committee On Registration (C.O.R.) In order to avoid some of the difficulty that the NAACP has had we might not have them join officially with the national office - just make them a local group writing to your group for information and advice. They could keep a minimum of records - particularly of members and letters written to the CORE group in new york.

Write Charlie

Another thing that we should do is to investigate fully how the Presidents new civil rights commission is going to operate. We should know all the details for handling and processing a complaint to this commission - the type and amount of evidence necessary, etc. I think it would be a good idea to get all this information available and have a study session with McCain so that he will know how to handle almost any type of situation. I can see that he will be setting up potential test cases for the civil rights commission if he does much work in the south on registration.

I would also like to know what Henry Hodge wanted from the home office and what information you have on his situation. He requested me to get some affidavits for him a few months ago which I did, however, he has never given me the complete story. You might have the L.A. CORE group investigate the matter and find out the complete story if you think it is advisable. Also I want to know whether you think we should have a council meeting before the convention.

Best regards to you - and congratulate Marvin for me and his very nice wife.

Charles

~~to Jim McCain~~

then file in Oldham folder.

November 29, 1957

Mr and Mrs Charles R. Oldham
5110a Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Charlie and Marian:

Mr. McCain has just returned. After seeing him briefly, I am writing you on the points he mentioned.

I am confused about the Howard Johnson matter and who was to get what information for whom. If Lula was securing information, she will know as I am sending her a copy of this letter.

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CORE Council: How about New York February 22-23? Convention: Nashville? Dates: June 26-29 incl.? July3-6 incl.? Aug. 29- Sept. 1?

So long, Jim Robinson

December 17, 1957

Mr. Charles R. Oldham
5110a Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Charlie:

In looking over your letter of November 25th, I have decided that there are several points I have never answered.

How do we "investigate fully how the President's new civil rights commission is going to operate." I am not clear on just how we proceed on this. Also, I feel that it requires someone to investigate who has technical aptitude and who can then explain it to McCain in terms of how he works each day. If you could make the investigation or find someone to do it, it would help. If you can't, let me know, and I shall see whether we can get someone here to do it. It is important that I not do it, as I shall never be able to do extra correspondence and keep up on the clerical details at the same time.

On the Vanderbilt Race Relations Law Reporter, nothing has been done. I think the suggestion is a good one, but I hesitate to subscribe from the office because I am convinced that we are never going to have time in the office to read it. Also, except for me (and here only because I was a legal proofreader), there is no one coming into the office who can read a story about legalities and really get it straight. I know you are busy. But if you think you would read the material, subscribe and send us the bill for it.

Nothing much is happening in the Hodge case as far as I can judge from his Christmas card. He now has our material and will photostat it for the L. A. file and return it. The original post office material listed CORE and the American Jewish Congress as subversive along with one or two front groups. The later letter apologizes. I wrote Joan Love some time ago and sent you a copy of the letter, but I do not believe you returned that letter. If you have it, return it as I am short a file copy. Henry Hodge says he plans definitely to attend next summer's convention. His new address is 2623 South Manhattan Place, L. A. 18. We hear very little from the L. A. group, and I wonder whether it is really active now.

So long,

John Robinson

HArrison 7-5652

COMMITTEE OF RACIAL EQUALITY
(CORE)

~~3007 Kar Avenue, St. Louis 14, Missouri~~
5110 Palm Ave., St. Louis 1, Mo.

December 19, 1957

Affiliated with
Congress of Racial Equality

•

Advisory Committee:
Roger N. Baldwin
Allan Knight Chalmers
Harold J. Gibbons
E. Stanley Jones
Will Maslow
Dorothy Maynor
A. J. Muste
A. Phillip Randolph
Ira DeA. Reid
Arnold M. Rose
George S. Schuyler
Lillian Smith
Howard Thurman
Goodwin Watson
Charles S. Zimmerman

Dear Jim,

It is about time that I answered a few of your letters. You and James McCain have been very good about sending me mail and I have been very poor about replies.

I had a couple of things on my mind. First about Howard Johnson's restaurant here in St. Louis. I would like to know what the final result was in the situation in Deleware or was it Maryland where service was refused to a foreign potentate. From the newspapers it appeared that the main office of the Howard Johnson chain told the local owners that they would have to serve every one. This is the report that was in time. I wonder if you have any information as to the final action taken and whether this particular restaurant now serves all food buyers. If this is true perhaps a similar type of approach would work here in St. Louis. When we first considered doing something here in St. Louis about the Howard Johnson restaurant we wrote a couple of letters to them in office and never received a reply. Since that time I have lost my correspondence or mispoaced it and I can't remember where the main office was but it seems to me that it was in Mass. or Conn. In any event I thought that McCain might run down there some time when he was near there or scheduled to take a trip in that direction andhave a talk with the proper party. You would of course have to arrange an appointment.

The local background for HJ in St. Louis is as follows. There are six in the St. Louis area and all of them serve Negroes except the one located in the Negro neighborhood. All the other HJ's serve Negroes of course they do not receive much Negro trade, but they get quite a bit. In our talks with local management we were told that the National office had nothing to do with setting policy, but I hardly believe that this is true, especially since all the others serve.

In regard to the President's Commission I think Marvin should be more than capable of making an analysis of the situation so as to suggest possible procedures. As I see the situation in the South we should do all we can to obtain the support of the Commission and the attorney Genreal's office. Once we get into the field of voter

HArrison 7-5652

COMMITTEE OF RACIAL EQUALITY
(CORE)

3403 Rex Avenue, St. Louis 14, Missouri

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Goodwin Watson
Charles S. Zimmerman

registration in the South we will assurardly run into situations where Negroes are refused or certainly treated in a substantially differentmanner than the White voters. I thin that our procedure here should be to know what type of evidence the Commision and the Attorney General want in prosecuting offenses of this nature. In most law cases it is just a question of obtainin the right evidence and getting enough of it. For this reason we should prepare a memorandum of procedure for the use of the Souther groups to make complaints to the Commission and the attorney general. We can also use McCain as a contact man for these registration groups. One of the best methods of obtaining methods is by the good old wire tap, however, this is frowned upon except when used by state and federal officers. I suggest that we consider buying a couple of transistor tape recorders so that we can record conversations between registrars and the applicant. This way the evidence would be preserved. I discussed this with McCain when he was here, however, I think that it needs to be mulled over in a council meeting before we put it into effect. McCain would need a lot of training in order to use the recorder effectively. Not from a mechanical view point, but from a view point of stressing the necessities of obtain the correct information such as name, address, date, place, etc in each conversation.

Please excuse this mx damn typewriter but it is Marian's old portable that her father got her when she was in grade school and it is almost worn out.

Some time I would like to get the whole Hodge story. Maybe he will come to St. Louis. He always writes me about three or four lines and I can't read all I want to between them.

Expenses of $2,500 per month seem high, but I knw that you cut as many corners as you can. I just wonder if we can keep up the income necessary for such expenses.

I am ready for a council meeting anytime you people are. February, March or April. However if it gets to late maybe we should just wait for the convention.

Charles R.

copy to Charlie Oldham

January 3, 1958

Race Relations Law Reporter
Vanderbilt University School of Law
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Gentlemen:

I enclose a check for two dollars ($2.00), made out to Race Relations Law Reporter and drawn on the account of the Congress of Racial Equality. This is for a one-year subscription.

However, the subscription should be entered in the name of and sent to the following:

Mr. Marvin Rich
1489 First Avenue, Apt 3-R
New York 21, New York

Sincerely yours,

James R. Robinson

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary

enc.

JRR/jrr

January 24, 1958

Mr and Mrs. Charles R. Oldham
5110 Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Charlie and Marian:

I have looked through the Report of St. Louis CORE for the CORElator: it sounds excellent. The employment work is impressive, and of course all that restaurant testing. And the card is a signal idea and should get around in large quantities so that the open places really get the benefit of patronage from Negroes. I hope the public meeting, which was so well attended, will result in additional memberships.

Generally speaking, I am very optimistic about CORE these days. This weekend, Baltimore and New York CORE have a Study-Recreation Weekend in Pendle Hill (near Philadelphia) with the National sponsoring a Dinner, Open Meeting and Social open to people in the Philadelphia area.

I am enclosing Lula's Financial Report and her analysis. I suspect that in order to keep growing, we shall have to send a great many appeals to outside lists: this may up the monthly expenses to over $2,500 a month for the rest of the fiscal year.

Incidentally, office details are increasing, and it is necessary to have Lula come in as often as she can. At some point, we will need additional personnel both in the office and in the field: hope we can greatly increase the income, and thus expand program again.

We expect to have an audit done, beginning next week, by Apfel and Englander, the best known firm in the non-profit organization field.

Be sure to let us know which weekend in March will be convenient for Council meeting for both of you. I assume you will be pleased to come to NYC.

Sincerely yours,

Jim Robinson

February 24, 1958

Mr. Charles R. Oldham
5110 Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Charlie and Marian:

I enclose a preliminary write-up of the Workshop idea. I should appreciate any suggestions on it. So far, I have done very little work on this item, largely because I have been bogged down in a morass of clerical details and fund-raising. We are having more trouble raising money than earlier in the years, but we hope to have all bills paid up by the end of the month (Friday).

I hope you can both come to New York early or stay a day or two after the Council meeting. Please let me know. I should like to take you to the theatre. It is easier to get tickets for the Wednesday matinees or Thursday or Monday evenings than for Friday evening. If Friday evening is the only possible time for you, I should certainly be able to get something for that evening. Off-Broadway, we could get Sunday evening tickets.

McCain's reports are fairly good I think. I am not sure that the new groups in S. C. are too solid from an organizational point of view, but, project-wide, they look good. If some of the new people attend the Council, you will get an opportunity to question them more closely.

Apfel & Englander is the accountant firm doing our auditing. To our amusement, they gave us a Negro accountant. Specializing in auditing for nonprofit organizations, they have to be prepared for everything! We intend to mail the audit, plus an unaudited report on this year so far and a budget in March. Auditing for the current year can be done between June1 and June 10.

Let me hear from you,

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary

JRR/jrr

February 26, 1958

Mr. Marvin Rich
1489 First Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Marv,

An address change has just come in for Harold J. Gibbons, WPWU, and the new address is 1641 South Kingshighway, St. Louis 10.

This reminds me that now Hoffa, Gibbons & Co. are legally in control of the Teamsters, and perhaps still in need of feeling some connection to morality, etc., this need might well be supplied by a sizeable (4 or 5 figure suggested) contribution to CORE.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Charlie, as I think one or the other of you or both together would be best fitted to handle the delicate adjustments of Mr. Gibbons' moral sense to CORE's best advantage.

Here's hoping we get more than the minimum $1,000 as that is such a very tiny price to pay to re-establish some faint connection with the human race.

Sincerely,

Jim

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary

JRR/jrr

March 5, 1958

Charles R. Oldham
5110 Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Charlie:

Do let me know as soon as you can when you and Marian will be coming. This is especially urgent if you want to see any plays.

Did you like the new folders? I sure hope so as they certainly cost enough.

I enclose a carbon of the material from Nashville on school integration. This will be re-worked into a pamphlet. We think the material is excellent although a lot of cutting, tightening up and re-write is necessary. If you have time to go over it and make suggestions, good. Some re-writing would be better. Peck is taking the material to a professional pamphlet writer this morning, and he will work on it also. All of us should send suggestions to Peck. Speed is essential as the completely re-written material must be sent back to Nashville for approval before it can go to the printer.

If neither you nor anyone else in St. Louis is going to work on this copy, then please return to me after you have read it.

I do not believe the S. C. groups are tieing in very well with National CORE. I have asked for more information from both Clarendon County and Charleston, but none has come in. Therefore, material has not gone to the groups. No application came in from Columbia. So Sumter is the only one so far acted upon.

But they have worked hard on registration. And the exciting news from Sumter is that in Ward (or whatever) 3-B of Sumter, Negroes elected 16 of the 17 delegates to the County Democratic meeting.

Marvin Rich did not find my letter about Gibbons amusing. Also, he thinks we had better discuss this matter further in the National Action Committee before proceeding as publicity would be given to any sizeable gifts, and we must be willing to go along if we want the money. I would be inclined to go along, but we had better make sure of the others.

So long.

Jim Robinson

P.S. If you have Mack's address, I'd appreciate it.

March 7, 1958

Mr. Charles R. Oldham
5110 Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Charlie and Mariam:

I just received an enthusiastic letter from Rev. A. L. Davis, Jr., New Zion Baptist Church, 2319 Third Street, New Orleans 15, Louisiana, saying that he is interested in our summer institute and will do all in his power to see that such an institute in New Orleans is a success.

If the immediate follow-up looks promising, I think we had better take New Orleans without waiting very long, don't you?

I hope you are both coming early or staying late for the Council Weekend. Please let me know.

Sincerely,
James R. Robinson

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary

March 12, 1958

Mrs. Charles R. Oldham
5110 Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Marian:

I just received a letter from Charlie saying you are not coming to the Council meeting. As you are the Secretary, this leaves us in a difficult position: we have no one to take minutes, and we cannot go through the minutes difficulties of last July's Convention.

If you cannot take extra time off at school, why not fly after school on Friday and return Sunday afternoon on any flight leaving New York after 4 p. m.? This would take care of the immediate business of the Council. Of course, I should much prefer it if you could spend a day or two in the City.

If the money costs are the only difficulty, please let us know and we shall try to adjust them even though our financial situation has not been strong since the beginning of 1958. But I suspect that, if you do not come, we shall have to spend money for getting the minutes taken anyway.

Sincerely,

Jim Robinson

P. S. Tell Charlie that his letter does not give the day he will arrive. Is it Wednesday, Thursday or Friday?

HArrison 7-5652

COMMITTEE OF RACIAL EQUALITY
(CORE)

3403 Rex Avenue, St. Louis 14, Missouri

March 9, 1958

Affiliated with
Congress of Racial Equality

•

Advisory Committee:
Roger N. Baldwin
Allan Knight Chalmers
Harold J. Gibbons
E. Stanley Jones
Will Maslow
Dorothy Maynor
A. J. Muste
A. Phillip Randolph
Ira DeA. Reid
Arnold M. Rose
George S. Schuyler
Lillian Smith
Howard Thurman
Goodwin Watson
Charles S. Zimmerman

Dear Jim,

I presume that you have been expecting a letter from me for some time, certainly I have been intendingto write to you for some time. As letter after letter arrived from you I sorta had a feeling of mounting exasperation and why the hell doesn't he write.

Marian is not coming to New York. She says that it is to far to go just for a week end and she refuses to spend money for the trip plus losing two orthree days pay at school. Accordingly I am coming by myself and I will leave St. Louis 4:15 p.m. and will arrive in N. Y. 8:28 some time later. I amcoming on TWA and I will get the airport bus into town and then I will take a cab (on flight 98) to your apt.

In regard to Rev. A. L. Davis from New Orleans I think that some prior investigation is in order. We ought to know somethingabut him andhis church. From my experiences with Negro Churches I have long ago learned to be wary of thepreachers.

Incidently I must come back on Monday so don't make any extensive plans for entertainment.

Charles R. Oldham

April 7, 1958

Mr. and Mrs. Charles R. Oldham
5110 Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Charlie and Marian:

The Summer Institute idea is probably being dropped: I do not have sufficient time to keep with it, and there has not been enough positive response in any one community to keep the idea going without constant stimulation from the office.

Also, the financial picture is not sufficiently strong to allow a full-steam ahead on an optional project which would cost several thousand dollars. I hope we can develop the same idea for a later date.

The Nashville pamphlet is moving ahead nicely. I have seen preliminary galley proofs. Anna Holden wrote to ADL and to John Constable, Director of Information of Southern Regional Council about distribution. I have an additional list of organizations to which I shall write and send proofs when proofs are available, offering on pre-paid large orders to imprint the name and address of the distributing organization.

In the copy of Anna's letter to Constable of Southern Regional Council (for which Anna formerly worked), she says, 'need to save my travelling money for job-hunting -- I am seriously looking for something, in case you hear of anything. Dr. Valien is going away on leave and I feel sure my job will be abolished, though he hasn't said so in so many words.' I have written her to ask whether she would be interested in a job with CORE, pointing out that finances are uncertain, etc., and suggesting if interested she write us and stop in St. Louis to see you and Marian. Her Nashville address is 2010 Meharry Boulevard, Nashville 8. I hope her job does not fold, as she is needed in Nashville for the September school opening of second grade. If she is interested in a CORE job, I do not want to lose her to some other organization. But I would like your impression if you see or talk with her.

Money is a constant problem when you don't have enough of it. We have had some preliminary discussions about approaching Harold

(CONTINUED)

Gibbons for a grant from the Teamsters. Although I think that some of our committee people may be squeamish about the Teamsters, I doubt that anyone would be sufficiently so to preclude accepting the cash. Perhaps you could write to Marvin Rich, 1489 First Ave., and arrange between you the best way of going about it. We may discuss it further at the Action Committee meeting (possibly as early as this coming Sunday), but I feel we shall not really get anywhere with discussion until we see more clearly how to proceed.

For background in approaching unions for large sums, I think we can point to the fact that we constantly work on membership recruitment, increasing contributions considerably each year. Hence, we are not necessarily in the category of organizations which ask for large hand-outs year after year. On the other hand, we do want a large hand-out now; and, in addition, we should like to get onto the annual contribution lists of many locals even though these gifts usually are small (ranging from $5 to $50 annually).

Contributions are running at a low ebb at present. However, we have one appeal going to 2,000 outside names today, and we may have another 4,000 appeals in another two weeks. Also, I have not yet gotten around to sorting through our own list for follow-up letters, etc. An appeal based on the enclosed S. C. Registration material, running to as many as 25,000 names, and including our own list, is planned for late April. If successful, it might be repeated in May. Following that, we shall have appeals based on the Nashville pamphlet, but these cannot go to our own list as we will have them sent the maximum number of appeals to that list (three is maximum in my view although many organizations send four); however, simply sending the pamphlet to our list will produce some contributions.

I enclose the Treasurer's Report to the Council. Since the Report, we have transferred $1,000 from Reserve to Operating Accounts.

So you can see why the Teamsters are very much on my mind. Especially so if we decide to expand staff to include Anna Holden.

Sincerely,

James R. Robinson

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary

JRR/jrr

April 17, 1958

Mr. Charles R. Oldham
5110 Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Charlie:

I am leaving Sunday for a few days in South Carolina, including a meeting of the CORE groups there on April 23rd, late afternoon and evening.

Peck tells me he does not have a St. Louis story for the forthcoming CORElator as yet.

I enclose rough galley proofs of the Nashville pamphlet. Corrections and additions are not indicated. I am writing about 30 organizations and sending these proofs to solicit pre-publication quantity orders, offering to imprint the name and address of the distributing group as well as CORE's. We shall see whether this helps.

Have you any ideas on the solicitation of money thru Gibbons from the Teamsters? We need some substantial contributions.

UP TO DATE arrived from a St. Louis address we do not have in our group contact files. We have only Wanda Penny, Walter Hayes and you and Marian. Certainly, there must be other active key people who should get the announcements, copies of constitution, minutes, etc. I am particularly anxious to get new people involved in an interest in the national organization to stimulate the Conference-Convention. Will you please send me a list right away? Incidentally, UP TO DATE did not come to the office at all and Jim Peck did not receive a copy. Hope you have last year's contact list. As soon as we get enough new contacts, we shall issue a new list.

So long,

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary

P. S. On second thought am sending proofs separately.

CHARLES R. OLDHAM
ATTORNEY AT LAW
722 CHESTNUT - ROOM 218
ST. LOUIS 1, MISSOURI

CHESTNUT 1-5088 -- EVERGREEN 2-6051

April 23, 1958

Mr. James Robinson
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Jim:

Please send me $6.00 worth of RULES FOR ACTION and $4.00 worth of THIS IS CORE, for use of the St. Louis group. I have made a hurried reading of the national story, and it sounds pretty good. I will take time in the next day or two to go over it more carefully, and will return it with my suggestions.

In regard to the press release for Jim Peck, consider following to be the same:

St. Louis CORE for the past six months has been in negotiation with the three main department stores in the downtown area of St. Louis in regard to opening of their eating facilities. Two weeks ago it became apparent that further negotiations were useless. Accordingly, demonstration was authorized, and last Thursday, April 17, ten CORE members appeared at Stix Baer Fuller Department Store cafeteria to request service. When we were not served, members of the group remained in line for two hours. Further demonstrations are planned for the weeks to come.

Demonstration was quite orderly and was very interesting in view of the fact that approximately seven years ago St. Louis CORE had demonstrated at the first floor counter of Stix Baer Fuller for approximately eighteen months before an opening of these facilities was obtained. Several of the store personnel, and particularly the store detectives, recognized our group and became quite friendly, asking questions about how many children so and so had, how they were getting along, and things of this nature.

One interesting exchange occurred immediately after the demonstration started, when one of the new store detectives approached some members of the group and requested them to leave the store. This detective explained that it didn't do any good to stand there, that all we were doing was causing trouble for the girls behind the counter, and that there were a lot of places in St. Louis where he couldn't go to eat. The detective pointed down the street and said, "I can't eat at the Missouri Athletic Club." (This is a high class joint where you have to have lots of moola.) The CORE member he was talking to made this reply: "You shouldn't be up here telling us how to run our demonstration, you should be standing in front of the Missouri Athletic Club."

On Thursday, April 24, we plan to have another demonstration at the tea room, and we propose to continue our activities until some change of policy is effected. Efforts are also being made to have other civic groups and individuals discuss the problem with the store management.

Very truly yours,

Charles

Charles R. Oldham

CO:BB

over -

CHARLES K. OLDHAM
ATTORNEY AT LAW
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

Dear Mr.:

Please send me $2.00 worth of RULES FOR ACTION and $1.00 worth of CODE to use at the St. Louis Group. I have been a practicing lawyer in the natural state, and it sounds pretty good. I like I also like to see it myself before I buy it with my enthusiasm.

As you if more certainly [illegible] return it with my enthusiasm.

Yours,

Charles K. Oldham

In regard to the group reference [illegible], contact Jeffcoate to be the same:

St. Louis CORE for the past six months has been in negotiation with the store management department stores in the community. We [illegible] two weeks ago it became apparent that further negotiations were fruitless. Accordingly, demonstration was instituted, and last Tuesday, April 14, ten CORE members appeared at Gaty Bros. Dollar department store carrying placards to request service. When we were not served, members of the group remained in line for one hour. Further demonstrations are planned for Saturday, April 25, when we hope to have another demonstration at the Gaty store and we propose to continue our activities until some change is effected. Reports are also being made to have other groups in other cities picket Gaty's in sympathy with the store management.

Yours truly,

Charles K. Oldham

CO:BB

St. Louis Story For The Corelator

St. Louis C.O.R.E. re-opened negotiations with Stix, Baer & Fuller Department Store six weeks ago in an attempt to open the Tea Room and the Humpty Dumpty (a small cafeteria adjacent to the parking lot). Management said they could not ope open at this time and gave no reason. Management admitted readily, however, that they were very pleased with the First Floor Lunch Counter (seating about 80) where Negroes have been served for several years. Despite this they would not open the Tea Room nor Humpty Dumpty.

We talked by telephone a month later and received no encouragement. We decided to stage a small demonstration for 90 minutes standing in front of the steam table waiting for service. This wwas done last Thursday . Further demonstrations are planned for this store and also the two other department stores who refuse to serve Negroes in t their Tea Rooms. Efforts are being made to obtain the support of the Mayor's Council on Human Relations and other community groups.

Marian Oldham

May 21, 1958

Mr. Charles R. Oldham
5110 Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Charlie:

I was glad to get your letter of May 14th. I am enclosing two copies of the Amended Constitution. By this time, you should have received the Council minutes, with some discussion therein about the Constitution.

I agree with you that no really serious situation is involved in Baltimore's objections to the constitution. Basically, we should not change back into a Federation, but we can adjust some of the phrasing if it becomes important. I think, however, that the objections probably stem from a continued atmosphere of contention in the group. I think the group may be unstable and heading for final dissolution, but I think also there is nothing much we can do to give any further help.

I am enclosing the brochures about Frogmore. Few reservations are yet in, but there has not been time. I am glad that you and Marian and one other persons(probably) will be coming from St. Louis. But I hope that number can be expanded: we are suffering extremely loose connections between the groups, probably reflecting our several years without much group coordination work. Also, we need to deepen the commitment to nonviolent direct action in our older groups as well as transmit the idea more thoroughly to the new groups (difficult because Registration is not really direct action).

Peck says he will give you advance notice on the CORElator deadline. Your present program in all three department stores sounds really ambitious.

I shall write Mr. Gibbons a letter, enclosing the CORElator. You will get a copy for follow-up on the dough.

So long,

James R. Robinson

James R. Robinson

CHARLES R. OLDHAM
ATTORNEY AT LAW
722 CHESTNUT - ROOM 218
ST. LOUIS 1, MISSOURI

CHESTNUT 1-5088 -- EVERGREEN 2-6051

May 14, 1958

Mr. James Robinson
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Jim:

I am enclosing herewith the document for the CORElator. The content on same looks pretty good and should be used quite extensively for fund raising. I think this is the type of thing that we need to secure additional funds.

In regard to this problem about Baltimore, I am enclosing a carbon copy of letter I sent to Marion Bardoff which should be self-explanatory. Personally, I don't consider this a real serious situation, and they have been operating for about a year under the new constitution and no serious problems have arisen.

In regard to the convention, Marion and I both plan to come, and may possibly bring another person from St. Louis. Incidently, I have misplaced my copy of the new constitution, so would you mail one to me at your convenience.

In regard to our present activities, we are engaging in demonstrations in the three department stores on a once-a-week basis. I will write a full report for the next issue of the CORElator. You might ask Jim to give me a couple of weeks advance notice on the deadline, as it takes me that long to do anything.

Very truly yours,

Charles R. Oldham

Charles R. Oldham

CO:BB

June 13, 1958

Mr. and Mrs. Charles R. Oldham
5110 Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Charlie and Marian:

I am enclosing a brochure about Penn Community Center where the Convention is being held. Actually, I expect the Sunday and Monday Conference sessions to be the most valuable we have had in years although we have no definite schedule as yet. We shall, of course, expect one of the St. Louis delegates to discuss in some detail each of the projects you have been engaged in this year.

There is a good chance of a summer issue of the CORE-lator, and I hope you have pictures of your recent activities (possible to get one inside the department store eating facilities?). When the story is ready, it can be sent in here to the office.

I hope that one or more delegates from St. Louis in addition to you and Marian may be able to come. As the camp is a family type, they offer reduced rates for children, which would facilitate a delegate bringinghis family if he desired to do so.

As swimming is scheduled, all should come with swim-suits... in the S. C. heat, a swim will certainly be welcome.

We expect to begin registration late Sunday morning and continue with the first session after lunch(about 2 p. m.). However, arrival on Saturday is all right with the camp, and I hope to get there for Saturday evening, which should leave me more rested for the sessions on Sunday and thereafter. So if you and any other St. Louis delegates prefer to arrive early, it will be all right. I do need to have arrival times for anyone not there at the Sunday luncheon. Also departure time for anyone leaving before Wednesday afternoon.

Copies: Walter Hayes
Wanda Penny
Theron Catlin
Dr. Nicholson
File

Sincerely yours,

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary

June 18, 1958

Mr. Charles R. Oldham
5110 Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Charlie:

We have a new person (just a few months) in New York CORE, formerly with Boston CORE. He is Mr. Thomas L. Roberts, 100 LaSalle Street, New York 27, New York. He is a Negro lawyer in a mixed legal firm (one of three partners), a graduate of Harvard Law School. We think he would be a valuable addition to the National Action Committee and suggest that you appoint him. The appointment could simply be announced at the Convention, or you could hold it until the Convention, but I am sure approval is just a matter of course.

Income the year just ended May 31, 1958 ran in excess of $23,000, but we still ran a deficit of $500 plus. Books now in audit.

Lula Farmer and I did an analysis of the figures and a projected budget for this current year yesterday. We feel we can start a third employee in September. I have written Miss Joan Berry, currently an internee (NAIRO) with New York Urban League, and I have the personnel outlines of all the other NAIRO internees. As Miss Berry can take dictation and type as well as direct program, she might be the right person for a combination job, relieving me of most of my program responsibilities and doing some organizing directed specifically at the North. If other ideas on personnel occur to you and you have specific persons in mind, you might question them about their interest in advance of the Convention. Lula and I feel that a budget of about $39,000 is within the realm of possibility.

Sincerely yours,

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary

July 18, 1958

Charlie and Marian Oldham
5110 Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Charlie and Marian:

McCain was in today and we called Mrs. Gilmore. McCain will be in Charleston, West Virginia from August 6th to about the 15th. Literature was sent yesterday, and I wrote her a confirmation letter this afternoon. This looks like a wonderful lead, and I certainly hope a good group develops.

I have forgotten what developed on the Organisational Manual... did anyone volunteer to do a re-write? This item might help a good deal with new groups as I am sure the skeleton constitution is likely to do.

I invited Tom Roberts to the National Action Committee meeting today. Lula and I think he would be avvaluable addition. Home address: 100 LaSalle Street, NYC. Business: Itkin, Roberts and Greenbaum, 270 Madison Ave, NYC. Formerly Boston CORE, now New York CORE. Lawyer (Harvard Law no less).

The Action Committee was attended by: J. Farmer, L. Farmer, L. Carter, G. Houser, J. McCain, T. Roberts and myself. Marvin Rich was to attend but is ill with worms! It was a good meeting, and I think it was probably good strategy that my letter had been concerned to the point of being negative. Re-visits to the various groups are in process of being set up, and the Columbia group is to investigate the airport situation there (I think that McCain was actually hesitant about the experience we had in Charleston before participation, but gather that he was impressed with the way it worked out). Persons to contact in McCormick County (where no Negroes are registered) are being sought. And McCain is more imbued with the hows and whys of CORE organisation than before. Spirit was good. The second field position was viewed with approval, but, as we have not heard further from L. A., we are not ready for final action.

So long,

I have penned a few notes as agenda for you.

Jim Robinson

June 19, 1958

Mr. Charles R. Oldham
5110 Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Charlie and Mariam:

We were much pleased to learn that we shall have at least four people from St. Louis and possibly five.

Good luck on the fund-raising party. Some travel assistance from the National can be given, especially if it is essential to make possible Walter Hayes' attendance.

When you arrive in Beaufort Saturday evening, June 28th at 10:15, by Greyhound, James McCain will pick you up in his cardif he has arrived. If you do not find him, take a taxi to Penn Community Center; it costs about $2.

I shall probably be coming by Greyhound also, but I am due to arrive at 3:10 in the afternoon. Lula Farmer is not able to travel by bus and may have to fly down. She is checking trains also. Oops. She has checked and is flying to Charleston, meeting me there and taking the bus to Beaufort. So we should both be there Saturday afternoon.

Henry Hodge and at least three others are coming from L. A. They may have as many as six. Baltimore expects to send two delegates, and I am still working to get a delegate or two from New York (our local has improved, but getting delegates has not). As most of the S. C. groups will be well represented, it should be the best attended Convention in years.

Sincerely,

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary

CHARLES R. OLDHAM
ATTORNEY AT LAW
722 CHESTNUT - ROOM 218
ST. LOUIS 1, MISSOURI

CHESTNUT 1-5088 -- EVERGREEN 2-6051

July 30, 1958

Mr. James Robinson
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Jim:

I am enclosing a couple of letters which are fairly self-explanatory. Also, I hereby appoint Tom Roberts to the National Action Committee and authorize you to deliver such appointment when you so desire. I am somewhat hesitant because I wonder what the effect of a Harvard education and a Madison Avenue approach will do to CORE, but assume you have considered the possibilities of such subversive influence.

Marion will get the minutes to you in the next week or so. She has practically finished them, and the constitution will also be forthcoming.

Ask McCain to keep me advised on the West Virginia project. I have a few reservations about the lady there, but certainly it was the best contact available, and possibly something can be done.

Very truly yours,

Charles R. Oldham

Charles R. Oldham

CO:BB

July 29, 1958

Mrs. Marian Bardoff, Corresponding Secretary
Baltimore CORE
608 Glenwood Road
Baltimore 6, Maryland

Dear Marian:

Hope that you got back to Baltimore in one piece and did not have too much trouble with the sand flees on the air conditioned coaches of the railroad company.

I am writing to you in regard to a project that St. Louis CORE has against the May Department Stores. Baltimore has a May Store and perhaps some joint action can be taken by Baltimore, St. Louis, and Los Angeles. We have been in discussion with the May Company in regard to employment and service in their Famous-Barr Stores in St. Louis, and negotiations have apparently reached a stalemate. At the present time we are anticipating establishing picket lines around the Famous-Barr Store here in St. Louis on August 18 from 4 o'clock until 8:30, August 21 from 4 o'clock to 8:30, and on Saturday, August 23, from 9 o'clock until closing time at 5. We would like for the Los Angeles and Baltimore CORE groups to take joint action with us by passing out leaflets on those days and at the same time, provided, of course, that the store hours are the same. I might point out that while the action is definitely planned, there is always a possibility that there might be a break or change in the program. What we would like for the Los Angeles and Baltimore groups to do is to make an investigation as to the employment and practices of the May Company in their cities and report the same to us, and also advise us whether or not their eating facilities, if any, are open. We would also like the Baltimore and Los Angeles groups to prepare for the possibility of handing out leaflets or engaging in some other type of demonstration at the same time the St. Louis CORE group plans to initiate their program.

I will follow this letter up with a more complete report containing samples of leaflets that we are going to distribute, and a fuller statement of the exact type of demonstration we will undertake.

Please advise me whether your groups would be willing to undertake joint action and we are also definitely interested in the employment and service policies of the stores.

Very truly yours,

Charles R. Oldham

CO:RB

July 29, 1958

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
1158 West Vernon
Los Angeles 37, California

Dear Gordon:

I have before me your letter of July 17 regarding possibilities of work with the international office. I sincerely hope that finances will permit the International Action Committee to proceed with the expansion program.

I am also enclosing with this letter copy of a letter to Baltimore CORE regarding a project at The May Company. You have a branch of this department store in Los Angeles, and can possibly be of some assistance to us.

Very truly yours,

Charles R. Oldham

CO:BB
Enc.

August 8, 1958

Mr. and Mrs. Charles R. Oldham
5110 Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Charlie and Marian:

Please send immediately a list of the officers elected at the Convention. I must have that to order the new stationery.

I hope I shall have the minutes very soon. They should go out by the 15th and it takes some time here to mimeo, etc.

Gordon Carey arriving here next week.

The skeleton constitution for locals will be helpful in situations like the present one with McCain in Charleston, West Virginia.

Also want the Organizational Manual, but I suppose we must wait for this, with all the load above.

Plan to use Charlie's signature again for the appeal letter. It will probably go out in August this year because of the great need for funds.

Sincerely yours,

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary

P. S. Gordon and Henry Hodge made trip to San Bernardino. Prospects good. [illegible] going to Seattle about August 15th.
Henry

September 4, 1958

Mr. and Mrs. Charles R. Oldham
5110 Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Charlie and Marian:

I presume you are wondering why I kept after both of you for the minutes, the skeleton constitution and the handbook and then did nothing about them. The answer is simple: I just can't get to it because of our budget appeal, our outside appeal signed by Martin Luther King, our Holiday Cards, and all the activity in the field which requires at least a minimal response from the office. We have new groups in Seattle and Norfolk. The report from Norfolk which Gordon sent today was most interesting. Copies of letters are enclosed to give you some idea of what is going on.

I shall get to work on at least the skeleton local constitution very soon as we must absolutely have it available for new groups.

Lula Farmer is in Memorial Hospital. She had a swollen gland, and they did a biopsy. I don't know whether she wants people to know, but I think she would want me to tell you. I am very hopeful, but the reports won't come through before tomorrow.

Peck will soon be working on the CORElator and will want the story on the frontal attack on both eating facilities and employment policies of the department stores, particularly Famous-Barr . Good luck on that and on the interested individual from East St. Louis.

Lula expect to go home this Saturday.

P. S. Thanks so much for all the time and effort you both put into the boring jobs of writing minutes, organizational manual, etc.

Sincerely,

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary

September 24, 1958

Mr. and Mrs. Charles R. Oldham
5110 Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Sharlie and Marian:

I am enclosing copy of my letter to Harold Gibbons. Marv says this is the time to hit the Teamsters for a large contribution. Since you know Gibbons personally, I suggest you write him a letter on your own stationery, briefly stating that Henry Hodge traveled as a volunteer up and down the West Coast with some possibility of a CORE group in Seattle. You might also remind him of the registration campaign in South Carolina.

However, this material may be briefly mentioned. The main point is that we have more interest and activity than we can possibly handle with our restricted finances. We need a substantial contribution from the Teamsters as soon as possible.

At the same time, you can stress that we are doing everything possible to increase the number of individual contributors and the amount they give. Current appeals promist to add 1,000 new contributors. But costs absorb most of the initial contribution. To be able to grow to meet the increased demands on CORE, we need a large union contribution.

If you will write such a letter right away to the Washington address and then ask him to call you or call him when he is in St. Louis (most Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays), perhaps we can get something soon. I am vitally concerned as work here is piling up to the extent that we must have a secretary soon. Evenings, Saturdays and Sundays do not keep up with the work. There are probably 500 contributions which have not been receipted or the money deposited. Over 100 contributions per day are coming in. Most of our large outstanding bills have been paid, but, while we are processing money, other material to the groups and answers to numerous inquiries are not getting done, and everything is stacking on the desks, with nothing filed.

It is exciting and CORE is going places, but we shall have to have help even to introduce a modicum of efficiency into the central office.

So long.

Jim Robinson

October 26, 1958

Mrs. Charles R. Oldham
5110 Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Marian:

I am enclosing the carbon copy of the affiliation application which came in yesterday from East St. Louis CORE. Also enclosed is a copy of my letter to Mrs. Gaston, Recording Secretary.

The carbon copy of the application should eventually go back to Mrs. Gaston for the permanent records of the local. But I thought you would be interested in seeing it. Also, the answer to question number 14 gives you the reason why my letter asks for more information.

Perhaps you will be able to telephone to the person in East St. Louis most likely to write us a detailed project report. If we are to accept new groups by the alternative method between Councils and Conventions, then I feel we must give them enough data to our already affiliated groups so that they will be able to make an intelligent decision (realizing, of course, that most will simply depend upon the NAC's recommendation anyway).

The Constitution requires the recommendation "of one and preferably two" representatives of National CORE who have visited the new group. So we shall need such a recommendation from you (and, optionally, from Norman Seay).

We are considering a proposal by ACI to do a 26-minute talking film on the Nashville story. Until we are clear on how to raise money for it, nothing definite will be done.

Our special (outside lists) appeal signed by Dr. King went to 49,000 people. It has been unusually successful, resulting in 1,815 new names for CORE list and gifts from these people totalling $10,708.10. Costs ran about $5,000. I think Charlie will be interested in these figures also. We hope to send another 50,000 if we can ever get to it. But tell Charlie we still need a large union contribution in order to get a secretary here. Both Lula and Gordon, when in town, work seven days also, but we cannot keep up.

Jim Robinson

October 31, 1958

Mr. and Mrs. Charles R. Oldham
5110 Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Charlie and Marian:

Thanks for the report on East St. Louis. This gives me good material to quote in mailing out the material to the groups, and I think it insures a recommendation from the National Action Committee which meets this evening.

I am enclosing copy of a letter to Fidelity Federal Savings & Loan Association. Our Operating Account is roughly $3,000; our Emergency Account (New York Savings Bank, 3½% interest credited quarterly) roughly $6,500; and the new account, which is considered a Reserve Account, the $2,000 covered in the letter. We should be able to operate without touching that Reserve for at least eight months, thus earning at the rate of 1% per quarter for 2 and 2/3 quarters.

I agree with you that the COREIator was an especially good issue. Can St. Louis CORE use extra copies?

Sincerely yours,

James R. Robinson

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary

November 5, 1958

Mr. Charles R. Oldham
5110 Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Charlie:

I am enclosing the signature card for Fidelity Federal Savings & Loan Association. The National Action Committee approved this account last Friday, October 31, 1958. The signature card requires your signature in three (3) places. It can then be mailed to California in the enclosed envelope.

The Action Committee also approved (1) securing a larger office and (2) securing one full-time stenographic-clerical office employee. Our present office costs $594 per year including electricity. The office downstairs which we are considering would cost $1500 per year. It has more space than we currently need, but this would be handy in several ways and would probably preclude another move for a considerable period. Also, we much prefer not to change the 38 Park Row address (sounds good on mail even though it is not in actuality a first-class building).

The office move is essential if we are to have another employee. Now, whenever more than one volunteer comes in, it is impossible to walk across the office without asking everyone in it to move; in the other office, we could put people in different rooms so that those doing clerical tasks could chat without spoiling everybody else's work.

On the steno-clerical job, we now have no one in mind. Sayuri Buell declines at this time, and, with Lula largely out of the office after December, we must begin a real search soon. Any suggestions? Some persons on the NAC felt we would be wiser to go out and hire than to take someone already interested in CORE, but I would think this is true only if we cannot get someone from inside who could still work under pressure and under being bossed by me. Let me know if you have someone in mind. Other qualifications being equal, a Negro is preferred to give our office that smart integrated air so essential to maintaining it as an "international" office.

Sincerely yours,

James Robinson

Nov. 27, 1958

Gordon R. Carey
Gillfield Baptist Church
Perry Street
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Gordon,

I received your letter relating to the march on Richmond and I believe the suggestions you made in your letter are very good. Acting under the authority vested in me by virtue of election as the National Chairman of CORE I hereby do appoint Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker as Acting State Director, Congress of Racial Equality. This is an appointment to a National CORE office and should be announced as such.

I presume that this has been cleared through Jim Robinson and the National Action Committee. If not I think that it will have to be approved by the National Action Committee befor e it can be effective. I am sending a copy of this letter to Jim Robinson so that he can take thenecessary action.

Keep up the good work and try to get as much publicity for National CORE as possible. I am sure that it can be used for our next fund appeal.

Very truly yours,
Charles R. Oldham
Charles R. Oldham
National Chairman, CORE

cc James Robinson ✓

December 9, 1958

Mr. and Mrs. Charles R. Oldham
5110 Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Charlie and Marian:

I enclose copy of letter to Harold J. Gibbons. As copy is also going to Marvin Rich (leaving none in the file), you might return this copy once you are through with it.

But I hope you will notqbe through with it until you have succeeded in reaching Gibbons on the phone. Your conversation with him is important, and, from it, you can probably give us some idea of whether important help is likely to be forthcoming.

A similar letter aimed at union support generally rather than just the ILGWU is also going to Charles S. Zimmerman. In Gibbons' case, however, I think the chances are both better and more necessary: we get an occasional letter in response to appeals that "I will not give to CORE as long as Hoffa's aide is on your Advisory Board."

The Richmond Prayer Pilgrimage is apparently really rolling: Walker and Carey are going to Atlanta to confer with M. L. King; they have some white support; King signed the letter to Negro ministers asking for church support; etc. etc. Incidentally Gordon Carey seems to be extremely good as an organizer.

As you know, raises were never paid to the staff. At yesterday's NAC, 10% bonuses on money earned from September 1957 through December 1958 were voted. This totals just under $1,600. In addition, Gordon Carey's salary is increased from $80 to $90 per week effective January 1, 1959. Other salary increases are deferred for consideration in late January or February.

Holiday Card sales about $5,000. Total income since June 1, estimated at $34,000. New office rent $132 per month. Total in bank at moment(and we still owe some bills) about $13,000. 38000 MLK appeals (repeat of Sept. mailing) now in the mails.

Good luck and Merry Christmas,

James Robinson

February 25, 1959

Mr. Charles Oldham
5110 A Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Charley,

It struck us here in the office that it might be a good idea for a letter to come to the newly affiliated groups from you instead of from Robinson. They are always getting things from Robinson or I and it is well to let them hear from you on occasion.

It has been the practice to write the new groups and welcome them into the family of CORE groups. I am enclosing envelopes addressed with the name and address of the Chairman of each local group which was affiliated at the Council. If you could have a short letter typed to each one on your own stationery it should serve to break the monotony of epistles from New York and also help to give them a sense of being in an organization which is not run out of New York.

In case you don't like this idea, or will not be able to get it done, just keep the envelopes for future use and let us know so that we can write each of them.

Thanks,

Gordon R. Carey

March 9, 1959

Mr. and Mrs. Charles R. Oldham
5110 Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Charlie and Marian:

Greetings. It was good to see you both, and I thought the Council meeting was more than usually exciting.

An inquiry came in today from Chattanooga, Tenn. from a person not on our list. Although the inquiry was not specific, I gathered that he was interested in action and not merely in acquiring free literature. I enclose copy of my reply.

Finances not good. Brotherhood appeal not very successful. Hope to work on further appeals very soon. Possible additional field man not available before August 1, and that will be helpful... if even then we can afford to add to salary expenses.

Please send all data on the place in St. Louis suggested for part of CORE's reserve fund. We should get signatures, etc. and open account before the end of this month so that we do not lose interest on a transfer at the end of the month. Please check on the security of the funds: heaven help us if we lost any of the reserve on a business failure.

Name and address of the gay divorcee you suggest I see not yet received. Please send.

Let us know if anything is developing on the Kansas City trip. Present Miami trip looks fine. Gordon writes that they are to see both the School Superintendent and the Mayor this week. Probably useless, but they have made a lot of action contacts too, and the organization meeting is set for this Thursday night.

If anyone in St. Louis CORE can give some time to helping E. St. Louis CORE develop some white membership, we should appreciate it. The characteristic "mood" of CORE and some of its techniques as well require an interracial membership, and I am concerned that the recent Council seems to underscore a trend toward becoming a largely Negro group. In groups like E. St. Louis, where white memberships should be easy enough to secure, we should do so; in some other areas, no more than a few token whites can possibly be induced to join.

So long,

James Robinson

Carey file; then to Oldham file

March 12, 1959

Mr. and Mrs. Charles R. Oldham
5110 Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Charlie and Marian:

I had the impression at the Frogmore Convention and again at the Nashville Council meeting that Henry Hodge would like to work on the CORE staff (he indicated he was not too well pleased with his present job).

I think he is a valuable person for CORE and yet I have the distinct feeling he would not work out on the staff.

Would this be your impression? Did he hint at a job when he stopped with you in St. Louis?

He has done a pretty good job, incidentally, of keeping in touch with us here this year... he did not use to answer letters, but now he does.

Randolph may accept the invitation to speak at CORE dinner in L. A. If he does not, we now have no other ideas for kingpins.

Sincerely,

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary

P. S. Money situation not good... Feb. appeal was a flop.

April 1, 1959

Mr. and Mrs. Charles R. Oldham
5110 Palm
St Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Charlie and Marian:

I have had no word from you in such a long time that I am beginning to wonder whether anything is wrong. Hope not.

I took the liberty of using your name, Charlie, as the signer for the follow-up appeal letter to our own CORE list. Copy enclosed. The gray slip was used to persons who usually give only $1 or $2.

I have had no word on the high-interest bank or finance company in St. Louis, and our reserve money is still in Glendale, California.

Also, Marian, no word on that friend of yours who you thought might be willing to share her lonely hours with mine! I have another interest at the moment, but...

If anything develops on Kansas City, let us know. The Miami group is apparently off to a good start. So Far, Carey's trip in Virginia has not been especially successful or eventful, but it may develop -- we did not expect it to be off to a fast start.

We have arranged for about 70,000 letters of appeal to other lists in the next five or six weeks. I certainly hope we do not lose money on these, but we are forced to make the attempt: we simply must have a larger list to avoid similar financial difficulties next year. We were surprised on the cross-check of our list to discover fewer than 2,000 persons for follow-up letter -- rather remarkable on a list of 8,500.

So long,

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary

encs.

June 28, 1959

Mr. Charles R. Oldham
Chairman, Congress of Racial Equality
5110 Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Charles,

CORE is co-sponsoring an institute on nonviolence with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. It is to be in Atlanta, Georgia from July 22 through 24 (Wed. thru Fri.). None of us here really know too much about this institute except that we are one of the sponsors.

The institute is a result, I believe, of a proposal to the SCLC by the FOR some time ago. Last fall while in Atlanta for one of the SCLC Executive Committee meetings I proposed to them that they co-sponsor a one or two week Action Institute with CORE. They voted to do this. Subsequently, as you know, we temporarily gave up the idea of this Institute and decided to have one of our own in Miami which would not be a big deal thing but run more along the line of our old workshops.

The institute this July then is a result of the FOR's proposal and we are in on it by virtue of the SCLC's decision to co-sponsor with us. Bayard Rustin told me that originally he was to have been the dean of this meeting, but at present does not plan to even be there. It is really through Bayard that we were asked in on this. Apparently the program is already pretty well set up. I will be seeing Glenn Smiley later this week and will find out more, but I suspect they have done most of the planning.

In the national office we are all convinced that CORE should play as active a part in the institute as possible. M. L. King and other big-name Southern leaders will be there. For our own prestige as well as for the contribution we will be able to make it seems like quite a good thing.

Presently we plan to have McCain present and maybe either Jimmy or me. If at all possible we thought you should be there also. This would be most essential if neither Robinson nor I could be present. We want you there regardless, however. If you can make it CORE will pay your plane fare and all other expenses.

Please let us know right away if you think you could spend those days in Atlanta. By the time we hear from you we will have additional details. Hope you can make it.

Sincerely, Carey

CHARLES R. OLDHAM
ATTORNEY AT LAW
722 CHESTNUT - ROOM 218
ST. LOUIS 1, MISSOURI

CHESTNUT 1-5088 -- EVERGREEN 2-6051

July 11, 1959

Mr. Gordon Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Gordon:

I haven't answered your letter of June 28 sooner because I wanted to ascertain whether or not I would be able to go to Atlanta in July.

The press of legal business is so much that it is impossible at this time. Shake Martin King's hand for me, and anybody else you run across, and my best wishes to your wife or wife-to-be (I forget).

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Oldham

Charles R. Oldhamm

CO:BB

July 16, 1959

Mr. Charles R. Oldham
722 Chestnut, Room 218
St. Louis 1, Missouri

Dear Charlie,

I was very much concerned by your letter. This problem is of course a recurrent one. Since CORE's action projects have such dramatic potentialities, it is inevitable that the C.P. will attempt to infiltrate from time to time - this in spite of the fact that CORE is not and will never be a mass organization.

I would like to know a few more details. Is Susan Friedman the daughter of the Friedman who was recently expelled from the Machinists? Ed Brown might know since this is the guy who tried to recruit him into the C.P. during the organisation of Rice-Stix by the ILWU. At that time Friedman was working with Bridges.

Does Gene Tournour have family in St. Louis? If not, where do they live? This would seem to me to have some affect on where he ultimately ends up.

Further, which of the party personalities were at this cell meeting? This information might be particularly valuable in your discussions with the Washington University advisors. Who are they? Paul Preisler or anyone else that I know?

I will talk to Herb Hill and Jim Farmer of the NAACP staff about the youth chapter but will not talk to Herb Wright since he closes his eyes. At any rate there is not much more we can do but watch and wait.

One of the areas in which CORE might very well expand its contacts and its contributions is that of the fraternal and social organizations. I do not have any specific ins here or even much of an idea about how to go about it, but maybe Marion does. Talk to her and give me her ideas.

When are you coming to New York? Love to Marion.

Cordially,

Marvin Rich

MR:ms
CC: Mr. Jim Robinson
oeiu: #153

July 21, 1959

Mr. Charles R. Oldham
722 Chestnut, Room 218
St. Louis 1, Missouri

Dear Charlie,

Thanks for your letter. Sorry you can't make it to the Atlanta meeting. Robinson is flying down tonite and stopping on the way back in Lexington for a couple of days.

We are slow in arrangements for the Action Institute in Miami, but things are finally shaping up. It should be an excellent two weeks if we get good participants and enough of them. If St. Louis CORE is planning to send some members to Miami it will be helpful if you can let us know as soon as possible. Also, any publicity you can give it which might reach other potential participants will be most helpful. I am enclosing a copy of the tentative Institute schedule. Any ideas you may have will be appreciated.

You will recall I proposed a field trip to St. Louis, East St. Louis, and Columbia. I will appreciate your reactions and suggestions regarding the suggested time for such a trip and also what I might hope to accomplish.

New York CORE is planning a big demonstration (poster parade) congratulating TWA on their hiring policy in flight crew employment and asking why the other major airlines cannot do likewise. They would like to make it a national demonstration with other CORE groups participating. It is planned for August 29. I have already written Los Angeles and San Francisco CORE groups asking if they could stage simultaneous demonstrations. No answers as yet. Do you think it would be feasible for St. Louis and/or East St. Louis to put on such a demonstration on that Saturday? You might bring this up with the group and let us know as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey

July 29, 1959

Mr. Charles R. Oldham, Esq.
Room 218
722 Chestnut
St. Louis 1, Missouri

Dear Charlie:

It seemed to be the consensus of the Convention that a section on CORE's work to open employment to all should be included in the Peck pamphlet on NONVIOLENCE AGAINST JIMCROW. Marvin Rich thinks we should get going on this pamphlet production as he feels it will give people a more complete picture of CORE and will be very helpful.

Knowing that you are not at all busy (!), I am therefore urging you to write a section on the principles of CORE action to open employment, with, of course, specific references to the St. Louis employment projects.

Another copy of the draft is enclosed. If possible, please return it as we are running very low on these.

Marvin is definitely coming with CORE -- by September 1st if he can get a replacement for himself at HISTADRUT. He has worked some on theatre-party plans and will see Harold Gibbons next week and work on that angle. It will be a great relief to me to have him in the office.

I hope St. Louis is working on getting someone or possibly more than one to our Miami Institute. Applications have not yet started to come in, and I am a little worried.

The Atlanta Institute was long-winded, but good on the theory of nonviolence, not much good on the practical applications. CORElator carries story of our eating project at Atlanta Airport.

So Long,

James R. Robinson

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary

encs.

Tournour

August 30, 1959

Charles R. Oldham, Esq.
Room 218
722 Chestnut
St. Louis 1, Missouri

Dear Charlie:

We have excellent applications for the Institute, and I hope all the multiplicitous details will work out all right. We are optimistic.

Gene Tournour finally called me and I had dinner and an evening of wandering around with him. Using his attendance at the Russian Festival or Exhibition at the Colosseum as a lead, I was able to question him at some length about his attitudes.

My conclusion is two-fold: (1) he is not and is not likely to become a Communist; and (2) some of his associations indicate that he is being cultivated by people who are pro-Communist.

He took Russian at Washington U. He intended to take the examination to become a guide at the American Exhibition in Moscow, but did not do so because the examination conflicted with the Law School entrance examinations. He did a paper at Washington U. on the Anti-semitism displayed in the USSR with particular reference to the liquidation of a number of prominent Jewish dramatists in Moscow. (I should think you could check the accuracy of this statement.)

He considers himself a materialist, but his definition is that of philosophical materialism ("matter precedes consciousness"). He does not seem to have the uncritical love for the Soviet characteristic of Communists. He did say he had not been in contact with Party members, and this I gather from what you had written may be an untruth.

On the other hand, he voluntarily referred to the wife of the man who used to run the Bookstore at Jefferson School, and this School was notorious for its Party connections. He said that she, unlike so many liberals, was well informed about the Catholic Church and appreciated its great contribution to history as a human institution; that she understood its function as a force for good especially during the Middle Ages. He also said that he was annoyed by the criticisms of Catholicism by many liberals as these criticisms are usually a mere mouthing of prejudice and

are often based upon misinformation. He has become a materialist in philosophy, but this does not mean that he rejected the Church as a powerful human organization (he does, of course, reject the "idealist" nature of the Church as representing God - a concept in conflict with materialism).

He had a full-time and a part-time job here and he was busy on his freetime. This I referred to and asked if he were getting married. He had no such idea. It is entirely possible, therefore, that he is being cultivated toward a receptivity for Communism in one of the traditional Communist ways, through the girl who worked here at the Art Theatre. He was stopping in Pittsburgh after he left here, but I did not feel free to pry into the whys of this.

I certainly liked him and I did not get any impression that he was being cagey with me. But I did get the feeling that he is being worked on by someone who is either a Communist or a full-fledged fellow traveler.

How you should proceed in this kind of case I am not sure. I think I would be inclined to involve him in as much non-Communist activity as possible. Some discussion of the reasons for excluding Communists from CORE might be staged with some one taking the "Devil's Advocate" position to generate heat: this might bring out Gene's real feelings, if any, re the Party. To simply push him out of CORE might push him into the Party.

At any rate, I thought I should write you for whatever it is worth to you. Marvin Rich did not get any other sources of information about him.

We are completely overwhelmed with work here. Money is comingin but not fast enough. Rich will probably not start officially until October 2, but he is already doing some work for us.

It is Sunday and Carey (fresh from Honeymoon), Lula and I are all in the office.

So long,

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary

October 2, 1959

Charles R. Oldham, Esq.
5227 Westminster Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri

Dear Charlie:

I am enclosing Solomon Baylor's letter and a copy of my reply. Please return Baylor's letter right away. You may keep my reply. If you have any comments or suggestions, fine. I am almost certain I am right on the policy as established in the past.

We are meeting on the Jim Peck pamphlet early next week. Are we going to get the stories of St. Louis' employment projects? Possibly it should give one in detail and the balance just refer to in passing. Will it be possible to stage a picture or do you have ones in file?

News releases enclosed. Do not know what coverage we got on the ones about Howard Johnson's, but each release gets picked up somewhere. Thanks so much for the picture of the child picketing. We sent some mats out on that one.

Finances have not been going too well. But we were much encouraged by an anonymous gift of one thousand dollars received today through a Philadelphia Trust Department. Twice in past years, we have received a gift from the same Trust Department, but it was $500, not $1,000 in the past. Your appeal letter has been fairly successful; our trouble lies in greatly reduced responses to mailings sent to other lists.

Sincerely yours,

James R. Robinson
Executives Secretary

encs.

P. S. CORElator deadline this coming week.

October 2, 1959

Solomon Baylor, Cahirman
Baltimore CORE Chapter
1519 Pennsylvania Avenue
Baltimore 17, Maryland

Dear Mr. Baylor:

I have your letter of September 30th requesting a loan or grant of $500 to start the ball rolling on the legal defense of Baltimore CORE participants who were unjustly arrested during the Guynn Oak Park All Nations Day protest. Although I telephoned you today to say any grant is highly unlikely, and that loans are not made, I think I should put it in writing and send a copy to Charles R. Oldham, national chairman.

First, as I understand it, it is against policy to make loans or grants to affiliated locals. Such loans were not made to New York CORE during the Palisades Park fracas; although some help was requested by Chicago CORE for legal action, this was not given either. On the policy level, the relatively large degree of autonomy of CORE locals appears to be inconsistent with any loan or grant policy.

Quite apart from policy, however, the fact that the fund situation in the national organization is not presently secure would militate against grants or loans of any kind.

I would be very careful also about retainers, lawyers' fees, etc. As I understand it, the American Civil Liberties Union and some other liberal organizations have a policy of never paying anything except court costs, appeal printing costs, etc. Over-all costs, particularly if an appeal becomes necessary, can grow fast even with free legal service.

On the immediate need for money, what the New York CORE group did was to borrow from its own membership and from friends of members. Many of these friends advanced $50 or $100 or even $200, and the group undertook to guarantee return of the money. Every month a fund-raising party was held to benefit the Palisades Fund. Some functions raised as much as $100 clear. The prime method was a fund appeal by mail. We approached sympathetic liberal groups for the use of their mailing lists, and secured a well-known person as signer of the letter. The letter was nicely offset-printed. A return slip and envelope was used. We members did the folding, inserting and stamping (using a commemorative stamp). Those who contributed received receipts and a thank-you. This brought in many hundreds of dollars, but, of course, part of it was spent on the stamps, printing.

(continued)

and so forth. A card index of the names of these contributors was made so that we could ask again the following year if necessary.

With CORE's stress on non-violence, the lists of such groups as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the pacifist groups are good ones. The Civil Liberties Union and Americans for Democratic Action would also be good. Givers to the NAACP and other civil rights groups are good only if they normally give by mail: the NAACP members who are signed up in door-to-door campaigns would be likely to respond only to a door-to-door appeal and not to a mail appeal. But you might well consider door-to-door work if enough of the members will give several hours a night to it for a period of a week or more. This should not come at the same time with NAACP campaign.

I do not know, of course, what connections Baltimore CORE members may have for getting any of these lists: a personal contact is often essential. It is also essential that no one copy another list: if they let you use it for a one-time mailing, this is all you are entitled to.

If the Afro-American newspapers are willing to play up your campaign, they may be willing to put in a fund appeal or write an editorial for the Baltimore edition with a fund-appeal init. This might or might not produce much cash, but it would have the advantage of costing nothing. Also, of course, I am not sure how far a newspaper will go along these lines.

If you have good contacts with some of the NAACP people in Baltimore who work on the funds campaign, they may have good suggestions: in recent years, the local campaigns have been notably successful.

If you do decide to have parties, be very careful of expenses, especially at the first one or two before you know how many people will turn out. Also, have a high enough gate contribution so that most of the money is clear. It is often essential to have people on the door who make people feel really welcome at the same time they collect efficiently. Was always collected from every member also.

Some CORE groups in the past have had successful big dances, but dances can be run at a loss unless the promotion and management is well planned. Bake sales, raffles, etc., cocktail parties, theatre benefits — all have been used with varying success depending upon the make-up and standing of the local group.

The first step, however, is borrowing the initial $500. This should not be too difficult. If the members are really committed to this project, there are few who cannot give outright at least $10, and a good number will often loan $25 to $50 each. Borrowing from the membership is a good motivational idea too: if everybody realizes that money must be raised to pay off non-member loans before member loans can be returned, they will often work that much harder.

I hope all of this proves helpful. From the Palisades experience, I know you have a job on your hands; yet the process itself did much to build up New York CORE, and we enjoyed the benefits for several years after the campaign was over and paid for.

Sincerely yours,

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary

Carey file

November 17, 1959

Mr. and Mrs. Charles R. Oldham
5227 Westminister Place
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Charlie and Marian:

Thanks so much for the material which you sent us on the employment project. The pamphlet is now at the printers, and we expect the proofs tomorrow. We hope to produce the pamphlet by early January.

Gordon Carey's field trip from here starts shortly after Thanksgiving, and we hope that he will be able to make stops in Columbia, Missouri, and in East St. Louis, Illinois. I enclose copy of my letter to the East St. Louis group.

I am sure he will be available to the St. Louis CORE group if you wish to have him. Also, I think it would be helpful for him to see the St. Louis CORE group in action. Won't you let us know, just as soon as possible, what date would be best for you, and how long you think he might be useful in St. Louis.

A new CORE group in Tallahassee, Florida, at an enthusiastic meeting recently. Pat Stevens, whom Vera Williams will remember from the Miami Action Institute, was instrumental in getting the group together. Rev. Steele, who led the bus boycott there, is most favorable, and Gordon Carey stayed with him while he was in Tallahassee.

Greenville, South Carolina, CORE, after the unpleasant incident involving Jackie Robinson at the Greenville airport, is planning a mass protest on January 1st, Emancipation Day, and James T. McCain is working to get the cooperation of all our South Carolina CORE groups.

So you see exciting things are happening.

Sincerely yours,

JRR:MM
Enc.

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary

Oldham file

November 17, 1959

Mr. and Mrs. Charles R. Oldham
5227 Washington Place
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Charlie and Marion:

Thanks so much for the material which you sent us on the employment project. The pamphlet is now at the printers, and we expect the proofs tomorrow. We hope to produce the pamphlet by early January.

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Sincerely yours,

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary

JRR:MK
Enc.

November 22, 1959

Mr. and Mrs. Charles R. Oldham
5227 Westminister Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri

Dear Charlie and Marian:

I enclose copy of letter to James T. MC Cain because it does go into details of the financial situation. Please return it in the enclosed envelope as it is the only copy I have.

Bank balance in checking account is about $4,500 -- but there are some large outstanding bills also. If the appeal to outside names which went out over a week ago should do better than anticipated, we might be better off than I now think possible. It is still possible that Holiday Cards will improve or that costs will total somewhat less than anticipated. We have had some big orders (as high as $114.00), and three sizeable orders came in Friday.

McCain does bring in some contributions; Carey brings in practically nothing. We plan to use McCain this coming week to see some of Marvin's union people.

Lula Farmer tends to think I am trying to limit benefits, etc. too stringently. I feel however that we should do as well as possible on the compensation and that fringe benefits (which operate inequitably anyway) should be held to a bare minimum. To do well on both is not possible without, in my opinion, causing us to release Carey altogether at some point this year.

Please note the proposal to ask executive employees to take a cut voluntarily (see letter to McCain). If this seems feasible to you, please write me on it right away: we want to straighten out the union contract at the next action committee meeting, and this will probably be held next Sunday.

I would like your comments generally. My own feeling is that if we can get through the present year and do not add to staff or program for next year, we should not run into this much trouble again.

So long, Jean Robinson Executive Secretary

Oldham

December 1, 1959

Charles R. Oldham, Esq.
Room 218
722 Chestnut
St. Louis 1, Missouri

Dear Charlie:

The enclosed letters and carbons should be signed and mailed out from your office. We think the St. Louis postmark may do some good: our groups are used to ignoring material coming from the national office!

We did not finish all the letters, and the balance will come later, but these should go out right away.

The field trip to Columbia, East St. Louis, etc. has been cancelled for the time being as we received no replies from the groups involved. Also, Gordon Carey wanted to stay in New York because his new wife has been ill. By the time your letter came, we had already in process a plan for him to help re-build New York CORE.

If responses to this plan prove insufficient, we could send him later in December possibly -- tentatively he has plans to go to the Greenville demonstration January 1 and then to Chicago.

At any rate, I am glad to have your opinion that we should simply select a date for East St. Louis and send him -- without bothering to try to arrange it with East St. Louis CORE.

I am not sure how valid it is to use Gordon for long spans of time in New York, and this probably means we shall face a problem. Present plans call for him to be in Chicago from January 3 to the Council, then here in New York for a week or ten days, and then again in the field. I do not feel we can be lenient again should his wife's illness prove recurrent.

The National Action Committee Sunday modified the proposed union contract in a way which may make it financially feasible. Also, we hope to get a grant to cover printing on the big-deal pamphlet.

So long,

Jim Robinson

5227 Westminister Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri
December 3, 1959

Mr. Paul Bennett
2717 17th Street, N. E.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Bennett:

I need your help and the help of your local CORE group.

The finances of National CORE have not gone well this year. We may soon face the necessity of reducing our field staff from two to one.

To do so would be difficult: both men have worked hard and well.

It would also be damaging to CORE as an organization: most of our groups have been developed during the period Mr. McCain and Mr. Carey have been with us. In the last two years CORE, locally and nationally, has tripled in size. Each local group benefits from the activities of other CORE groups and from the activities of the national office. This would be a most unfortunate time to be forced to curtail this growth.

Yet, unless we can improve the financial picture, something drastic has to be done.

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The National Office has not pressed groups for payments the past two years when finances have gone well. We hope you will want to help now — when your support is vitally necessary.

P. S. Please send checks to:
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Oldham
National Chairman

copies: Miss Irene Osborne
Miss Ruby M. Thornton
Mr. Thomas Timberg

5227 Westminister Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri
December 3, 1959

Mr. A. D. Moore
Central Life Insurance Co.
176 N. W. 14th Street
Miami, Florida

Dear Mr. Moore:

I need your help and the help of your local CORE group.

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P. S. Please send checks to:

CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Oldham
National Chairman

copies: Miss Lillian Kaplan
153 S. W. 22nd Road
Miami, Florida

Mrs. Philip R. Stern
1710 Daytonia Road
Miami Beach 41, Florida

5227 Westminster Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri
December 3, 1959

Mr. and Mrs. Milton R. Zoloth
5600 Maggiore Street
Coral Gables 46, Florida

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Zoloth:

I need your help and the help of your local CORE group.

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P. S. Please send checks to:
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Oldham
National Chairman

copies: Miss Blanche Calloway
Mrs. Alice Barr

5227 Westminster Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri
December 3, 1959

Mr. Solomon Baylor
1519 Pennsylvania Avenue
Baltimore 17, Maryland

Dear Mr. Baylor:

I need your help and the help of your local CORE group.

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CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Oldham
National Chairman

copies: Mrs. Helen Brown
Mr. Ivar Kraft

5227 Westminister Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri
December 3, 1959

Mr. Robert Hanson
Crittenden House
McDavid Hall
University of Missouri
Columbia, Missouri

Dear Mr. Hanson:

I need your help and the help of your local CORE group.

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CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Oldham
National Chairman

copies: Pete Inserra

5227 Westminister Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri
December 3, 1959

Mr. Thomas L. Roberts
100 LaSalle Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Roberts:

I need your help and the help of your local CORE group.

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P. S. Please send checks to:

CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Oldham
National Chairman

copies: Mrs. Bernadine Wesley
Mr. Eugene Glaberman

5227 Westminister Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri
December 3, 1959

Mr. Reuel S. Amdur
2016 N. W. Overton St.
Portland 9, Oregon

Dear Mr. Amdur:

I need your help and the help of your local CORE group.

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CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Oldham
National Chairman

copies: Mr. George J. Clauss
Mr. David Flannigan

Oldham

December 3, 1959

Mrs. Charles R. Oldham
5227 Westminister Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri

Dear Mariam,

I have your note on Charlie's plane reservations to and from Washington. The flight from St. Louis to Washington is certainly alright, as we have had no further work on any public meeting for Friday evening. What worries me is the return flight from Washington, as it leaves far too early in the day. It would essentially mean that Charlie would not be available for the Sunday morning session, which is often quite an important session. On the other hand, there is no tourist service from Washington to St. Louis after the 11:50 A.M. TWA flight until the Eastern flight at 1:50 A.M. the next morning, that is Monday morning. That flight arrives in St. Louis at 4:56 A.M.. There is also a 6:00 P.M. TWA flight, but that is first-class. Possibly the most convenient arrangement would be to fly tourist from St. Louis to Washington and first-class returning from Washington.

Earlier, Charlie had mentioned possibly stopping in Charleston, West Virginia, to visit with Mrs. Gilmore. I am wondering if this is now impossible. I am concerned about the Charleston, West Virginia CORE group, as we no longer seem to have very close contact with it and as we are getting very few reports of action there. The group is operating as an all-Negro group, and this, I feel, is a major source of difficulty in operating the projects. At the same time, I have the feeling that Mrs. Gilmore is not especially anxious to have any of our field secretaries stop there. But, as she knows both you and Charlie, I think a brief stop would be very helpful in setting up time for a later field stop by one of the secretaries. I think, in this case, the man should be Gordon Carey, as he should have easier access to the white community.

The problem in Charleston is different from that in East St. Louis, as the proportion of Negroes in Charleston is really too small to influence a store like the Diamond as Negro trade cannot account for more than 5% of the sales. As I understand it, in East St. Louis, the proportion of Negroes to whites is very high.

I wish that you too could be with us in Washington, D. C.. Possibly you can arrange it?

Cordially,

JRR:mm

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary

Oldham

Jim:

I have made plane reservations for Charlie on a tourist flight leaving St. Louis January 22 at 7:25P.M. and arriving in Washington Jan. 22 at 10:55 P.M. If there is to be a public meeting on Friday I will have to change his reservations. This will mean a savings of $25.00, if he goes tourist. This is the only tourist flight on Friday. Tourist return is 11:50 A.M. leaving Washington, Sunday .
Could the public meeting be Saturday evening? T.W.A. is booked pretty solid on Flights to Washington. Please let us know soon.

Marian

$48.02 N.Y. & N.C.
$46.04

Eastern

1 50 A.M.

4 56 A.M.

Sample

5227 Westminister Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri
December 3, 1959

Mr. Earl L. Walter
4232 Halldale Avenue
Los Angeles 62, California

Dear Mr. Walter:

I need your help and the help of your local CORE group.

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P. S. Please send checks to:

CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Oldham
National Chairman

copies: Mrs. Sayuri Buell
Mr. Henry Hodge

delinquent

5227 Westminister Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri
December 4, 1959

Mr. Homer Randolph
1324 East Broadway
East St. Louis, Illinois

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I need your help and the help of your local CORE group.

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CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Oldham
National Chairman

copies: Mr. Arban Hairston
Mr. Herbert Hooper

5227 Westminister Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri
December 4, 1959

Rev. Charles Smith
352 Chestnut Street
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Charlie:

I need your help and the help of your local CORE group.

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CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Oldham
National Chairman

copies: Mr. William O. Reichert
Joy M. Query

5227 Westminister Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri
December 4, 1959

Mr. Harry A. Reid
1511 Tidewater Drive
Norfolk 4, Virginia

Dear Mr. Reid:

I need your help and the help of your local CORE group.

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CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Oldham
National Chairman

copies: Mr. and Mrs. James M. Reeves
Mr. Leonard W. Holt

5227 Westminister Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri
December 4, 1959

Dr. Isaac Miller
1717 Windover Drive
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Miller:

I need your help and the help of your local CORE group.

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CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Oldham
National Chairman

copies: Mr. and Mrs. Gary Fullerton

5227 Westminister Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri
December 4, 1959

Mr. John W. Miller
1005 East Cheves Street
Florence, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Miller:

I need your help and the help of your local CORE group.

The finances of national CORE have not gone well this year. We may soon face the necessity of reducing our field staff from two to one.

To do so would be difficult: both men have worked hard and well.

It would also be damaging to CORE as an organization: most of our groups have developed during the period Mr. McCain and Mr. Carey have been with us. In the last two years CORE, locally and nationally, has tripled in size. Each local group benefits from the activities of other CORE groups and from the activities of the national office. This would be a most unfortunate time to be forced to curtail this growth.

Yet, unless we can improve the financial picture, something drastic has to be done.

You can help. Get your group to pay to the national office now its $10 affiliation fee and its 10% tax (10 % of all the money coming in during a fiscal year). Most of our groups are delinquent on the tax owing for 1958-59.

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The national office has not pressed groups for payments the past two years when finances have gone well. We hope you will want to help now — when your support is vitally necessary.

P. S. Please send checks to:

CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Oldham
National Chairman

5227 Westminister Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri
December 4, 1959

Rev. J. S. Hall, Jr.
604 East McBee Avenue
Greenville, South Carolina

Dear Rev. Hall:

I need your help and the help of your local CORE group.

The finances of national CORE have not gone well this year. We may soon face the necessity of reducing our field staff from two to one.

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P.S. Please send checks to:

CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Oldham
National Chairman

copies: Mr. W. T. Smith, Esq.

5227 Westminister Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri
December 4, 1959

Mr. Thomas R. Murdock
510 Liga Street
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Murdock:

I need your help and the help of your local CORE group.

The finances of national CORE have not gone well this year. We may soon face the necessity of reducing our field staff from two to one.

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CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Oldham
National Chairman

5227 Westminister Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri
December 4, 1959

Mr. Walter Hayes
5110 Palm
St. Louis 15, Missouri

Dear Mr. Hayes:

I need your help and the help of your local CORE group.

The finances of national CORE have not gone well this year. We may soon face the necessity of reducing our field staff from two to one.

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P.S. Please send checks to:

CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Oldham
National Chairman

copies: Mr. William Clay

5227 Westminister Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri
December 4, 1959

Mr. Esau Jenkins
244 Spring Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

I need your help and the help of your local CORE group.

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P.S. Please send checks to:

CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Oldham
National Chairman

copies: Mrs. Mary L. Davis

5227 Westminster Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri
December 4, 1959

Mr. Charles Crawford
123 Hancock Street
Cambridge 39, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Crawford:

I need your help and the help of your local CORE groups.

The finances of national CORE have not gone well this year. We may soon face the necessity of reducing our field staff from two to one.

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P.S. Please send checks to:

CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Oldham
National Chairman

copies: Mr. Herbert C. Kelman
Mr. Michael Rice
Mr. and Mrs. James Hartless

5227 Westminister Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri
December 4, 1959

Mr. and Mrs. James Daniel Preston
1506 Third Avenue
Charleston 2, West Virginia

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Preston:

I need your help and the help of your local CORE group.

The finances of national CORE have not gone well this year. We may soon face the necessity of reducing our field staff from two to one.

To do so would be difficult: both men have worked hard and well.

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P.S. Please send checks to:

CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Oldham
National Chairman

copies: Mrs. Elizabeth Harden Gilmore

December 11, 1959

Mr. Charles R. Oldham
5227 Westminister Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri

Dear Charlie:

I am enclosing a copy of the proposed field work schedule for 1960, covering the period from January 1st until the Action Institute. Now that it is done - let's see how closely we live up to it! As far, as is possible, it is planned in line with the suggestions made by the 1959 convention, allowing for field time in each city, which we have an affiliated group, at least once a year.

You will notice that starting about the beginning of May, McCain has alot of open time. Some of this will be taken up by vacations and the rest will be open for additional field work possibilities, which come in between now and May. If you have any suggestions or criticisms, we will certainly appreciate them, prior to the council meeting. The entire staff has gone over the schedule rather carefully and we feel that it is about as good a tentative schedule as can be made up this far in advance. It schedules both McCain and I very tightly and in fact allows me less time in the office than is desireable.

I will be looking forward to seeing you and Marion at the Council Meeting in Washington. Except for money, things are still going pretty well in the national office.

Sincerely,

GRC:mm
Enc.

Gordon R. Carey
Field Secretary

December 11, 1959

Mrs. Marian Oldham
5227 Westminister
St. Louis 8, Missouri

Dear Marian:

We hope to promote the Convention into a sizeable affair this year. It occurred to me today, when I inserted word about it in the receipt letter we shall be using the coming months, that we have not signed any contract.

Also, if we do get more than the 40 people which can be accommodated at the Episcopal Retreat:

(1) Will they still be able to eat with us at the Retreat?

(2) Will inexpensive housing accessible to the Retreat be available?

I realize I am keeping after you and Charlie every minute. Please pardon me.

So long,

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary

Hope you can make a Charleston, W. Va. stop -- if not, would you phone Mrs. Gilmore? Have the feeling they operate slowly and like some NAACP chapters. jim

Carey

December 11, 1959

Mr. and Mrs. Charles R. Oldham
5227 Westminister
St. Louis 8, Missouri

Dear Charlie and Marian:

Thanks for the prompt action on mailing the urgent appeal to the groups. Holiday cards were not stressed in this (they were in an earlier memo to the groups) because it was really too late to build up sales -- and we have not found the groups responsive to these "egghead" greetings. Also, the tax and $10 affiliation fee are prime responsibilities of the groups.

Holiday card sales are now slightly over $10,000 -- not so good in view of a budgeted sale of $20000, but still more than $4,000 more than a year ago. There have been 1,764 orders, of which 702 are keyed to the CORE list. We therefore expect that when the cross-check is done, we should find about 800 people to add to the CORE list (the difference is caused by duplications in mailings, many of our people using envelopes keyed to other mailing lists).

The list of local CORE group contacts is now being prepared for mimeographing next week. I SHALL MARK ON THAT LIST WHICH PEOPLE ARE TO GET YOUR FOLLOW-UP letter about local tax, fund-raising functions for national, etc. This will involve a little guess work as I did not keep a definite record of all those written the first time.

But your sending these on your letter-head from your office will be a great help. If you want, bill us for postage & paper.

The Chicago field trip for Jan. 3 to Jan 22 looks good: we have had some enthusiastic responses to the questionnaire we sent. McCain and Carey will work together. McCain is now in Boston where two public meetings were set up. He will be in the office briefly on Monday and then back in S. C. for the Greenville Airport "sit-in" protest.

What did St. Louis Core think of CORE DOES IT THIS WAY?

P. S. St. Louis CORE money came in. Thanks. We shall acknowledge soon.

Sincerely,

James R. Robinson, Executive Secretary

December 16, 1959

Mr. and Mrs. Charles R. Oldham
5227 Westminister Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri

Dear Charlie and Marion:

I hope you have gone over the proposed field work schedule sent you a week ago. You will notice that I have scheduled both Jim McCain and myself in St. Louis and vicinity during the first week of April. We have also left a period of time up until April 17th open for field work in the Midwest if necessary.

We certainly would like to be able to spend a portion of this time in St. Louis, and make a stop in Columbia, Missouri. I also understand that you are interested in having someone go to Kansas City. Specific arrangements and plans can be made later, but I would like a confirmation of the general idea and dates as soon as possible.

Any suggestions or ideas which either of you may have will be appreciated. I will be looking forward to seeing you in Washington in January. Marvin and Jim etc. send you the best wishes for a Happy Holiday Season.

Sincerely,

GRC:mm

Gordon R. Carey
Field Secretary

December 17, 1959

Charles R. Oldham, Esq.
Room 218
722 Chestnut
St. Louis 1, Missouri

Dear Charlie:

I am enclosing the list of local contacts, with the ones written before indicated. In a few cases, I may have indicated someone not written before, as we kept no record. Also, for James Peck, and for the Tallahassee group, we had not written before. This may indicate that you will want to change the copy on those letters slightly.

Holiday card sales are up to about $10,300.00, and it does not look as if they would exceed $10,500.00.

In discussing plans for the Interracial Action Institute in 1960 at the Action Committee last evening, we came up with an idea which I think may be exciting. This is to concentrate on the Grants in Miami, and to ask our affiliated local groups across the country, where a Grants store exists locally, to concentrate on that store at the same time. We are most anxious to have at least one person from each local CORE group present at the Institute, and we hope to have at least 25 full-time participants.

Thanks very much for corresponding with the local groups. I think your follow-up letter in early January will be a great help, particularly since it comes several weeks before the National Council meeting in Washington. Let me know if it becomes possible for you to make a stop in Charleston, West Virginia.

Sincerely yours,

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary

JRR/ckh
enc.

January 27, 1960

Mr. Charles R. Oldham, Esq.
Room 218
722 Chestnut
St. Louis 1, Missouri

Dear Charlie:

In mimeographed material which we sent out yesterday, I included the suggestion for a fund-raising project to be put on by each affiliated local during February 1960. I wonder if you could reiterate this request in a letter going to the chairman with a copy to the treasurer of each of the affiliated group. I am enclosing the list, but I sent you a list earlier which has some indication in which people are most apt to respond, and possibly you would prefer to use that list - sometimes writing to people other than the chairman and treasurer.

Thank you so much for your excellent work as chairman at the Council meeting. I would not have thought it possible to cover the agenda with so little expenditure of time.

I am most concerned to learn of any people that would make good field secretaries. The reason for this that by next fall we shall either have to add field secretaries or face a situation as far as Gordon Carey is concerned. He does not want to spend one-half to two-thirds of his time in the field indefinitly. On the other hand, I think it will not be possible to keep him in the office two-thirds or three-quarters of the time until we have additional field people. If additional field people do not become possible, then it is likely that Gordon would be leaving us, and we would still need to find one new field secretary.

It would be helpful to have here any brochure about the place where the Convention is to be held, and also

definite indications of rates, meal times if they are set by the place etc. I suppose Marion handled this, so please tell her, if you can still hear each other talk in that great big mansion of yours.

Sincerely yours,

JRR:mm
Enc.

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary

O Gilham

5110 Palm Ave.
St. Louis, Mo.

February 12, 1960

Mr. R. C. McLaren
Vice-President
F. W. Woolworth Co.
233 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Mr. McLaren:

The St. Louis and East St. Louis CORE groups have received requests from the National Office of CORE to take immediate action to protest the denial of service to Negroes at the sit-down lunch counters in the Carolina and Virginia areas. We have a particular concern about reports indicating that the Negro students may be arrested and charged with trespass.

In the past few years St. Louis CORE has developed excellant relations with the Woolworth Company. Several years ago the Woolworth Company in St. Louis started serving Negroes using a program which called for the minimum of publicity and the maximum of action. This plan ultimately resulted in the complete opening of the stores in St. Louis and I believe that it worked extremely well from the viewpoint of both St. Louis CORE and the Woolworth Company.

Because of our excellant relations with the St. Louis Woolworth organization we would not like to take direct action through picket signs and leaflets to encourage your patrons in East St. Louis and St. Louis to stop shopping at your stores. We can not, however, ignore the fact that this is the same Company that is discriminating against Negroes in Carolina and Virginia. We have called an emergency meeting of the two groups for Friday evening, February 12, 1960. The purpose of this meeting will be to decide what action we will take to protest the discriminatory policies of the Corporation in other sections of the country.

It is our sincere hope that the National Office of the Woolworth Company will enter into negotations with National CORE in an attempt to settle the problem. Mr. James Robinson, the executive director of National CORE

is well acquainted with the plan used in St. Louis and Mr. Marvin Rich, who is now on the staff of National CORE was in St. Louis and took part in some of the discussions with the local Woolworth chain.

Perhaps the St. Louis experience may serve as the basis for fruitful negotiations in the present situation.

Very truly yours,

Charles R. Oldham

Charles R. Oldham
National Chairman

CRO:BB
cc Mr. W. R. Breland
F. W. Woolworth Co.
3665 Lindel Blvd.
St. Louis, Missouri

Mr. James Robinson
National CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

STAFF DIRECTOR

March 25, 1960

Dear Mr. Oldham:

At its meeting on March 20th the Commission on Civil Rights considered your telegram requesting that the Commission undertake an investigation of state actions taken in response to the current wave of demonstrations in certain southern states.

I must emphasize at the start that the Commission, being neither a law enforcement nor a supervisory agency, cannot and does not attempt to redress particular instances of alleged deprivations of constitutional rights. The Commission's functions are limited to appraising laws, and studying and collecting facts and making reports and recommendations thereon to the President and Congress.

In order to perform its duties effectively, the Commission has directed its attention to certain definite and limited subject areas, and has confined its studies to such areas rather than attempting to investigate every incident which may come within its jurisdiction. The incidents to which you have drawn the Commission's attention do not appear to fall within any of the areas presently under study by the Commission. No investigation of the matter has, therefore, been authorized. The Commission would, however, be interested to receive from you such further detailed information on these questions as you may care to submit, in case a study of this area should be undertaken at some future time.

Sincerely yours

Gordon M. Tiffany

Mr. Charles R. Oldham
National Chairman
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

May 28, 1960

Mr. and Mrs. Charles R. Oldham
5227 Westminster
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Charlie and Marian:

I enclose the second announcement of the Convention, with definite information. Here are some answers to points raised in Marian's letter:

a. Reserve 25 rooms (hope we have some cancellation privileges -- tendency for delegates to arrive several days late).

b. Four days exactly: dinner Wednesday June 29 through mid-day lunch Sunday July 3.

c. We think a public meeting is easier to arrange than a dinner. A dinner with a basic cost of $2.75, plus mailings, plus drinks, would mean a minimum charge of $5 per person, thus limiting attendance. Use your judgement, however, keeping in mind that we want the dinner or public meeting <u>to raise funds</u> sufficient to defray the entire deficit of the Conference-Convention.

If there are not too many conflicts, we think that the public meeting might well occur Wednesday evening, June 29th. This gives the Conference a send-off, attracts delegates early, and arouses community interest at the outset. Thursday evening might be second choice; later evenings run into the problem of persons who leave for the July 4th weekend.

d. Project. Project time now scheduled for Saturday afternoon only. We prefer the Thompson project because (1) it is closer; and (2) it stresses the sit-in at a business establishment rather than a protest against a public authority -- we feel that too often the Southern movements have concentrated on big public demonstrations against governmental bodies (where there is little hope), and we do not want our project to reinforce this idea. In terms of E. St. Louis, of course, it probably makes sense; but in the South I feel it is an exercise in beating one's head against the wall.

e. Swimming. Hope at least one swim can be arranged, either after an afternoon session or, possibly, after an evening session as we did in 1957.

f. Party. Sunday evening might be a possibility. A dance

with a band and a gate fee is okay if St. Louis CORE wants to take it on. This might mean funds also. Or the party could be a more private affair in someone's home. Last year's party at Henry Hodge's was, I thought, a terrible failure. But I am not thinking this would happen in St. Louis. Possibly, however, the holding of a party at the very end (as we did last year) is more difficult than earlier: some delegates leave before the party. On the other hand, a Saturday night party usually means lateness for breakfast and session on Sunday morning. So, you worry about it. We shall send out another announcement when all these dating matters are clear.

Personnel. Still getting complaints on Holt. So am pleased he has been severed. You might speak tentatively with Gene Tournour: our field staff is extremely fluid at this point. Still looking for a good, fast typist.

Lease. Beingwworked out. Third floor, air-conditioning to be installed. Five year lease at $5,000 per year including electricity. More than twice the size of present space.

Fund-Raising. The outside firm is out of the picture at least temporarily. Monday, June 20th, is the Eleanor Roosevelt luncheon at the Plaza Hotel. This could conceivably raise a considerable sum.

At the Convention, I think we should have definite authorization to hire a fund-raising firm should we deem it advisable later. This would free us of any kick-backs in the event that we need to take such a step. I think now that we may not need to do so, but I would want to be free in case it becomes necessary later.

Thanks for all the arrangements. I know what a pain it is to have to make them when price is such a major consideration.

Sincerely yours,

James R. O'Hanlon
Executive Secretary

May 27, 1960

[redacted]

[redacted] just finished talking to John Lewis in Lexington, Kentucky. They have been negotiating with Woolworth, Kelley, S. S. Kresge, and Kress. Three stores have refused to open unless four or five other stores do too. They also want two or three other cities to follow along with Greensboro. They agreed to have a more specific proposal to CORE by noon, Tuesday, June 2.

[redacted]

The CORE group last night voted to remove pickets on June 6th, assuming that the June 2nd proposal is as I have outlined it.

[redacted]

As you know, in Nashville only six stores integrated. Kress was one of the holdouts. Now, our reports indicate that everything is going well there.

Our Klan guide, The Lord, says managers say that they are asking no orders from their national offices.

Can you serve Jeffrey? Can you contact Reddick? I know it isn't his region but he might be able to help.

Jim

July 10, 1950

Mr. Charles E. Oldham
5227 Westminster Place
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Charlie:

Have sent copies of two resolutions on to Lynn. Do not have any copies of the third resolution - the one suggesting Jail for our staff members. If you have additional copies of this or the other resolutions, I would appreciate receiving them.

The task of binding up the wounds continues. I do hope that out of this will come a more effective student program and greater understanding on the part of the local CUAE groups.

Would very much like to receive from you a report on your meeting with Todd Settle and also from someone in St. Louis CUAE, a report on achievements in exployment, in the Industries and the success of the Stockholm situation. Not not a terribly long paragraph, but you know what I mean. I need some outcome material and I also need material for a pamphlet on exployment.

Tom and Marion were very wonderful to Mary and me. Mary likes Marion a great deal. Thanks a load. Love for.

Cordially,

RHyn

Marvin Rich

CORE — COMMITTEE OF RACIAL EQUALITY

A National Organization with affiliated local groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Roger N. Baldwin
Allan Knight Chalmers
Harold Gibbons
E. Stanley Jones
Martin Luther King
Will Maslow
Dorothy Maynor
A. J. Muste
A. Philip Randolph
Ira DeA. Reid
Arnold M. Rose
George S. Schuyler
Lillian Smith
Howard Thurman
Goodwin Watson
Charles S. Zimmerman

July 7, 1960

Mr. Marvin Rich
% CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Marv,

Please send a copy of all resolutions passed at the convention to -

Mr. William K. Wyant
St. Louis Post Dispatch
1111 Olive Street
St. Louis 1, Missouri

He is the reporter for the Southern School News and we might get pretty good coverage in this paper. He has been assigned to write the story of the convention.

Very truly yours,

Charles R. Oldham

Charles R. Oldham

July 14, 1960

Mrs. Lula Farmer
85 Bedford Street
New York 14, New York

Dear Mrs. Farmer:

In accordance with the decisions of the recent CORE Convention, I am to check appointments to the National Action Committee with three officers of CORE, the Vice-Chairman, the Treasurer, and the Secretary. I am writing you about such a proposed appointment.

The National Action Committee has proposed for appointment Mr. Val Coleman, a man who works for United Artists Pictures Corp. in New York City. Mr. Coleman was mentioned on the floor of the convention as a potential appointee. He has personally published posters for New York CORE, has worked on the sound truck advertising the Woolworth picket lines, and has done many kinds of active work with the organization. In addition to this, he has done a good deal of public relations work of one kind or another. For example, he was the person who did the fund-raising movie trailer which was shown at the convention. He has had something to do with getting CORE on such television shows as Open End.

If you approve the appointment of Mr. Coleman to the National Action Committee, please so indicate on the bottom of this letter, sign your full name, and return the letter to James R. Robinson, Executive Secretary, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York 38, New York.

It was certainly good having you with us at the convention.

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Oldham
National Chairman

July 14, 1960

Mr. Charles E. Oldham
5227 Westminster
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Charlie:

Anne Holden has written us about the whereabouts of the minute book in which she had the roll and minutes of the convention. Priscilla Stephens took the last minutes, and she told us that she took them in a minute book which was left in St. Louis. I trust that you have this book. If so, please check the last part of the minutes taken by Priscilla, and check on anything that you think is unclear. Then send the minute book registered mail to Anne Holden, 93½ Dewey Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

The national action committee met yesterday at lunch and asks you to add to the committee Mr. Val Coleman. Mr. Coleman has helped us a great deal in New York City in terms of picket lines and has spoken at our annual lunch. He was responsible for the fund appeal mailing similar which you saw in St. Louis, and he has been helpful in many other public relations ways. It is my understanding that the new procedure for appointments to the national action committee requires that the other officers approve. This would mean a letter from you to Henry Lodge, Vice-Chairman; Anne Holden, Secretary; and Lula Farmer, Treasurer. Henry Lodge's address is 1218 South Sycamore, Los Angeles, California. You have Anne Holden's address above. Lula Farmer is 85 Bedford Street, New York 14, N.Y. I would suggest that you ask each of these people to give their okay on the bottom of your letter and return the letter to us here at the national office. This should facilitate Mr. Coleman's appointment.

I have read Mr. Boyd's report on his trip to Fayette County. I think the report is rather impressive and indicates that he worked pretty hard for the short time that he was there.

At the meeting of the national action committee yesterday, it was felt that Mr. Boyd's position with CORE should be soon regularized. In this connection, it was decided that he should get a salary of $80.00 per week beginning today, July 14th. However, this does not indicate a definite or a permanent appointment. He will be brought to New York and will get an opportunity to talk not only with staff members but also with other members of the national action committee. We can then decide whether or not we shall admit to the permanent field staff. We felt that this method would tend to give a larger number of people some say in who is hired. George Hunt, a volunteer here in the office who has taken some of the Frankfort students to Louisville for the hearing, is very much impressed with Mr. Boyd's work with the students.

I should certainly like your reactions on Mr. Boyd. I should also make it clear that the $80.00 a week proposal was not mine and not Gordon Carey's. Both of us felt that this tends to indicate a degree of permanency which the committee does not really have in mind at this point. On the other hand, it is hardly feasible to expect him to continue to work even part time for CORE on an expenses-only basis; he actually has no money of his own.

Sincerely yours,

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary

P.S. We are looking forward to your stop in New York. Marvin Rich says that you have room to stay out at his home. No doubt you will need a rest after the election campaign in St. Louis. Incidentally, I seem to be the only person on the staff who is enthusiastic about Mr. Kennedy's nomination.

P.S. I am enclosing letters to Mr. Hodge; Holden and Farmer for you to sign and send, I thought this would speed it up.

July 14, 1960

Anne Holden
93b Henry Street
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Anne Holden:

In accordance with the decisions of the recent CORE Convention, I am to obtain appointments to the National Action Committee with those officers of CORE, the Vice-Chairman, the Treasurer, and the Secretary. I am writing you about such a proposed appointment.

The National Action Committee has proposed for appointment Mr. Val Coleman, a man who works for United Artists Pictures Corp. in New York City. Mr. Coleman was mentioned on the floor of the convention as a potential appointee. He has personally painted posters for New York CORE, has worked on the annual Easter advertising the Woolworth picket lines, and has done many kinds of active work with the organization. In addition to this, he has done a good deal of public relations work of one kind or another. For example, he was the person who did the fund-raising movie trailer which was shown at the convention. He has had something to do with getting CORE on such television shows as Open End.

If you approve the appointment of Mr. Coleman to the National Action Committee, please so indicate on the bottom of this letter, sign your full name, and return the letter to James R. Robinson, Executive Secretary, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York 38, New York.

It was certainly good having you with us at the convention.

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Oldham
National Chairman

July 14, 1960

Mr. Henry Hodge
1818 South Sycamore
Los Angeles, California

Dear Mr. Hodge:

In accordance with the decisions of the recent CORE Convention, I am to check appointments to the National Action Committee with three officers of CORE, the Vice-Chairman, the Treasurer, and the Secretary. I am writing you about such a proposed appointment.

The National Action Committee has proposed for appointment Mr. Val Coleman, a man who works for United Artists Pictures Corp. in New York City. Mr. Coleman was mentioned on the floor of the convention as a potential appointee. He has personally printed posters for New York CORE, has worked on the sound truck advertising the Woolworth picket lines, and has done many kinds of active work with the organization. In addition to this, he has done a good deal of public relations work of one kind or another. For example, he was the person who did the fund-raising movie trailer which was shown at the convention. He has had something to do with getting CORE on such television shows as Open End.

If you approve the appointment of Mr. Coleman to the National Action Committee, please so indicate on the bottom of this letter, sign your full name, and return the letter to James R. Robinson, Executive Secretary, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York 38, New York.

It was certainly good having you with us at the convention.

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Oldham
National Chairman

Oldham

July 29, 1960

Charles R. Oldham, Esq.
722 Chestnut, Room 218
St. Louis 1, Missouri

Dear Charlie:

I trust that the minutes of the convention turned up alright and were forwarded to Anna Holden.

The literature you requested was sent to Mrs. Paul Scheiber.

The National Action Committee of CORE has a special evening session scheduled for August 8th to discuss the south, the possible outbreak of violence, and how we might proceed to meet such situations. I trust that you will be in New York still on that date. If not, please let us know, so that we may schedule some other meeting of the National Action Committee while you are here. I believe I told you before that the Richies have offered you a place to sleep.

The Miami Action Institute is rapidly filling up. We shall have students from the south from most of the states. Also, it looks as though we should have the full thirty participants, although I still have hopes that we can cut it down to twenty-five. We have just heard from Miami and understand that three of the dime stores will open service to all on August 1st. We feel that the Institute had something to do with this. When I wrote to Mr. Harrigan of Woolworth, I enclosed a copy of the Institute announcement, and suggested that we would appreciate having the dime stores opened before the Institute began.

Robert Boyd was in town for more than a week and had discussions with various people on the National Action Committee. At our meeting, there was so much hesitation about his ability, that we simply continued him on a temporary basis until Labor Day. He is now on his way to Greenville, South Carolina, and we hope that he will be able to be of service there. At any rate, this will give him some chance to show whether he has ability as a field secretary or not.

We have some other field possibilities. Tom Rose, a young white student who is going to the Institute and has traveled rather widely to the student movements in the south, is interested in a field job. He has impressed all of us. Richard Haley, of course, would be excellent if he decides to take the job. However, at this

Charles R. Oldham, Esq. July 29, 1960

point, he has only decided to come to the Institute and, on the basis of his experience there, to decide whether or not he wants to work on a permanent basis. It might be well for you to drop him a note. He is at Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tennessee. He will be arriving at the Institute several days after it opens, as this is the only way he can manage it since he is not free at Highlander until August 16th. We are also interested in Jack O'Dell, who has worked with the Youth March and with the Martin Luther King, Jr. Defense Committee.

Marvin Robinson is apparently doing an excellent job in Louisiana. Mr. McCain is now with him.

Give our regards to Marian.

Sincerely yours,

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary

JRR:mmc

CHARLES R. OLDHAM
ATTORNEY AT LAW
722 CHESTNUT - ROOM 218
ST. LOUIS 1, MISSOURI
CHESTNUT 1-5088

Lit
them to
JRR

July 15, 1960

CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Jim:

Would you please send the following literature free of charge to

Mrs. Paul Scheiber
530 Purdue Ave..
University City 30, Missouri

She is the chairman for the civil rights division of the League of Women Voters and you might place her on the contribution list.

The literature she desires is as follows:

✓ 25 copies - This is CORE
✓ 25 copies - CORE action discipline
✓ 5 " - Sit Ins
✓ 5 " * Cracking the Color Line
✓ 2 " - Evaluation of Miami Action Institute of 1959.

I will see you in August, probably the afternoon of the 4th. Will write later for further details.

I would have sent the literature from here, but we are out of everything. Let me know how much St. Louis CORE owes on the party.

told Jula to send bill July 21

Charles

Charles

sent
7/18/60

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-0408

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Algernon D. Black
Allan Knight Chalmers
Grenville Clark
Earl B. Dickerson
Eugene E. Frazier
Harold Gibbons
Rabbi Roland B. Gittelsohn
Sidney Hollander
E. Stanley Jones
Martin Luther King
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A. J. Muste
A. Philip Randolph
Ira DeA. Reid
Jackie Robinson
Arnold M. Rose
Lillian Smith
Howard Thurman
Goodwin Watson
Jerry Wurf
Charles S. Zimmerman

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chairman
Henry Hodge
vice chairman
Anna Holden
secretary
Lula A. Farmer
treasurer
James Peck
CORElator editor

regional representatives
Walter Hayes
George M. Houser
Herbert Kelman
Frank Robinson
Rev. Charles Smith
Earl Walter

STAFF
Gordon R. Carey
field secretary
L. W. Holt, Esq.
field secretary
James T. McCain
field secretary
Marvin Rich
community relations director
James R. Robinson
executive secretary

August 19, 1960

Dear Friend:

Very significant progress has been made in ending lunch counter discrimination throughout the South. Since February 1, lunch counters have been desegregated in eighty-seven communities. We have reached agreement to end discrimination in a number of additional communities.

The attached list shows those communities which have desegregated. Asheville, Raleigh and Fayetteville, North Carolina; Lexington, Kentucky; Coral City, Florida; Amarillo, Texas; and Fort Smith, Arkansas should also be included. We thought that you would be much interested in receiving this account.

In spite of the very substantial progress we have not yet been wholly successful. Tallahassee, Florida where our CORE members were jailed and other communities in South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia and Florida have not yet opened to all. These are communities in which there have been sustained sit-ins by CORE groups and others. We shall do all that we can to insure that these cities establish democratic serving policies.

Our reports indicate that the public and the employees of the stores involved have accepted the change with dignity and good humor.

Your support during the past year helped bring about this civil rights revolution. I want to take this opportunity to thank you.

Sincerely,

Charles R. Oldham

Charles R. Oldham,
National Chairman

CRO:mmc

CHARLES R. OLDHAM
ATTORNEY AT LAW
722 CHESTNUT - ROOM 218
ST. LOUIS 1, MISSOURI
CHESTNUT 1-5088

October 18, 1960

Dear Gordon,

Enclosed please find charge of $253.00 for shipping 14,000 pounds of used clothing to Tenn.

Please make the check payable to the Hoover Motor Express Co., Inc. and mail it to me. I want to check on delivery before I send them the check.

We are having an affair soon to raise money for this purpose - and we will probably be able to reimburse you for most of this. Story with pictures will arrive in the next day or so. Pictures are being developed.

Congrats for the fine work on Woolworth etc. I was wrong about calling off boycott.

Hello to all

Charles

November 4, 1950

Mr. Charles R. Oldham
5227 Westminster Place
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Charlie:

We have tried to keep the CORE groups better informed of developments throughout the country and of the role that the national office and other groups have been playing. We hope that this has been of help to you.

There is one way in which we believe that we can be more helpful. Last week we sent out eight press releases on our activities. These went to the weekly and daily press and to selected magazines. We could also place <u>one</u> representative of each CORE group on our press list. This person could be assigned to read the releases and report to the group at meetings. These should not be sent for personal information but for use of the group.

In this way the groups could be better informed and also have more readily available the techniques developed by other CORE groups. If you would designate a person to receive these mailings, I would be happy to add him to the press list. Your CORE chapter should have someone responsible for contacts with the local press.media. You may wish to designate this person.

Thank you so much.

Sincerely yours,

Marvin Rich
Community Relations Director

MR:jal

5 November, 1960

Charles R. Oldham
5227 Westminster Place
St. Louis, Mo.

Dear Charlie:

Enclosed is a carbon copy of a letter you sent to Gen. Shoup, head of the Marine Corps. Also enclosed is a news release which gives some of the background on this situation.

Have not yet received any material on the employment of Negroes in the St. Louis banks. There has been no mention of this in the St. Louis papers. It seems to me that St. Louis-CORE is hiding its light under a bushel and that this is having an effect. The last issue of Sepia was extensive in its coverage of St. Louis and dismal in its failure to mention St. Louis CORE. I think someone in CORE should write a letter of protest indicating the responsibility for many of the changes described.

One issue of the CORElator is at the printer's now and should be out by the end of next week. But there is another issue in the works, of course. Please write and tell me about what you've been doing.

Cordially,

Marv

MR/dm

December 7, 1960

Charles Oldham
5727 Westminster Place
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Charlie:

Enclosed is the check for your hotel bill. The check is for $93.45 -- the amount of your hotel room. I'm sure we owe you lots more but you didn't really itemize it in a way the auditors will accept. Please list the $1.50 and say cab fare, okay?

How about writing something for the next issue of the CORKlator in a week or two? My best to Marion.

Cordially,

Marv Rich

MR:jl

December 16, 1960

President Eisenhower
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear President Eisenhower:

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) has two immediate concerns which we feel compelled to bring to your attention. We believe you will see the necessity of executive action in both.

First, we are concerned about the organized attempts in New Orleans to deprive Negro children of their constitutional rights to equal educational opportunity. Enclosed is a sample of the petition circulated by CORE and signed by over 100,000 persons. These signed petitions are being sent you by parcel post. We feel that a strong statement by you would go far in alleviating the tensions in New Orleans. The nation looks to you for moral leadership.

Our second concern is with the widespread current abridgement of the rights of freedom of speech guaranteed by the First Amendment. The world sees in America the symbol of freedom, equality and democracy. Yet, today many Americans -- white and Negro -- are denied freedom of speech by restrictions placed on peaceful protest and dissemination of literature.

Recently in Sumter, South Carolina six CORE members were arrested for peaceful picketing. Two others were arrested for passing out leaflets. Yet, federal courts have held many times that the right to picket peacefully and to leaflet are protected constitutional forms of free speech.

In New Orleans, just last week, nine CORE members were arrested for passing out leaflets. There are many more instances which could be cited.

The Congress of Racial Equality respectfully requests an audience with you at your earliest opportunity to discuss these matters.

Charles R. Oldham
National Chairman

CRO/ckh
enc.

January 20, 1961

Mr. Charles R. Oldham
5227 Westminister Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri

Dear Charlie:

I figured that you probably don't have enough to do with your time so I thought you might want to see this batch of field reports. I have sent some copies of field reports to Henry and thought that you might find these interesting. All but one are by Joseph Perkins -- the other is from Genevieve Hughes. Generally they are short and should give you some feeling of how the new staff operates.

As always,

Gordon R. Carey
Field Director

GRC/jl
Encls.

January 27, 1961

Mr. Charles R. Oldham
5227 Westminister Street
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Charlie:

I don't know who is responsible for getting out the St. Louis CORElator. It is too good to have been done by you so please pass on my congratulations to the appropriate person. This is the kind of thing which more of our local groups should be doing. I do hope that you plan to continue publishing it at least on a quarterly basis. If you did this each individual story could be more detailed and thus more interesting.

As I have told you many times previously I think there is enough material in St. Louis for a major pamphlet on employment by CORE. In any case, we can use the photos of the individuals that you show in the CORElator. I would also like to secure copies of your correspondence with Biedermann's, Boyd's, Wolff's, Woolworth, McCrory's, the Bank of St. Louis, the Mercantile Trust Company, Lamvert's and Greenfield's. I know that this is a lot of useless paper but if you could verifax or verifax copies of this correspondence it would be most helpful.

Also short statements from the individuals pictured as to how they like their job or how their present job contrasts with their previous one could be very dramatic. We could also use personal statements from those who participated in the negotiations as to how they felt at the time and how they feel now.

I know that this is a tall order but it isn't necessary to do everything at once. Please send me the photos right away and do try to give me the other information as you secure it. Once again, the St. Louis CORElator was great. Hope to see you all at the CORE Council meeting soon.

Sincerely,

Marv Rich

MR/jl

February 27, 1961

Mr. Charles R. Oldham
5227 Westminister Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri

Dear Charlie:

I am enclosing a copy of Genevieve's Philadelphia field report. Presently she is in Washington, D. C. helping to reorganize that group. There is also the possibility of a group in Arlington and in Silver Spring, Maryland. Haley has been stationed for the next couple of months in Fayette and Haywood' Counties. You know where Gaither is, and McCain is sticking' quite close to South Carolina. Perkins is now in Kansas City working with a professor from the University of Kansas in organizing a group. If you have any contacts there I would appreciate getting them right away.

I have recommended to the action committee that the probationary period of Perkins and Hughes be extended for another three months. We have had some complaints about both of them and it is my feeling that they should be given a few more months trial before being made permanent. I am also recommending that they be given the same increase as Gaither and Haley even though they will not become permanent and are not guaranteed it under the contract.

I really hate to extend their non-permanent status, but especially in the case of Perkins I feel he needs a little reprimand. I would like to get your frank feelings about the present members of the field staff. I believe that we are going to have somewhat of a problem in the next year or so. That is, I don't see how we can expand staff, but there are some persons interested in working for us who may be preferable to one or two of the present staff members. This presents a real problem since it means either simply keeping all the present field secretaries and missing out on good opportunities, or letting one or two of the present staff go. I would really hate to do this, but on the other hand, we can't very well do with a second class field staff if we have a better alternative.

Please let me hear from you as soon asspossible. I know that it is difficult for you to judge since you have had so little contact with them. Give my best to Marion.

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Field Director

CHARLES R. OLDHAM
ATTORNEY AT LAW
722 CHESTNUT - ROOM 218
ST. LOUIS 1, MISSOURI
CHESTNUT 1-5088

March 9, 1961

Mr. Gordon Carey, Field Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Gordon:

In a recent letter you requested that I give you my impressions of a couple of our field workers; i.e., Genevieve Hughes and Joe Perkins.

My reaction to Perkins is favorable. However, I have not had any opportunity to observe his work in the field, but I felt that he did a good job at the council meeting, and while his field reports tend to emphasize the "I", I don't think this is a serious drawback.

In regard to Genevieve, I have serious reservations about her abilities to do an effective job for CORE. I am making this observation from the field reports that she has submitted and from the reaction various delegates at the council meeting expressed to me about her personality. The thing which concerns me in her field reports is the great deal of analytical material relating to the thought procees and character analysis of the various individuals with whom she is working. She definitely goes overboard in this area, and her field reports read sort of like a miniature Kinsey report. By that I mean she is not reporting upon their sex activities, but rather upon their CORE activities in a psychiatric examination of their motives, impulses and behavior patterns. I am not sure what her previous experience was, but she must have been a psychiatric social worker.

I agree with you in your observation that if we have individuals who will not contribute to CORE that we should definitely make arrangements for severance of relationships in order to get more competent individuals. You really should be able to tell at the end of a six-month period whether the person has shown enough promise to make a fairly good evaluation of the potential abilities. I know that it is difficult to fire somebody, but

this is one of your responsibilities as Field Director, to make recommendations in this area, and I don't think that you should be backward about it. You are the individual that has the closest contact with the field secretaries, and your recommendations should be of a positive nature so that Farmer and the Action Committee can take whatever steps are necessary for the good of the organization.

I hope this answers the questions you had in your letter.

Very truly yours,

Charles R. Oldham

Charles R. Oldham

CO:BB

P.S. — This letter sounds as if I feel you that Hughes should be fired — I didn't exactly mean it that way — My recommendation as to her is negative & I feel someone else would do a better job — this is from limited contact — you have had a better opportunity to observe than I have had. — If you have reached the same conclusion that I have, then she should be released — if your evaluation is different — then perhaps she should be kept. — The ultimate responsibility of course lies w/ Farmer & the NAC.

CHARLES R. OLDHAM
ATTORNEY AT LAW
722 CHESTNUT - ROOM 218
ST. LOUIS 1, MISSOURI

CHESTNUT 1-5088 -- EVERGREEN 2-6051

April 27, 1961

Mr. Manual Drumm
Attorney at Law
113 West North Street
Sikeston, Missouri

Re: Sit-In Cases at Sikeston, Mo.

Dear Mr. Drumm:

This letter will serve to confirm our telephone conversation of this morning wherein I advised you that May 17 at 9 o'clock in the morning would be inconvenient because of previous obligations of my own and the fact that many of the defendants are students and would have difficulty in getting away from their classes. I am therefore requesting that the matter be continued approximately ten days or two weeks to a Saturday at two o'clock in the afternoon.

It is my further understanding that your office is considering dismissal of these cases. In the event the City does not dismiss these cases, I request that you give me at least a week advance notice in order that I may make arrangements for all defandants to be present.

Your cooperation in this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

Charles R Oldham

Charles R. Oldham

CO:BB

Dear Marvin: This is not for publication at this time, but the City Attorney of Sikeston has assured me that the cases will be dismissed and that the restaurant at the bus stop in Sikeston will now serve everyone. This information may be released in approximately two weeks.

C. R. O.

May 15, 1961

Charles R. Oldham
722 Chesnut Street
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Charlie:

The art auction was a success - we received more than $9,000.00. Expenses were less than $800.00, so we did alright. The next day we received azcheck for $5,000.00 from Mrs. Levinson. She's the gal that Tom Roberts and I visited about a year ago. I've been trying to follow up with her ever since, but this is the first real result. At this stage of the game we have about $15,000.00 in our operating account and outstanding bills of only $10,000.00. We will pay them off very quickly.

I am enclosing a copy of the recent memo to Jim which will give you some idea of the fund-raising plans for the next period. However, another memo is on the works of my plans for spending the money for new publications. So don't be too optimistic. It's always my philosophy that we should keep it coming in both ways.

Freedom Ride has been a significant success so far. Publicity in the South has been magnificent though I think that there has been relatively little of it in the North. But throughout the South people are talking about CORE and this helps to assure our future. There is one disturbing development, Thurgood Marshall continues to make nasty cracks about us. I have asked Tom Roberts to arrange a meeting with him. I am not sure that this will be effective but if it doesn't succeed then I think Jim Farmer and you should discuss some stronger action.

Do you have any suggestions about the Convention program? It is getting quite close and I am a little disturbed that the day to day rush of activity keeps us from planning this adequately. My best to you.

Cordially,

Marv. Rich

MR:nm

PALO ALTO MEDICAL RESEARCH FOUNDATION
860 BRYANT STREET, PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA • DAVENPORT 6-8120

MENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE
777 BRYANT STREET, PALO ALTO
DAvenport 1-3055

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Mr. Charles R. Oldham, Chairman
CORE.
38 Park Row
N.Y. 38, N.Y.

Jan 14, 1962

Dear Mr Oldham,

I am assuming that you are the same Charlie Oldham that I ~~met~~ at CORE meetings in St. Louis about 10 years ago in the days of Billie and Joe Ames. I was a law student at Harvard Law School and helped demonstrate at Forums, Woolworths, Sears Roebuck. My girl friend at the time, Becky Brown - now my wife also participated. Of course your wife Marian, was very active - please give her our regards.

After finishing Law School I decided I wanted to become a psychiatrist which I have done - but what with medical school and residency etc I have had little time for real participation in CORE activities. Recently we moved from Boston - where I had been for psychiatric training to Palo Alto (near San Francisco). I find myself in the long sought after position of considerable financial security and some leisure time. I think I could be of help to CORE on a local or perhaps national basis and essentially I am asking you to refer me to the appropriate people. Both Becky and I remain very interested and certainly financially are able to be of increasing help.

Sincerely,

Robert S Spitzer

January 19, 1962

Mr. Robert S. Spitzer
Palo Alto Medical Research Foundation
860 Bryant Street
Palo Alto, California

Dear Robert Spitzer:

Thanks so much for the contribution of $100.00 which you addressed to Charlie Oldham. Charlie is still in St. Louis and may be reached at 5227 Westminister Place.

I too was in the St. Louis group and remember those days with some nostalgia. Since Washington U. and the army I worked for the Teamsters and now for CORE. Its been an exciting and rewarding few years.

The chairman of the San Francisco CORE group is Bob Slattery. His address is 480 - 29th Avenue and the chairman of the Berkeley CORE group is Tony Saletto, 1709 Milvia. I think that you will find both of these groups active.

I will forward your regards to Charlie Oldham. He will be in New York in about a week.

Sincerely yours,

Marvin Rich
Community Relations Director

MR/jb

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, N. Y.
January 29, 1962

TO: CORE groups, Officers and Advisory Committee

FROM: Gordon R. Carey, Field Director

RE: 1962 National Council Meeting

Council arrangements are completed. The opening session will begin promptly at 9:30 Saturday morning. In view of this, we urge you to arrive Friday night. The Council agenda is enclosed. We will be pressed for time. If necessary, we can utilize the time immediately after the banquet so be prepared to stay for a session later on Sunday.

REMINDERS:

Dates: Saturday and Sunday, February 10-11. Beginning 9:30 A.M. Saturday, ending Sunday evening.

Place: All sessions will take place at the Kemper Lane Hotel, Kemper Lane and McMillan, Cincinnati, Ohio. Telephone: WOodburn 1-6480

Co-hosts: Cincinnati CORE and Covington, Kentucky CORE

Banquet: Speakers, Mr. James Farmer, Dean Stuart Nelson of Howard University and Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth

Cost: There will be a $5.00 registration fee, payable upon arrival at the council meeting. The cost of the banquet is included in the fee.

Allow $1.00 per day for transportation, and $1.00 per meal for food.
Housing.....will be available at the Kemper Lane Hotel
The rates are: $4.00 per person per day for a double room
$3.00 per person per day for four in a room

Housing: Free housing will be made available to delegates. This housing is in private homes, and can be guaranteed only for voting delegates. It is quite likely that there will be enough free housing for all delegates. If there is not, then the delegate will be expected to pay his own hotel bill. Free housing has been secured for all who have registered to date.

Registration: All registration should be done through the National Office. If it becomes necessary, or is requested, we will make hotel reservations for you.

Arrival: Upon arrival, proceed to the Kemper Lane Hotel, (Council Headquarters). You will then be taken to prearranged housing accomodations.

November 26, 1963

Mr. Kenny Johnson
State Industrial Detention Home
for Juvenile Delinquents
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Kenny:

All of us in the National Office were shocked to learn that you and Willie had been sent to the Juvenile Home. Please be assurred that we are taking every possible legal step to have you freed and to prevent this from happening again. What are the conditions like inside? Of course, being inside has some advantages--or do they make you do your homework there also?

By the time you get this, the noted fok singer, Leon Bibb, should have appeared in Plaquemine. Gardner Taylor has also been there. Hope that these figures have done something to lift morale and to get things moving again. Now that the registration books are closed, I believe that Plaquemine' is quite quiet.

We had a meeting out in Los Angeles about a week ago and Rev. Davis came out quite unexpectedly. It was good to see him. I had hoped to be back in Louisiana myself before now, but it appears that I really won't be able to do so soon. With my new job in the office--Assistant to the National Director--I'm pretty much tied to the desk for the time being. I also ran into Rev. Davis' brother, Frank Davis, here in New York. He is a singer and has' indicated that he would do some benefit for us here.

If you get a chance, please write. It would be great to hear from you. You can be sure, Kenny, that all of us appreciate the tremendous sacrifice that you are making for progress. Don't be discouraged! We shall overcome!

Sincerely,

Gordon Re Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

P.S. Jim Farmer and Jim McCain
send their highest regards.

GRC:lp

Philadelphia: Policing the Police

RUTH MAROSSI and GERALD KREFETZ

"POLICE BRUTALITY in the United States today is a serious and continuing problem in many parts of the country." This was the finding of a recent report by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, a body created by Congress. Though most police departments work in a decent and lawful manner, the commission was "concerned about the number of unconstitutional and criminal acts committed by agents of American justice who are sworn to uphold the law and apply it impartially."

If the third degree is the most flagrant violation, it is by no means the only one. Harassment, illegal search and seizure, refusal of permission for an arrested person to telephone his family or lawyer, discrimination based on race, religion, or national origin, shakedowns, destruction of property—all these, the report indicates, are common.

The United States has a rapidly growing crime rate. In the decade ending in 1960 the number of serious crimes rose four times as fast as the population. The last two years witnessed an increase of sixteen per cent, though lately this precipitous rise has shown signs of abating. Under these circumstances it is hardly surprising that both official and public pressure are brought to bear on police departments to solve and if possible prevent criminal acts. Unfortunately, the result is sometimes overzealous law enforcement.

Many cities have internal police boards presided over by police officials who are primarily concerned with breaches of regulations within the force. Their make-up, viewpoint, and normal obligation all tend to favor the police. Even if the board should find in the complainant's favor, there is little it can do for him. The offending officer may be disciplined, but the victim receives little more than psychological compensation, for only in rare and extraordinary circumstances is a police record destroyed by the authorities. Consequently, after a run-in with the law, one must forever admit to an arrest record on applications for employment, naturalization, passports, and on other legal forms. Qualifying the answer with lengthy explanations often merely serves to arouse and increase suspicion.

PHILADELPHIA has been making a noteworthy effort to find a solution to this state of affairs. An experiment has been carried on there that guarantees an impartial hearing to victims of police mistreatment. In 1958, Mayor Richardson Dilworth established a Police Advisory Board composed of civilians to hear com-

plaints. In cases of false arrest the citizen is guaranteed not only a written apology by the police but also the privilege of having his arrest record destroyed before his eyes.

For a number of years several Philadelphia civic organizations—the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission, the Civil Rights Committee of the Philadelphia Bar Association, the American Civil Liberties Union, the NAACP, the American Friends Service Committee, and the National Conference of Christians and Jews—had discussed the need for such a board. The incident that finally shocked Philadelphia into action concerned a patrolman who assaulted a superior and who on two separate occasions committed brutal attacks on private citizens. The police department board charged him only with insubordination. This led Councilman Henry W. Sawyer III to observe that such departmental inquiries were "a farce when it comes to hearing civilian cases."

On September 30, 1958, the mayor appointed five prominent Philadelphians who were willing to serve the city in a unique experiment, among them Clarence Pickett, a Nobel Peace Prize winner and executive secretary emeritus of the American Friends Service Committee. Because of increased case loads, the board has recently been enlarged, and two panels of four members each will hear cases alternately.

The procedures are simple and direct: anyone with a complaint against the police who files a statement within ninety days can have his case reviewed. If in the opinion of a member of the board the complaint warrants investigation, it will be thoroughly examined by a special police investigator. A public hearing is scheduled after complainants, police, and respective counsel have been given sufficient notice. Strict rules of evidence are not followed; the board attempts to keep the proceedings as informal as possible. The civilian board in no way conflicts or interferes with the jurisdiction of the police disciplinary body. It is purely advisory and its recommendations are not binding.

Here is how the board operated in one difficult case. Shortly after three o'clock on a Monday morning, a car was stopped by the police. A white clergyman was on his way home after lecturing at a university some distance away. The other occupant of the car was a Negro student, a girl. When the clergyman asked why he had been stopped, the officer first replied that it was a "routine check," but then hinted at prostitution. At the station house, the officer in charge said that seeing a racially mixed couple was reason enough to suspect prostitution. The clergyman requested a hearing by the civilian board "because of the embarrassment caused us . . . the arbitrary and unwarranted detention . . . and

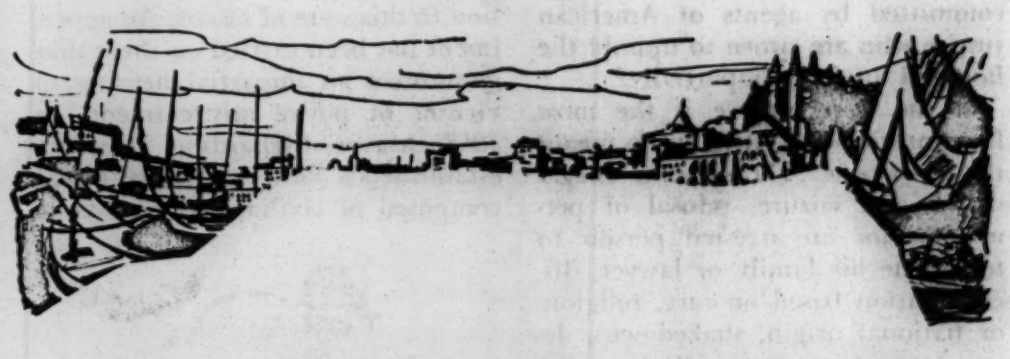
perhaps illegal arrest." After investigating, the board found that the car had been stopped and its occupants taken to the station house merely because the couple were of different races. It recommended that the officer involved be suspended for two days and given a departmental reprimand; he was also asked to write a letter of apology. Moreover, the board requested that a departmental directive clarify policy and prevent such incidents in the future. Here, as in other cases, police officials co-operated fully with the board and acted on its suggestions.

Within the last year, increasing publicity has doubled the number of cases brought before the board. More than half are settled amicably without hearings, and the board has found in favor of the police as often as against them. Indeed, in some cases the board has praised the "self-control and restraint as exemplary and befitting a professional police officer" in the face of civilian abuse and insults.

As one might expect, many cases presented to the board involve Negroes, who now make up nearly a fourth of Philadelphia's population. As James Barker, former head of the Philadelphia branch of the NAACP, has said, "Police violence has always been the lot of the Negro. It seldom receives much notice, nor have the maltreated complained very loudly." At least the new arrangement makes it more possible for those who feel they have been mistreated to register their complaints. But actually, complaints from Negroes, while numerous, have not been disproportionate. And the board's records indicate that cases come from all racial groups and classes, white as well as colored, businessmen as well as laborers.

THE Philadelphia experiment has been in operation for only about four years—still rather a short time as municipal institutions go. Nevertheless, it has already made its mark despite meager funds and a small staff. There has, of course, been opposition to the board. It has been accused of existing merely to protect the rights of a small part of the population. "Minority groups are handled with kid gloves, given every advantage far beyond what is due. You call them 'minority groups,' I call them high-pressure groups," remarked Bernard Lemisch, a leading attorney for Philadelphia's Fraternal Order of Police. "The board is a kangaroo court. No outsider should sit in judgment on the police. Civilians don't understand police procedures."

The main criticism from the police association, however, really lies elsewhere: it complains that the police cannot do an effective job if someone is looking over their shoulder. The 1960 meeting of the National Conference of Police Associations declared that police review boards were subverting and undermining law enforcement. Since then, patrolmen's benevolent associations have taken strong stands against the establishment of review boards in a number of other cities where Philadelphia's example is being studied or is already being followed. It must be noted, however, that Philadelphia's crime index, as reported to the FBI, has decreased although the national average has risen in recent years. This would not seem to indicate that Philadelphia's police force has been either demoralized or undermined by the board's efforts to protect citizens against police brutality.



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Robert Brut -

AUG 7 1963

STATE OF NEW JERSEY
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
TRENTON

RICHARD J. HUGHES
GOVERNOR

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Thank you for your telegram of July 3, and please excuse this belated reply, which results from the rather demanding schedule these days.

Your charges concerning "police brutality" during the Barringer High School protest have been called to the attention of the Attorney General. Should any State laws concerning picketing - and the provisions of statutory and decisional law in New Jersey are very clear on the subject - be found to have been violated, the law enforcement authorities will take indicated action.

Thank you for calling this protest to my attention.

Sincerely yours,

GOVERNOR

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

July 30, 1963

NEW JERSEY TERCENTENARY
1664 · 1964

File: Police Brutality

PHILADELPHIA CORE 2229 NORTH BROAD STREET PHILADELPHIA 32, PA.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: DECEMBER 6, 1963
for further information
call PO 5 2229

CORE PROTESTS FINDINGS IN PHILYAW CASE. VOWS ACTION AGAINST POLICE BRUTALITY

Philadelphia chapter of CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) at its membership meeting today, expressed a vigorous protest of the findings in the Willie Philyaw case. CORE Chairman, Louis Smith stated: " This is the result that is always found in such cases. The handling of Officer Tourigan and other such cases that result in acquitals is a reflection on the City Government the Courts, the Police Department, and upon the whole Democratic system. The condonement of lawless acts by the white power Structure is the caouse for more lawlessness. This is what has caused our country so much grief in the past weeks."

Because of the City Action taken in the Philyaw case, CORE today called for an Organizational drive against Police brutality. The group will take the following steps:

1) Place watchers in especially notorious police stations in Negro areas,,with cameras.
2) Solicit cases of police brutality from the Negro community.
3) Where facts warrant, CORE will swear out warrants to arrest offending Officers.

CORE DEMANDS IN THIS DRIVE ARE:

1) That policemen and white citizens who are accused of crimes against the Negro people be tried in the Courts and brought to as speedy a justice as are the Negroes.

2) That Court action be made city polisy for dealing with cases of police brutality.

3) That the Police Department issue a directive against police brutality, harassement and all forms of misconduct by policemen in the Negro Community, under threat of discipline.

4) That harassment of Organizations on picket lines, i.e. picture taking, as in the case of the Fire Department, CORE, and Civil Rights Organizations be stopped.

5) That photographic files of people on civil rights picket be destroyed.

To further substantiate the need for CORE action in police matters, the Organization's Special Projects Committee has released a 3 year summary of Newspaper accounts of police and white citizens involved in cases of alleged brutality and criminal acts. (Copy of said report inclosed)

In order to impliment the CORE program, Chairman Smith has vowed to palce the entire resources of the Organization behind " a drive to expose and stop inhuman and unjust treatment of the Negro citizen."

* * * END * * *

civ. R.W. pulled from political sound truck, because three white men didn't agree with sponsor. Beaten senseless. Police apprehend three white men, and then released them on word from committeemen? There was whitness to crime.

Homicide November 5, 1963
civ. E.S. 13 yrs. shot and killed by irate storekeeper, who claims didn't know gun was loaded.

Ininc. November 16, 1963
del. min. A.S. 52 yrs. owner of store accused of propositioning 12 yr. old girl. Released for mental test. Has record for similar crimes.

Homicide October 26, 1963
P.D. W.F. by Ptl. John Tourigan. Shot and killed during attempt to question him about a watch believed stolen in corner store. Was supposed to haved attacked police officer with a knife.

Assult October 13, 1963
P.D. M. . age 3. Trampled by Mounted Police Park Guards at show in park when they charged crowd of spectators.

Assult October 12, 1963
civ. L.C. attacked by white boys with dogs. ? no arrest)

Rape September 21, 1963
P.D. woman 37 yrs. , raped by two policemen in red car. Held and questioned for twelve hours. Sent to hospital for examination. Five Doctors examined her at once.

? September 7, 1963
P.D. E.B. 14 yrs., died in Youth Study Center while under detention She received no treatment, and she developed appendicitis and Perftonitis.

Assult August 4, 1963
P.D. R.S. claims he was held by one policeman and beated by the other after he inquired as to how much a traffic ticket they had just written would cost him. Claims he got more at the station house. Officers say he attacked them.

Assult June 29, 1963
P.D. F.S. 20 yrs., and her father L.S. 46 yrs. were brutally beaten by policemen after they refused to turn off fire hydrant. Girl was pregnant. Bail set at $300 each.

Rape June 11, 1963
P.D. Two policemen Sgt. James McTague and Ptl. Earnest Trotter took 20 yr. old woman to under pass and roped her according to her story. Also involved was James Grandinette.

Extort April 9, 1963
misc. S.D. claims policemen broke into her house through rear cellar
P.D. window and entered room where women were playing poker. Ptl. Edward Fisher and Gary Mitchell demanded $300 not to arrest anyone. When they couldn't get it they took $75 and left. Were suspended until an investigation could be made.

False April 7, 1963
Arrest Rev. F. was arrested as he left church he was visiting. Police
P.D. were waiting for him due to a tip by a woman that a man wanted by the FBI was in the church. His arrest took place in view

of a large number of the congregation who knew him, and could have vouched for his identity.

Assult P.D. — March 12, 1963
W.M. was shot in leg by Ptl Phillip Wilz at 52 and Market.

Assult P.D. — March 5, 1963
C.H. was slammed against a wall and beaten to the ground by policemen then he was run over by police wagon. This was in front of witnesses.

Assult P.D. — February 9, 1963
C.W. claims he was a victim of unprovoked attacked by Ptl. Votto.

Assult P.D. — January 17, 1963
O.W. was supposed to have been a bystander at a fight between some 40 policemen and 3 youths. He was attacked by 3 policemen and beaten.

Assult P.D. — March 18,1963
D.N. was arrested as scofflaw, Ptl Clarance Zerbe and Joseph O'Keefe claim he resisted the arrest. They beat him in his home, red car and station house. He was charged with resisting arrest and assult on police officers. Also suspended as school teacher.

May 5, 1963
D.N. was cleared of assult charge and police officers were suspended pending investigation. It was proven he was victim not attacker.

Neglect ? P.D. — J.S. died in cell next day after arrest as a drunk, had been beaten when found by police in street. No medical attention was given to him. (23 Police District)

Homicide P.D. — December 1, 1963
Millard McBride- aux. policeman used gun to scatter crowd near dance hall. E.R. shot in back, died due to wound. McBride charged with involuntary manslaughter.

Homicide P.D. — October 2. 1962
W.M.B. holdup suspect. Shot in private home.

Homicide P.D. — September 11, 1962
J.G. 15 yrs. ran from policeman did not hault when ordered to do so. Patrolman shoots and kills him. Boys were salvaging scrap metal on demolition site. Demolition co. okayed it.

Homicide P.D. — September 4, 1962
G.W. shot to death after chase in " stolen" car" policeman says victim kicked him in groin (policeman was cleared after verdict of justifiable homicide)

Homicide P.D.	Auguest 4, 1962 E.H. and N.H. were picked up on foot charged with suspision of auto theft. Taken to 20 and Federal St. station, beaten and kicked by 4 policemen, put in cell. Boys were not booked, later they were released.
Assult P.D.	Auguest 1962 W.M. 18 yrs. resisted arrest and fought and bit 3 policemen finally was beaten into submission and arrested.
Assult civ.	Auguest 12, 1962 S.B. 15 yrs. was beaten by gang of white boys, 12 stitches were required to close wounds, Police unable to find anyone.
?	Auguest 14, 1962 T.F. found dead in police station rest room of multiple chest wounds(?) Police say it must be suicide . (rare but not suspicious.
Homicide civ.	D.W. 20 yrs. shot and killed by hospital guard Wikiera at PGH Wilson had been placed under arrest on drunk charge! Supposed to have cut himself in cell after arrest. Taked to PGH for treatment. Ran from treatment roome and got outside then turned and ran back back towards Wikiera who shot him
Rape civ.?	Auguest 29, 1962 Woman stopped by Negro man who claimed he was policeman. Taken to car driven by white man who drove off with her. In wooded place she was questioned and told to undress. She refused and was undressed anyway, raped and taken back to N. Phila. Station and released(case investigated by Capt. Reeves?
Assult P.D.	July 11, 1962 M.H. 25 yrs. (Pregnant) Ptl. Schountz and raiding party forced way into her Apt. Accused her of being K.B. Struck her dragged her out of apt. beat her in hallway pusher her off step into street. Taken in, booked for threat to kikk, assult and battery, inciting riot. Called Nigger Bitch. There were 19 people who turned in names to Phila. Tribune as witnesses.
False Arrest P.D.	May 22, 1962 Man and Woman accused by Ptl. James Plummer of immoral behavior in parked car. Found guilty(not) by Judge Hoffman. What of Ptl. Plummer?
Neglect P.D.	May 14, 1962 C.D. 10 yrs. B.L. 7 yrs. struck by auto driven by Mierzejewski C.D. lied in street for 30 minutes- died. B.L. suffered broken arm. B.L. taken barefoot from hospital to police station for questioning. Said man passed red light to hit them.

Assult P.D.	April 6, 1962 W.G. appeared in trafficccourt for ticket. discharged officer who wrote ticket.Ptl. James Howard followed him down stairs, called out racial epithets, and obsene names. Outside he swung on W.G. fight followed. who was accompanied by wife was drug back by wifeinto court and beaten by police who helped Ptl. Hpward.
Assult P.D.	November 25, 1962 T.D. (pregnant) police rang door bell, when door was opened they forced their way in. Knocked T.D. down when she asked for search warrent struck husband with Black jack beat her again in Police Station. Booked for resisting arrest. Called Sapphire by police.
Assult P.D.	December 25, 1962 G.H. was arrested on charge of indecent exposure, Ptl. Tanzil Walker claims he had to use force whenG.H. hit him.
Assult P.D.	December 19, 1961 R.B. and R.B. were involved in an auto Accident, claimed that Ptl. S Stephen Gana and Ptl. Joseph Mooney shoved B.B.(Miss) when she was slow in producing her credentials, also slapped BR.B.(Mrs.) when she protested. The other driver Mr. F. was also arrested when he protested the treatment of the women, all were held for Court with Bail set.
Assault P.D.	October 17, 1961 Mrs. F.B. and friend were stopped while driving. Miss B. was placed under Arrest for driving without glasses, Mrs. B. was ordered to leave than asked ; what she had in the paper bag. She was pushed around Arrested and Charged with Assaulting an Officer.
Rape civ.	October 7, 1961 Woman was offered ride in car home from Bar by three whitemen on way all three attempted to rape her and did make her commit indecent act. A policeman came upon them in parked car. The men were arrested and charged with rape, assult with intent to ravish, threat to do bodily harm, sodomy, indecent assault, and conspiracy. They were found not guilty of all charges, but conspiracy.
False Arrest? P.D.	September 9, 1961 J. C. gave party in home, police tried to gain entrance and were refused because they had no warrant they watched house from across the street of 3 hours until J.C.'s lawyer arrived, J.C. and guests came out and 10 of them were placed under arrest. Police say they saw drinks being sold through window with aid of spotlight.
Homicide P.D.	H. J. shot in back trying to escape police, accused of trying to steal two skirts from 5&10. H. J. worked, had $18.00 in pocket and thirty suits at home. Witnesses say no warning shot was fired. October 31, 1961

Assault P. D.	June 17, 1961 M. S. was beaten with blackjacks when he was mistaken for truck thief. Mother was visited by officer and asked to drop complaint, also lawyer for M. S.'s employer offered to pay loss salary and medical expense if case were dropped.
Homicide P. D.	May 16, 1961 J. T. was killed by two policemen when he was shot while driving a stolen truck, he was taken to police station to be booked, not to hospital. He collasped and died in station. Dept. saw no reason to investigate. It was stated officers claimed they didn't know he was wounded!
Misc. P. D.	May 20, 1961 Couple forced from bedroom to kitchen to be questioned by Ptls. Joe Flap, Victor Chemerys and John J. McBride, showed no warrant, left without making any charge.
Homicide P. D.	April 14, 1961 R. G. 18, shot and killed. witness said policeman beat and stomped R. G. before he made break for freedom. No warning was given as shot was fired, boy was shot in back.
Assault P. D.	O. J. claims he was pushed through plate glass window by 3 policemen. Three policemen from special squad attempted to question O. J. in restuarant while he was eating. Witnesses say he was beaten without provocation. May 27, 1961
False Arrest P. D.	March 28, 1961 W. D. was arrested charged with operating disorderly house. 17 police made raid, no warrant, stated raid was made on complaint of neighbor. Noone claimed to have made complaint.

mailing to churches

allen

CITY-WIDE COMMITTEE on FAIR POLICE PRACTICES
% CORE, 38 Park Row, New York 38, N.Y.
60 7-6270

ATTENTION: Arthur Williams, Allan Hoffman

Dear Friend:

On December 24, 1963, at 6 P.M. Mr. Jessee Roberts, a Negro from the Bronx, appeared at the National CORE office and announced that he had been beaten, scalded and hung in the position of crucifixion inside a Bronx Police Station House. Mr. Roberts claimed that his tormentors were two well-known Bronx Detectives.

There is no objective means of determining the truth of Mr. Roberts' claim. The Roberts Case is but one of scores of examples of alleged police brutality for which there has been no redress.

Police Commissioner Murphy has recently restated his opposition to a civilian review board. It is tragically apparent that while police brutality remains a major problem in New York--particularly for Negroes and Puerto Ricans--that neither the police department nor the city government is taking effective steps to cope with this problem.

The ad hoc City Wide Committee on Fair Police Protection is now being organized by CORE, NAACP, political groups and other independent action groups in order to combat police brutality.. We need your support.

City Councilman Theodore Weiss now has a bill before the City Council which would meet many of our demands. Our committee needs your help in fighting for this legislation.

We need not only your endorsemmnt but also your physical and financial participation. We are asking all groups to join the June 9th delegation to Mayor Wagner to support passage of the bill.

Also on June 9th, Councilman Weiss will move to get his bill out of the committee for a vote.

Our assembly will add weight to the demand for passage of the bill and we will be able to hear first hand what actions the Mayor and Council are taking.

I am hoping that you will be able to inform us in the next few days about whether:

1) your organization is supporting the drive for the Weiss Bill, by writing to Mayor Wagner, (sending us a copy)
2) whether your organization will send delegates to City Hall on June 9th, at 1:00 P.M.

Please call Arthur Williams or Allan Hoffman and inform them about the actions that you have taken.

Most important of all these things is that you send your delegates on June 9th so that we will have sufficient leverage to move the mountain of Murphy, and the Mayor.

Sincerely,

James Farmer
National Director, CORE

The following groups are part of the CITY-WIDE COMMITTEE on FAIR POLICE PRACTICES

New York City Chapters of CORE
Greenwich-Village-Chelsea NAACP
Jamaica Branch NAACP
Harlem Action Group
Puerto Rican Committee for Civil Rights
East Harlem Action Group
Workers' Defense League
Committee on Police Comm. Rels.
New York Branch NAACP

file - civil. Review Bd.

Wiley
reid 1/26/65

9330 Glasgow Place
Los Angeles, California 90045
January 10, 1965

Anti - Defamation League
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

Subject: Racist attitudes of police

Reference: (1) Article, "Police Boards Smears Hit by Bradley", by Erwin Baker, Los Angeles Times, 12-20-64

(2) Article, "Police Birchites, the Blue Backlash", by Paul Hoffman, The Nation, 12-7-64

Dear Sirs:

In many parts of the country hate groups have penetrated law enforcement agencies.

Reference (1) is enclosed. It discusses how Los Angeles City Councilman Thomas Bradley found a racist and sacreligious paper on the bulletin board of a police building.

The nedd for police review boards locally and a new do-something U. S. Department of Justice should be publicized.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,
Jacob Sherman
Jacob Sherman

Copy to: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
4261 South Central Avenue
Los Angeles, California

✓ Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Police Brutality

January 14, 1964

Mr. Victor S. Gettner
New York Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York City 10

Dear Mr. Gettner:

I am sorry about the delay in replying to your letter of November 20, regarding the allegations of police brutality made by the New York Chapter of CORE. I agree that the NYCLU should be notified of such complaints, and when such complaints emanate from the National Office of CORE, we shall see to it that you are notified.

We now have some 27 semi-autonomous chapters in the New York area, with a very small staff to service them from the National Office. Consequently, we frequently do not know in advance of the plans which any of the chapters may have in this connection. It is not unusual, indeed, that we learn of certain of their activities through the press after the fact. This was precisely the situation with regard to the police brutality allegations to which you refer. All that we can do in this regard is to request that the respective chapters notify the NYCLU when they have such complaints, and that we shall do. This, of course, does not guarantee that such notification will be given, in as much as we are here relying upon volunteers who are subject to discipline only when they have violated the National CORE Constitution or the CORE Rules for Action.

Thank you very much for bringing this matter to my attention, and I hope it will work out to the satisfaction of all concerned.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

cc: Norm
Velma
Dillard

New York Civil Liberties Union

Affiliated with the American Civil Liberties Union

156 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • ORegon 5-5990

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Executive Director

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Roger N. Baldwin
International Work Adviser

NOV 22 1963

November 20, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I noted with interest the allegations of the Congress of Racial Equality, that the New York City Police Department recently treated CORE pickets with brutality. The New York Civil Liberties Union learned of this only through the press. I am writing to you, not only because you are the Director of CORE, but also as a Director of the ACLU residing in this area you are a member of NYCLU.

As you know, the lines of communication are open between the Police Department and George E. Rundquist the Executive Director of NYCLU. While there remains much to be done, I think you will agree that the NYCLU has helped to create in the Police Department an increased understanding that law enforcement officials must observe individual rights.

Our usefulness is greatly impaired when persons and organizations complaining of police lawlessness fail to keep us informed. For instance, pressure towards our goal of a Complaint Board independent of the Police Department is most difficult unless we have detailed knowledge of complaints and their disposition.

May I hope that you will use your authority to the end that NYCLU staff will be notified of all complaints by CORE against the police in the Metropolitan area.

Sincerely yours,

Victor S. Gettner

VSG:pd

cc: Mr. George E. Rundquist
Mr. John de J. Pemberton, Jr.

Police Brutality

1

APR 10 1964

THE POLICE COMMISSIONER
CITY OF NEW YORK

April 7, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

We are as concerned as you are over allegations of misbehavior of some policemen towards minority groups, although we have little evidence to support the majority of charges. We realize that any instances of police brutality could cause great harm and we are ever alert to prevent abuse of police power and to take swift action against those found guilty of this type of behavior.

Recently, doubt has been cast in some quarters over the effectiveness of the Civilian Complaint Review Board procedures. In my opinion, most of these criticisms are due to the fact that few people realize or have knowledge of the work of the Board. For example, in the last ten years, the Board's procedures have been improved to provide for checks and doublechecks against any so-called "whitewashes". We have also made it easier for persons to file complaints and to get a full and fair hearing. A complaint may be made either in person or by telephone or letter or through a newspaper. Formerly, a complaint had to be made in person in the precinct in which the alleged incident occurred. The complaint is immediately brought to the attention of the inspector of the division, who is directed to conduct a full investigation. No precinct captain is allowed to investigate charges against his men.

The hearing conducted by the inspector is supervised by the ranking commander of the Civilian Complaint Review Board, who makes certain that all witnesses are heard and that all questions are answered. Both the patrolman and the complainant have the right to counsel.

When the hearing is completed, a report and recommendation is made to the Civilian Complaint Review Board. It is carefully reviewed, not only by the Supervisor of the Board, but by three deputy commissioners, all of whom are civilians and they all had wide and varied experience.

They are: Deputy Commissioner Walter Arm, a former newspaperman, who is the Chairman of the Board and in charge of Community Relations for the Police Department; Deputy Commissioner Theresa Melchionne, who had been a policewoman and Director of the Policewomen's Bureau, and who is now in charge of the Police Department's Youth Program, and Deputy Commissioner Edward McCabe, a former Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, who is now in charge of the Division of Licenses.

The Board seeks to make certain that all facts are unearthed so that a judgment can be made as to whether charges should be filed against the patrolman or whether such charges were unfounded. The Board, in effect, acts as a grand jury in deciding whether an "indictment" should be returned and passes its recommendations on to me.

The effectiveness of the Civilian Complaint Review Board has won the commendation of many individual groups in this city, including the Civil Liberties Union. I wish to assure you that we will always continue to insist on complete and impartial investigations to arrive at the truth. The Police Commissioner bears the responsibility of discipline of the members of his force and he will continue to fulfill this responsibility. I cannot see how the establishment of an independent board could do anything but weaken this responsibility and diminish the discipline so necessary to the good order and reputation of the Department. (If there is any further information you seek concerning the workings of the Board, please do not hesitate to ask.)

Thank you for your kind comments concerning the "commendable restraint" of the Police Department in the handling of civil rights demonstrations. I assure you that our policy of firm and impartial enforcement, aimed at protecting the rights of all, will continue.

As far as Mr. Callendar is concerned, his actions in a recent visit to Headquarters bore all the indications that it was not made in good faith. It was evident that the sitdown was pre-arranged, for the press was aware it was to take place and the participants came equipped with handcuffs and chains. It was evident that he had made his mind up about certain cases, before he appeared. It was evident the incident was engineered merely for propaganda purposes and to place police in the worst light possible.

Sincerely yours,

Michael J. Murphy
POLICE COMMISSIONER

jjc

WAPNER, RANKOW & COHEN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
37 WALL STREET
NEW YORK 5, N. Y.

GERALD L. WAPNER
MARTIN A. RANKOW
LAWRENCE A. COHEN

TELEPHONE
WHITEHALL 4-3031

April 24, 1964

Michael J. Murphy
Police Commissioner
240 Centre Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Last night, at approximately 10 P.M., my wife and I were returning home from a neighborhood movie. At the northwest corner of 95th Street and Broadway, we and some fifty other citizens were appalled to see a grotesque and mortifying demonstration of police brutality. Three white policemen were slowly and methodically taking turns in beating a negro man. I have no idea what crime, if any, this person committed, but it was obvious that when we arrived on the scene, he had already been fully apprehended and was absolutely no threat to the surrounding policemen. It was also quite apparent that he was not resisting arrest.

The police officers' striking of this man could in no way be construed as self-defense. This was a naked, barbaric, criminal attack, and watching it filled me with a deep sense of shame.

Everyone in the crowd, virtually all of whom were white, were similarly appalled by this Gestapo-like cruelty. When I asked one of the policemen for his badge number and spoke out against this brutality, others joined me in protest.

I am a member of no organization, nor am I a demonstrator, nor an agitator, nor a crusader. It is clear to me that the time has come for you to publicly call out and condemn sick, sadistic members of your force, and to openly acknowledge that these things do happen, and that they revolt you, as a human being, the same way as they revolt me and the other people of our city. I feel that it is imperative that you recognize that there is a greater duty vested in you than the defense of the members of your Department and that failure to forcefully condemn such an instance, indirectly leads to an impression of approval.

How can people have respect for such a police force and hesitate in involving themselves in the reporting of crime to perpetrators of crime?

I am forwarding copies of this letter to Mayor Wagner, Deputy Commissioner Walter Arm and the Congress of Racial Equality. I think

that this is something that should not be quietly brushed over. I am becoming firmly convinced that this type of act happens with horrifying frequency and should be fully exposed for the nightmare that it is.

Very truly yours,

MARTIN A. RABBEN

MAR:mss

cc: Mayor Robert F. Wagner
Deputy Commissioner Walter Arm
Congress of Racial Equality

April 25, 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer, APR 27 1964

I am interested in your charges of police brutality which have been grossly denied by the police department. I am enclosing a letter complaining of such conduct, a letter which was never acknowledged by Mayor Wagner.

Perhaps the letter was passed on to the Police Commissioner. But I doubt it.

Sincerely,

Dominick Del Giudice

124 East Fort Lee Road
Bogota, New Jersey
December 31, 1963

Dear Mayor Wagner,

Yesterday at 6 p.m., at a downtown stairway of the eighth avenue Independent subway at 42nd street, I and many other people witnessed a demonstration of New York City's police department at work, a demonstration which I certainly shall never forget. A ragged, middle-aged negro was dragged and shoved into a corner of the subway station by two policemen. One of the policemen directed the crowd to keep moving, while I clearly saw the other pound the man's face with his fist. Then, apparently feeling that the public's gaze was inhibiting them from fully performing their duties, they directed a subway attendent to unlock a room nearby- a men's toilet I believe- into which they pulled and pushed the man. What occurred within was easy to imagine.

I know that law-enforcement is not a pretty job. Still, it is difficult to imagine what crime this man could have committed that would justify the brutal treatment to which he was subjected. Nor does genuine law-enforcement need to hide its head. Finally, the cause of interracial understanding is not likely to be furthered by the sight of a feeble, confused negro being pummeled by two powerful thugs in policemen's garb.

America is supposed to be a human society, Mr. Mayor.

Sincerely,

Dominick Del Giudice

GEORGE TODT

Respect for Our Police

"The way to procure insults is to submit to them. A man meets with no more respect than he exacts."—HAZLITT.

Emily Post wrote in her book of etiquette many years ago that a gentleman is expected correctly to use forebearance—but this does not mean that he must suffer insolence from clowns without reply. The same thinking, of course, applies to peace officers.

As I write this column, my eye is cocked on a front-page article which commences with a banner headline: "ROCK THROWING MOB INJURES 2 OFFICERS."

It happened in Pacoima recently, when a vile crew of 150 or more old and young punks gathered to resist officers arresting a routine traffic violator who fled to his home. There is no excuse for this monstrous occurrence. It was a vicious riot.

They're Lawbreakers

Worst part of all, it was an intolerable action against legally constituted law and order affecting the welfare of the Republic of the United States.

Now the sad part of this meaningful news item is that it is only one small segment of a larger and continuing evil pattern affecting the rapidly-multiplying breakdown of law and order and justice throughout our entire nation today. This must stop!

We citizens of Los Angeles city ond county are fortunate indeed in having some of the nation's finest law enforcement officers at their posts of duty in this area. Men like Chief of Police William Parker, Sheriff Peter Pitchess, and FBI former chief agent William Simon—the latter only recently succeeded by competent Wesley Grapp.

Except for the superior quality of these men and the outstanding law enforcement groups for which they are responsible, the situation here might be one to make the decent law-abiding citizens of our community quite ready to throw up their hands in disgust.

Who'll Be Safe?

They have steadily refused to bow to minority pleas for "review boards" which would, in effect, make our law enforcement agencies subject to political indoctrination and partisan pressure. Who would be safe on the streets afterwards?

Those who yell for special privileges and favors for their own minority groups are downgrading, at the same moment, all other American minorities.

All of us belong to certain minorities of some kind or another. It is not fair for any to demand treatment above and beyond that of any other, and it is atrocious to scream "police brutality" whenever a dedicated policeman simply does his duty.

For the high-calibre men and women of the LAPD and the Sheriff's Department are among the most dedicated public servants this writer has ever seen or known. They are giving devoted service to hard, exacting chores — and sometimes they give their lives in performance of their duties. Let's honor them.

The real "police brutality" of which we all ought to be ashamed is our occasionally unthinking failure to give credit where credit is rightfully due. All too often we clam up with the police—perhaps imagine they are "against us"—and they are really our best friends!

Back Up Police!

Possibly this frightening so-called "civil disobedience" campaign presently unleashed in the United States, which actually started with the Red-controlled student outburst against the unfairly-maligned House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Francisco several years ago, will now commence to open wide our eyes.

Now is the time for my readers to express themselves in loyal expressions or letters to Parker, Pitchess and Grapp. Let them know that the law-abiding citizens of the community are 100 per cent behind them.

Forebearance is fine, but there must be no more insolence to the police.

Los Angeles

Mr CORE -

We have been residents of this city for almost sixty years and think it is a disgrace the way your people are acting. If they disobey the law, they should be punished the same as any body else. We agree 100% with Mr George Todts inclosed article.

We happen to live in a neighborhood which is almost 75% negro and I'm sick and tired of being yelled at and laughed at by carloads of fresh negroes when I walk down the street.

Our sons were students at L.A. High with the negroes and one was on the track team, an 8 man relay with one other white boy, the rest colored. The only time there were problems was when the team went Manual Arts or Jefferson and then the negroes fought among them selves.

We have Japanese neighbors, American born, and they are quiet well behaved citizens. You never see any of them in any of the demonstrations, they are above such foolishness.

The more we hear about these demonstrations, the less respect we have for your followers. It's about time these people woke up. If they want to be treated equal they should act civilized.

Don't forget, we white citizens have our "Constitutional Rights" also, but the so called Rumford Act nullifies that

Sincerely
A 100% Americans
Mrs Roberts

Bill Police Brutality

MAY 1 1964

IS THIS POLICE BRUTALITY??????????????

THIS IS WHAT YOUR RABBLE ROUSING IS DOING.

Remember the kids in Brooklyn last week. ?

SIGNED:
A FORMER WHITE INTEGRATIONIST

We are starting to lose respect FOR ONE AND ALL.
These incidents are caused by your preaching and teaching them stall-ins, sit-downs, and that they are being abused.

Teach them to behave and live properly and perhaps things will adjust themselves quicker.

It is sad to have your cause set back again to where it started.

But these incidents will do it, and you have precipitated them, preached them, and caused them by your actions and your rabble-rousing speaches.

POLICE BRUTALITY, even before it actually happens is your watch-cry.

SAD! SAD! SAD!

I heard you speak and was on your side. NO MORE since these awful incidents which you seem to condone and have caused by your telling your race to feel sorry for themselves and to step up and be ~~violentxxx~~ violent.

8 Teeners Kill Woman, Stab Mate in Store

By PATRICK DOYLE and LEEDS MOBERLEY

A middle-aged woman was knifed to death and her husband stabbed six times in their Harlem store shortly before 5 P.M. yesterday in an apparently unprovoked attack by eight Negro youths.

The murder victim, who received a single thrust in the heart with a double-edged dirk, was Mrs. Margit Sugar, 50, of 46-10 61st St., Woodside, Queens.

Her husband, Frank, grappled with the killer and finally wrested the weapon away—but not until he had received three wounds in the chest and one each in the right hand, right leg and left elbow.

Expected to Survive

He was placed on the critical list on arrival at Harlem Hospital but after blood transfusions was reported out of danger last night.

The couple, refugees from the 1956 Hungarian revolt, operated the Eve & Pete Clothing Co., a second-hand clothing store at 3 W. 125th St.—a busy location just off Fifth Ave. But crowds of late afternoon pedestrians swarmed past the place unaware of the violence inside.

Sugar told police the group of boys, ranging in age from about 14 to 20, came into the store at about 4:55 P.M. and two of them asked to look at some suits. Nervous at the sight of so many youths and suspicious of their motives, Sugar tried to brush them off with: "We don't have your size."

Without a Word

Without another word, he said, one of the boys whipped out the dirk and plunged it into Mrs. Sugar. Sugar grappled with him and was stabbed repeatedly before he got the knife away. As he collapsed, the killer gang fled.

Julius Levitt, 55, owner of the drug store next door at 1 W. 125th St., heard the commotion but not in time to save the Sugars.

"I heard these screams and thumping and shouts," Levitt told police. "My delivery boy was in the pharmacy and I sent him next door to see what was going on."

Discovers Crime

The employe, Ollie Roe, 20, dashed back to the drug store within minutes. He was trembling.

"They've both been stabbed," he gasped. "They are bleeding bad."

Levitt phoned police.

If robbery was the boys' motive, they failed. The Sugars, who had operated the store since 1960, did not have a cash register and Sugar's wallet was not taken.

Police were dispatched to all nearby subway entrances to head off suspects seeking that means of escape.

A daughter, Judith, 20, collapsed when informed of the tragedy.

The Sugars, who were in the clothing business in Budapest, fled after the crushing of the 1956 uprising by Soviet tanks and came to the U. S.

May 1, 1964

FACTS ABOUT THE CIVILIAN COMPLAINT REVIEW BOARD

(This memorandum is issued for your information to furnish you with the facts regarding the Civilian Complaint Review Board; its aims, purposes and procedures.)

1) The Civilian Complaint Review Board has been in existence for over ten years. Its function is to receive and to make certain that all charges and allegations of the unnecessary use of force by policemen or allegations of abuse of police power are fully and thoroughly investigated.

2) The procedures of the Board have made it easier for persons to lodge complaints or allegations. In the past, a complaint could only be made at the precinct of occurrence and in person. Today, complaints can be made in a variety of ways, either in person, by telephone, by letter or through a newspaper, or community group. Every complaint, no matter from what source, receives full and complete attention.

3) The investigation of such complaints is never conducted by the commanding officer of the unit against which the complaint has been lodged. In other words, if a complaint is made against a policeman in a precinct, the investigation is handled by the inspector of that division. In any case involving the member of any unit, the investigation is always made by the next highest superior rank.

4) The investigating officer is empowered to conduct a hearing to which he calls all witnesses for both sides. Testimony is taken from anybody who can contribute any knowledge or information. Both the complainant and the respondent officer are entitled to be represented by counsel.

5) The Supervisor of the Civilian Complaint Review Board (Deputy Inspector Arthur Savitt) attends most hearings as the personal representative of the Board and the Police Commissioner, to make certain that all questions are asked and that a full and thorough hearing is held.

6) At the conclusion of the hearing, the hearing officer carefully reviews all the testimony and then makes a recommendation, either that charges should be filed against the accused officer or that the charges were unfounded or unsubstantiated.

7) This report and recommendation and a full report on the hearing is then sent to the members of the Civilian Complaint Review Board for review.

8) The members of the Civilian Complaint Revue Board are civilian employees of the Police Department. They are deputy commissioners appointed by the Police Commissioner, and their function is to represent the people of the city and to make certain that a full and thorough investigation is conducted and that the rights of both the complainant and the respondent officer are fully protected.

9) At the present time the composition of the Board is as follows: Deputy Commissioner Walter Arm, in charge of Community Relations, Chairman, a former newspaperman with 25 years of experience; Deputy Commissioner Theresa A. Melchionne, in charge of the Youth Program, formerly Director of the Policewomen's Bureau of the Police Department, and Deputy Commissioner Edward J. McCabe, in charge of the Division of License a former official of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

10) The members of the Civilian Complaint Review Board review each case separately (there is no meeting of the three members to decide on cases; this to insure that each member makes his independent finding.) The members of the Board then either agree with the recommendation, disagree with it or ask for more facts to support the findings. The Board recommendations are then passed on to the Police Commissioner and discussed by him with the Chairman.

.....

NOTE: It should be pointed out that despite the ease of filing complaints and allegations, despite the hundreds of thousands of encounters between police and the people in this city, despite the fact that police make almost 250,000 arrests a year, there has been a steady decline in the number of complaints made, either to this department or to any other agency. The Civilian Complaint Review Board now receives and investigates an average of less than 200 complaints a year. (There were 181 complaints made in 1963.) The experience of the Board has been that about ten per cent of the complaints have enough facts and foundation to result in the filing of charges against an officer. When such charges are filed, the respondent policeman is brought to departmental trial. Penalties in such cases range from reprimands and fines to dismissals. It has been found that the Civilian Complaint Review Board has been an effective channel and agency for the thorough investigation of civilian complaints. The Board is always mindful of its obligation to act as the representatives of the public in these matters and to carry out the policy of Police Commissioner Murphy that the New York City Police Department "has not condoned and will never tolerate the unnecessary use of force by any of its members."

" " " " "

The Ruxton
50 WEST SEVENTY-SECOND STREET
NEW YORK 23, N. Y.
SUsquehanna 7-0800

AUG 11 1964

May 10

Dear Mr. Farmer, I wrote to you sometime ago but can well appreciate that you haven't had time to answer. However I would like to call your attention to the following so that you might refer to same when you are discussing police brutality. I understand that within the last ten years there have been over 100 negroes shot by police even though the prisoner was handcuffed. Also would like to remind you of the incident with the negro soldier who was in perfect health when arrested and the next morning he was fined $50 by some judge in the courts and the poor boy was blind because the officer had been hitting him around his eyes while in jail. You should recall there was a special event at N. Y. Madison Garden for the benefit of his family.

Also would like to have you refer to the fact when you discuss respect for the law that in Harlem exist the tremendous numbers racket, dope racket, prostitution and many other rackets all with the

The Ruxton
50 WEST SEVENTY-SECOND STREET
NEW YORK 23, N. Y.
SUSQUEHANNA 7-0500

feel OK by the police who get a tremendous pay off.

also would like to have you keep in mind that it is most discouraging to live in slums etc but it is even much more discouraging when you are living in the greatest and richest city and in the richest country in the world, It could be less frustating to live in the slums of China or Africa.

I sure wish you my sincere good wishes for success in your cause,

Sincerely

Leo Ametter

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

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national director
Richard Haley
associate
Gordon Carey
assistant
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program director
James McCain
director of organization
Marvin Rich
community relations director

Glenda's copy

May 13, 1964

Dear Friend:

Enclosed is a copy of an affidavit from CORE field worker Richard Jewett. It tells a story of police brutality to those fighting to secure for Negro-Americans their most fundamental right--the right to vote. Also enclosed are excerpts from a letter from Julie Jewett, Dick's wife, to Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall. This too tells a story -- of the anguish and concern of the relatives of those on the front lines of Mississippi.

Dick Jewett has a degree in physics from MIT and an M.A. in Math from New York University. He has a Secret Clearance from the U.S. Army. But most important the Jewetts are human beings who have suffered to end bigotry and racial hatred in this country.

Won't you take some action to help the Jewetts and all of us? Please write to your Senators and ask them to pass the Civil Rights Bill now. Ask them to pass the Bill without weakening amendments. It's such a little thing to do compared to the Jewetts' personal sacrifice.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer

James Farmer
National Director

JF/jj
Enc.

April 30, 1964

Mr. Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
The Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Marshall:

I have not written the Justice Department before regarding this particular incident as I have known that it was investigating the case. I am writing now as I am very concerned by the outcome of the investigation.

I am aware that it is a difficult thing both to investigate and to take action on cases involving brutality when law enforcement officials are involved. I also know that it is most difficult, in fact hardly ever possible, to prove violation of the Federal criminal statutes when police brutality is at issue. I have been studying the 1961 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Report, Book 5 on Justice and am appalled to read about the cases which have gone unprosecuted because no one could prove that section 242 or 241 of the U.S. Criminal Code had been violated.

I realize that in theory it might be best if state or local authorities were able to effectively investigate and correct where necessary its own law enforcement problems. But if they have failed and continue to fail to accept this responsibility, I cannot see how this can be allowed by the Federal authorities to go on when a citizen's basic safety and welfare are involved. The basic safety of one's person is certainly assured by the Constitution. And if federal criminal statutes do not succeed in ensuring a citizen's right to protection under the law it would seem that they are making it impossible for one's constitutional rights to be guaranteed. What kind of statutes are these?

If the statutes have not proven effective over and over again, I am wondering what the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department has planned or is developing by way of procedures to amend, and in the meantime to get around them when needed so that an individual's basic health and safety rights may be protected?

I know that the Mississippi civil rights groups are currently on a campaign to become more sophisticated and accurate in their methods of recording, documenting and following through on incidents of this kind (as well as other kinds.) But studying the federal criminal statutes as cited and discussed in the 1961 report it would seem that no matter how much evidence one has or how thoroughly cases are recorded, it is not going to make any difference. The statutes as presently constructed will be of no help. If this is so, this is a very serious problem to be handled. Again, I wonder if your Department is approaching it.

My husband was able to get up after his police beating. He was fortunate, from what I have heard of other cases. Others have been hospitalized. Many others have been or are now suffering years of pain from police brutality, and some never fully recover, as you well know. I cannot believe that the Constitution has not been gravely violated by this kind of "official" violence. And yet somehow no federal criminal statutes are being violated. There must be something basically wrong here. It does not make sense.

I am concerned about the safety of my husband. For one to say that he is "asking for it" by choosing to be working in the movement in the South is beside the point, I feel. I find it hard to accept that a next time he may be hospitalized, seriously hurt or maimed, and that still no government authority can come to his aid where state authorities have failed. A person's very life is involved here. And this just should not be permitted. I am confident you would agree.

I am equally concerned for the safety of all those who are being allowed to suffer this police terror situation. It just seems to me that the more incidents that are permitted to pass with no correction or prosecution, the more lack of faith in the justice of this country is apt to increase--and among many of those who are fighting the hardest for it--the more tension and anger will develop from the resulting utterly helpless feeling that the Law is not behind one and will not in fact protect one--not even one's basic person--no matter what is done to him.

Mr. Marshall, I have written a number of calm, collected letters on this recent incident. But now that I see so clearly the way it fits into a well developed pattern of the kind of violence which the federal authorities seemingly are not able to handle, I will admit, I am getting increasingly perplexed by this whole problem. Again, I cannot understand how the months can go by with more and more incidents of this kind, far more serious much of the time, and how our government cannot rise to the occasion to do <u>whatever</u> is necessary <u>before</u> the huge mass crises develop to ensure that the safety of its citizens under the law is protected. There is so much talk of the violence-to-come on the civil rights issue, and yet it seems very wrong that one should have to wait till huge crises force intervention before this pattern of police brutality in Mississippi is severely checked.

I would so appreciate your consideration of this letter and anything you could tell me about how this problem can be tackled and what a citizen like myself could do to help further its resolution. I realize I am talking about a state a thousand miles away. But there is where my husband is presently, and on the larger scale, I very much believe that this is a national concern.

Sincerely yours,

Julie Davis Jewett

124 West 81 Street
New York 24, New York

Beating of CORE Worker,
Richard A. Jewett, in
Jackson, Mississippi, Jail
March 30, 1964

My name is Richard A. Jewett. My home address is 124 West 81st Street, New York 24, New York. I have been in Mississippi working for CORE (the Congress of Racial Equality) since mid-January, 1964. During this space of time from mid-January to the end of March I have been working in Canton on voter registration.

On Monday, March 30, 1964, I left the COFO (Council of Federated Organizations) office at 1017 Lynch Street, Jackson, at about 6:30 P.M. and went out to eat dinner. I went with another worker, Miss Helen O'Neal. We went to a place up the street, called Smackover's, where we sat and had a leisurely dinner, including several cups of coffee. Neither of us had any sort of alcoholic beverage before, during, or after the meal.

After the meal was over we went across the street to a drugstore where each of us bought one or two personal items such as a toothbrush, pencils, filling a prescription and the like. We were in the drugstore for approximately fifteen minutes.

We left the drugstore and started to walk back to the COFO office. We were walking side by side on the sidewalk. We were on the north side of Lynch Street and we walking east. By this time it was dark outside, and the time was approximately 7:30 P.M. or 7:45 P.M. Just after walking by the Masonic Temple at 1072 Lynch Street we passed by a police prisoner van. Parked just behind the van was a police car with four policemen sitting inside. We walked by the car, glancing inside but not stopping or paying special attention to it.

After we had walked perhaps twenty steps beyond the police car we heard a call of "Hey!" behind us. We turned around and started back when one of the officers motioned to us. As we reached the officer who had called us (He was out of the car and standing on the sidewalk; all of the other officers remained in the car.), the officer asked me what I had been drinking. I replied, "Nothing." The officer said something like "nonsense" and then, "Come along with me." I gave a package I was carrying to Miss O'Neal, who then walked off towards the COFO office.

The officer opened up the back door of the police prisoner van, a sort of panel truck with wire mesh across the windows in back and benches on both sides and in the front of the back compartment. I climbed in and sat down on one of the side benches. The back door was then closed behind me and locked with a padlock on the outside. Two officers climbed in the front seat of the van; I could see them through a mesh-covered window that looked through from my compartment into the front seat of the van. The van was then driven to the Jackson Police Station, the police car following close behind. Once or twice the van stopped short for no apparent reason, and I was thrown towards the front of the compartment. I learned to hold tight to the bench to prevent anything serious from happening.

When the two vehicles reached the basement of the city jail, the padlock was unlocked and I stepped down and started to walk with the officers towards the elevator. Inside the elevator the light was switched off by the officer pressing the buttons for the floors.

The light was not turned on again until we reached the floor towards which we were headed.

When we reached the room where I was booked I was asked to stand in front of a desk on which there were two typewriters. A form was inserted into one of the typewriters, and a series of questions were asked me. These questions -- name, address, name of mother, name of father, date of birth, and the like -- were the same questions asked of me when I had previously entered the Jackson City Jail, so I believe the questions were all part of the form.

After the form had been completed, the officers started asking other questions. They asked who I worked for, how much money I made, when I got paid -- all of which I answered. They then asked what my wife thought of my dating a Negro girl -- which I did not answer. They asked several other questinns which I do not remember, then they asked if I would deny if I was a Communist. I said that my political beliefs were not pertinent to the charges being placed against me and that I would not answer any questions about my political beliefs. Right after this one of the officers started to hit me.

The officer was standing behind me. We had moved to a desk on another side of the room where my pockets had been emptied and several questions had been asked about the contents of my pockets. Comments were made about how much money I had (about $20) and about a sheet of paper -- very old and crinkled -- with The Movement written across the top and a list of names on it. The officers at one point had asked how long I had been here and I had replied two months. One of the officers said he didn't believe me, that he had ridden up and down Lynch Street many times but had never seen me. After this business with the pockets we had moved back to the desk with the typewriters, and the officers were arranged with two behind me and two in front of me.

The officer who began to hit me was standing behind me. He raised his arm and came down with the side of his hand across my neck. He repeated this motion about half a dozen times, each time striking hard. I gave under each blow but straightened up for the succeeding one. As he hit me the first time he said something like "Nigger-lover" but said nothing for each of the other blows.

After these blows, the officer turned me slightly towards him and started to hit me in the body and stomach and face with his fists. As he did this he forced me back the six or eight feet across the room until I was against the wall. He then took my head in one of his hands and slammed my head against the wall two or three times. After this he pulled me forward and forced me to the ground. While I was on the ground he kicked me several times in the stomach and chest.

I then got up, and he started hitting me on the body again with his fists. He also kicked up with his leg several times and kicked me in the stomach. After this he walked into one of the other rooms off the booking room.

At one point another officer joined in the hitting, but he did very little. The two remaining officers simply looked on the whole time.

The officer who had administered most of the beating came back out of the side room very soon. He was breathing very hard. At this point the officers looked at me and mumbled something about resisting arrest and nodded to each other. I had resumed my position in front of the table with the typewriters. As the officer who had done the hitting typed out something I noticed his name-plate; it read EARL GUESS. I did not notice the names of any of the other officers.

I would estimate that the whole beating took from 30 to 45 seconds.

Shortly after this the jailer came into the room and led me off to my cell. I was kept by myself in one of the investigation cells overlooking the Hinds County Courthouse.

Several of the trustees (Negro) who serviced the cell spoke to me during the next two days that I was there. They asked if I was the fellow who was beaten in the booking room on Monday night. When I replied that I was, they asked why. I said that I was a civil rights worker. Several of the people told me in turn about how they had been beaten when they had come in.

At my trial my lawyer, Mr. Jess Brown, spoke with the prosecuting attorney. I pled nolo contendere, and fines against me of $15 on one count, $25 on another count, and 30 days suspended sentence on the third count were levied. The three counts were drunkenness, resisting arrest, and vagrancy. I believe the two fines were for drunkenness and resisting arrest, the suspended sentence for vagrancy; but there was a mixup at the trial and I do not know.

I served two days in the County Jail before money came to pay my fines and release me.

26 May 1964

Mr. Paul Black
23 Pulaski St.
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11206

Dear Mr. Black:

CORE is certainly concerned about the problem mentioned in your letter of May 13. On June 4, we are having a public hearing in regard to police brutality and other malpractices of the police department. If you have specific information about such arrests as you mentioned in your letter, I would appreciate getting documentation from you as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

MAY 27 1964

James Farmer.

Did you see the
reports on "police brutality" in
New York City in June
week. Its awful. That old blind
man abusing those young
animals. The A. S. P. C. A.
should do something. Some of
our "trouble. citizens would
like to know what branch
of armed services you were
in during world war II
or Korean. will you please
tell us, dear James, on
T. V. how you helped your
country + how many others
people served in combatant
forces. with love.

James Barnett Rock Road
Glen Rock. N J.

John . . .

"If you wouldn't mind," Johnny said tentatively.

"What's that?" asked Harmon.

The boy dug under his pillow and produced a baseball glove. "Would you autograph my glove, too?"

"I sure will," said Killebrew, well, the next time I'm in town I'll take you out to the ball park and you can meet all the fellows."

Johnny's blue eyes shone and he blushed deeply under his freckles. He looked like a boy who didn't plan to waste any time hanging around a hospital bed.

"I have to go out to the ball glove so that they'd be when he wanted them.

P.S.—Killebrew kept his promise.

In the first inning, he belted a homer with a man on. Then in the eighth he blasted another.

(Other picture on page 1)

Hold 3 for Mugging a Blind Man

Kenneth Brown, Winston Gamble and John McCluney (l. to r.).

(NEWS fotos by Charles Frattini)
Harry Levin arrives at Brooklyn Criminal Court.

By JOSEPH GEORGE

Three burly young men accused of the vicious mugging of a short, slight, 54-year-old blind man who is also partially deaf, were held in $10,000 bail each in Criminal Court, Brooklyn, yesterday.

"I won't prejudge this case," said Judge Benjamin H. Schor. "But when you rob a blind man, somebody else will prejudge you much better than I can."

The victim, Harry Levin of 1180 President St., Brooklyn, leaning on a metal cane bent in the melee, stood in court, supported by his wife, Gertrude, and a 20-year-old daughter, Debbie.

Levin's face was battered and bruised and his right ear covered by a bandage. Nine stitches had been taken in the ear when his hearing aid was torn off in the assault in the hallway outside his apartment Tuesday.

Patrolman John Gilligan, who collared the one suspect a block away, also recovered Levin's wallet containing $65. It had been tossed under a parked car. Still missing, however, was a braille watch.

The youth nabbed by Gilligan was Winston Gamble, 20, of 870 Prospect Place, Brooklyn. After questioning, he revealed the names of his companions who were picked up in their homes. They were identified as John McCluney, 16, of 696 St. Mark's Ave., and Kenneth Brown, also 16, of 1148 Union St., both Brooklyn.

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than to find Bobby a j
is a Senate race?

Ex-Marine Gets His Man

A former Marine sergeant became detective for a day and tracked down one of three men he said had robbed him of $3,000 the day before, it came out yesterday.

Robert Fleming, 32, of 1222 Harding Ave., the Bronx, who is now a trucker, on Friday had been stopped outside a branch bank at 1620 Westchester Ave., the Bronx, by a man who jabbed a sharp object into his ribs.

He had just withdrawn $300 and the man forced him back to withdraw another $2,700. When they returned to Mr. Fleming's car, two other men—one wearing a loud yellow straw hat—were sitting in the back. They ordered him to drive off, took the money and fled.

Mr. Fleming drove around the area and spotted a man wearing the yellow hat. He trailed the man to a savings bank, and alerted a patrolman who took Clarence Lewis, 38, of 9 W. 122d St., into custody. Police said he was carrying $1,000 but denied any part in the robbery. Said Mr. Fleming; "I'll get the other two, too." Mr. Lewis was arraigned yesterday on charges of assault and robbery. Bail was set at $5,000.

Two Columbia U. Profs Victims of Street Attacks

Ten hours and 10 blocks apart, two Columbia University professors were attacked and robbed by Negro youths during the week end on the upper West Side of Manhattan.

The victim of the first attack thought it might have a racial basis. Robbery was only incidental, he thought.

About 10 p. m. Friday, L. Carrol Adams, 56, a professor of physical education at Columbia, left a Peace Corps meeting at International House and walked down Riverside Drive toward his car. Between 120th and 122d Sts., a group of 20 or 25 young Negroes ran toward him, hollering:

"Get that white man, we're going to kill you, white man," or something to that effect. They cursed him and called him an uncomplimentary name that is popular in Harlem as a description of whites.

The boys surrounded him, the professor said, and one of them hit him on the back of the head with a pipe, knocking him to the ground. In full view of the heavy traffic on Riverside, they beat and kicked him and took his wallet, keys and wristwatch. The wallet contained $70.

Prof. Adams fought his way to his feet and ran out among the cars on Riverside to try to separate himself from the boys. They followed him.

Meanwhile, one of the passing motorists had reported to Patrolmen Michael Loughran and John Hatton, who were at 125th St. and 12th Ave., that a man was being beaten near by.

The patrolmen went south on the Riverside Drive service road and met some of the boys coming toward them. The boys turned east on Tieman Place and south on Claremont Ave. Halfway between Tieman Place and LaSalle St., the patrolmen caught six of them.

Prof. Adams was treated at St. Luke's Hospital for bruises on his chest, legs and face and a cut on his head. He was released.

Prof. Adams was not available for comment yesterday. At their home in Tenafly, N. J., Mrs. Adams said her husband thought the boys wanted to kill him, in view of what they said.

"Thank goodness he's in good shape and is a fast runner," she said.

Five of the six boys who were arrested were between the ages of 13 and 15 and were charged with juvenile delinquency. The sixth, identified as William Rucker, 16, 201 W. 121st St., was charged with robbery and felnious assault.

Young Rucker appeared in Criminal Court yesterday and was held in $5,000 bail for a May 28 hearing. The five juveniles are to appear in Children's Court tomorrow.

The other incident, a simple robbery, was quick and non-violent.

Prof. John Hazard, 55, of the Columbia Law School, was walking toward his office at 8:20 a. m. yesterday, when five young Negroes accosted him at 113th St. and Morningside Drive.

One of the boys grabbed him around the neck from behind and said, "Let's have your money." The other four emptied his pockets, taking keys, a watch and a wallet containing $30. The boys disappeared into Morningside Park. Prof. Hazard was unable to provide a description of them.

Prof. Hazard told the police that the area was deserted at the time of the robbery. He lives at 20 E. 94th St.

29 May 1964

Mr. Alan Gartner
148 Kirkstall Road
Newtonville, Mass.

Dear Mr. Gartner:

Gordon requests that you send him a half dozen copies of the report which you made for Brandeis University on police brutality. Thank you.

Very truly yours,

Lane Perdue

Lane Perdue
Secretary to
Gordon R. Carey

MR. FARMER -

HERE ARE PICTURES of definite POLICE BRUTALITY. ALSO AN ARTICLE ABOUT A white POLICEMAN SAVING the LIFE of A NEGRO CHILD - THIS BRUTALITY HAS GOT to STOP - Yes SIR -

It IS the TALK of the TOWN that CORE IS A "RED" "RED" OUTFIT - YOUR MAN WHO ORGANIZED the MARCH on WASHINGTON, WHO ALSO ORGANIZED the SCHOOL BOYCOTT IS ON RECORD IN the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD AS A SELF CONFESSED "RED" THE F.B.I NOTIFIED MARTIN LUTHER KING that his FIRST TWO AIDES WERE "REDS" WHAT A BEAUTIFUL IMAGE YOU ARE IMAGING FOR YOUR OWN people. - WILL YOU DISCUSS OR MENTION ALL THE ABOVE EVENTS ON YOUR NEXT T.V. INTERVIEW - WE DARE YOU TO DO SO

time painting and writing poetry. | "To the grand illusion," we repeated.

Citizens Patrol a Crime Sector

By JOSEPH KIERNAN

Alarmed by the growing invasion of lawless marauders from two adjacent high-crime neighborhoods, the Hassidic Jewish community in Brooklyn's Crown Heights section has formed its own Citizens' Patrol Force, it was revealed yesterday.

The CPF consists of more than 100 male volunteers, mostly in their early 20s, who ride the area in three radio-equipped cars from sunset to sunrise, escorting pedestrians home from subway stations and notifying Empire Blvd. police of any potential trouble. The volunteers—some of whom are Negroes—are not armed.

Police Captain Invited

Some 75% of the 400,000 Crown Heights residents are Jewish—about 65,000 of them members of the Hassidic sect. The decision to form the patrol was made about two weeks ago when the wife of a Hassidic rabbi was forced into the basement of her apartment house by a Negro and beaten and cut before she fought him off.

A meeting was called, to which Police Capt. Eli Lazarus, commander of the Empire Blvd. station, was invited to speak. Many complained of the increase in muggings and burglaries perpetrated by invaders from the Bedford-Stuyvesant section on the north, which is predominantly Negro, and Brownsville on the east, which is predominantly Puerto Rican.

Lazarus was instrumental in having units of the Police Department's special Tactical Patrol Force assigned to Crown Heights to augment regular precinct details. This paid off almost immediately when the TPF bagged three youths last week following the mugging of blind Harry Levin in the hallway of his apartment house at 1180 President St.

Capt. Eli Lazarus
Called in by civil patrol

However, the CPF said it will go ahead with its own reconnaissance work despite the addition of the police patrol. Headquarters of the CPF are at 459 Albany Ave. Any Crown Heights resident desiring help can phone the CPF at SLocum 6-5100.

Emil Baer, acting president of the Brooklyn Jewish Community Council, said: "It is a sad commentary when private citizens have to organize to protect themselves."

Cops Rescue Infant in Fire

Patrolman John Lafferty, 25, of the W. 123d St. station, suffered smoke poisoning yesterday when he rescued an 11-month-old boy from a second-floor apartment at 214 W. 123d St., near the precinct station.

Laffery raced up the stairs to the flat followed by Patrolman Edward Ingenito, picked up Troy Perry and started down the steps. He became weakened by the smoke and handed the child to Ingenito. Outside, Lafferty collapsed.

He was taken to Flower-Fifth Ave. Hospital, where his condition was reported good. The baby was treated at Harlem Hospital.

FINAL

DAILY NEWS

NEW YORK'S PICTURE NEWSPAPER®

7¢

Vol. 45. No. 289 Copr. 1964 News Syndicate Co. Inc. New York, N.Y. 10017, Wednesday, May 27, 1964★ WEATHER: Chance of early showers.

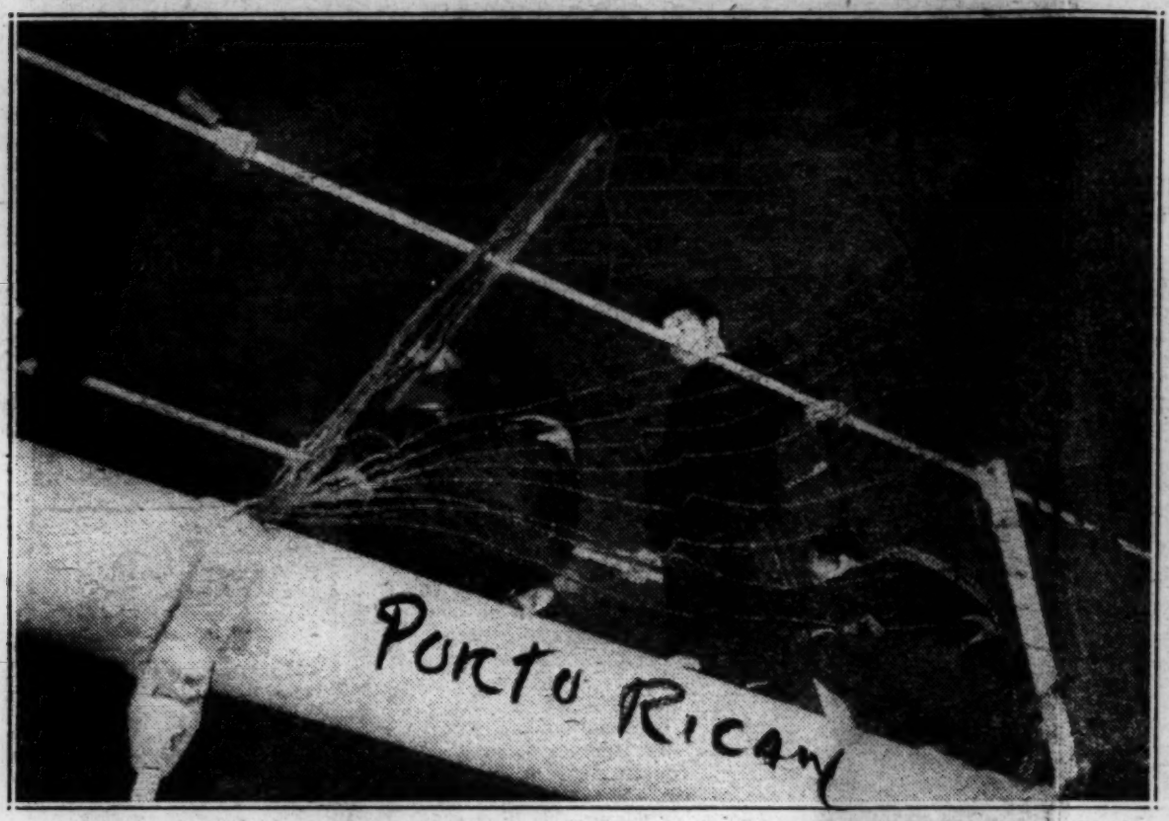
POLICE RESCUE LEAPER IN GALE

'This is My Day to Die'-But He Didn't

(NEWS foto by Vincent Riehl)

Flanked by Patrolmen Frederick Boll and Rolf Andresen, would-be leaper Ismael Fagundo, 30, of 602 W. 137th St., is led to safety from his wind-swept perch at the top of the Brooklyn Bridge's Brooklyn tower nearly 300 feet above the East River. He said it was his day to die.

Story on Page 3



(NEWS foto by Vincent Riehl)

Cops flank Ismael Fagundo on cable. Barbed wire is set up to keep would-be leapers off cable.

Cops Prevent Bridge Leap

By PATRICK DOYLE and PHILIP McCARTHY

While scores of stalled motorists watched tensely, four emergency service policemen inched their way to the top of the Brooklyn Bridge's Brooklyn tower last night to rescue a would-be leaper from his wind-buffeted perch nearly 300 feet above the East River.

After 30 suspense-filled minutes, they brought the man, Ismael Fagundo, 30, of 602 W. 137th St., to safety. From his precarious perch he had told them:

"This is my day to die. I got troubles."

The battle against death began shortly before 8 P.M. when a Manhattan-bound motorist spotted Fagundo slowly crawling up the main cable. He was wearing a blue suit and, when he started, a hat.

Driver Phones Cops

The driver sped to a phone and called the cops. Police from precincts on both sides of the span and from the Emergency Service Division screeched to the scene.

By the time they arrived, Fagundo had reached the top of the tower—150 feet above the bridge's roadway and 277 feet above the water. Forty-mile-an-hour winds already had whipped his hat from his head and were buffeting his body.

Two emergency patrolmen, Frederick Boll and Rolf Andresen, jumped to the cable and climbed after Fagundo. Boll had a rescue rope wraped around his waist.

Behind them crawled two other emergency cops—Patrolmen William Abair and Theodore McDonald.

Shouts at Cops

When Boll and Andresen reached the tower's peak. Fagundo shouted at them:

"Don't come near me, I'm going to jump. I'm going to jump."

The cops talked quietly, calmingly. He was doing a foolish thing, they said. Jumping would not solve anything.

Andresen offered Fagundo a smoke but, as Fagundo reached for the cigaret, the wind whipped it away and to the river below.

"Why are we fooling around here?" Andersen asked. "If you want a cigaret, come on down. I have a whole pack there."

Slip Rope Around Him

Fagundo agreed and, while Andersen continued his conversation, Boll slipped his rescue rope around the would-be jumper's middle and attached the other end around his own waist.

Then, with Fagundo between them, the cops began their descent. During the tense climb down, Andresen kept talking until, finally, they reached the roadway.

Taken to Hospital

Fagundo was taken to Kings County Hospital for observation. He never explained to police just what his troubles were.

(NEWS foto by Vincent Riehl)
Cops lower Ismael Fagundo to safety on bridge.

Happy's Ex Takes New Sweetie, a Teacher, to Party

By NANCY RANDOLPH

Just a little more than a year after his newly-

2657- Merrick Road
Bellmore, Long Island, New York
June 2, 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am very glad that CORE will conduct hearings on police brutality this week. Not only should cases of police brutality be aired, but also police partiality in favor of whites against Negroes. This is also a fault of the mass media, TV, radio and newspapers, especially Channel 4, the Tribune and Times.

For instance, last week three Negro boys were attacked by a white gang at Rockaway Beach. One boy lies paralyzed and another with a brain concussion. This was given just passing notice by the mass media. During the same week (Friday) the Times ran a full page about "Blood Brothers" in Harlem. It has assigned a Negro, Junius Griffin, to go "witch-hunting" among Harlem youth. Who investigated the white gang to find out whether its members are trained and sworn to assault Negroes? Who put white ministers and other leaders "on the carpet" for indirect responsibility, as they are doing Negro leaders such as you? What T.V. station sent out personnel into the streets, subways, and beaches to ask Negroes such questions as: "As a Negro,

are you afraid since the white gang attacks upon Negro people?" Are your people angry?" What is being said about it?" How do they feel about it?" What are they going to do about it?" etc. Channels 4 and 2 did this immediately after the incidents of last week-end! Who probed to ascertain whether that Hofstra student is part of an organized effort to derogate and endanger Negroes?

I cannot help but note how quickly the New York City officials such as, Wagner, Dudley, Murphy, Arm, et al denounced the subway violence and came into a "huddle" to deal with it. What did they say about the Rockaway melée? Where were they? Why is it that they were all around and available, when they almost invariably cannot be found when we have a grievance? Why don't they attack violence committed against (Negroes) us with the same vigor as when committed by us? Would we be allowed to run a "vigilante patrol" allegedly to protect our people? These questions must be asked, not by Malcolm X, but by such leaders as you (whom I respect greatly) because you are always called upon to answer when any Negroes have committed a public offense.

Sincerely,
William D. Jones

Mr. Farmer, what do you think of a "Domestic Peace CORE" as an organization within CORE? I think that it would help to prevent violence, alleviate the misery of the masses, eradicate the ignorance (illiteracy); encourage ambition; ingratiate CORE with the masses, dispel repudiate the deleterious gossip that we have got very much [redacted] concerned about "the miserables". Couldn't we do something to help even those who do not subscribe to integration?

Dear Jim — This is from the London Observer and obviously concerns Britain, but it seemed to me unusually constructive, and I thought you might be interested. Kids are kids everywhere.

JUN 4 1964

Katie

OUTLETS—2

Aggression i

FACED WITH an outbreak of violence over a dreary holiday weekend, all that most people could do was to suggest jail, raising the age for scooter and motor-cycle licences from 16 to 19, more civics classes—*civics* classes — and youth clubs.

What we do not seem to think of is simply to provide more ways in which people can use superabundant physical energy without necessarily breaking anything.

There are about eight million youngsters in this country between the ages of 10 and 19. No one knows what the total recreational facilities are. But—to look at some popular teenage activities—there are about 28 ice-skating rinks, 14 roller-skating rinks and 82 bowling alleys. The discrepancy is obvious.

Apart from a sprinkling of under-fives and over 45s, the ice-skating rinks are filled by young people. You can go at tremendous speed if you have the space, but in London at least the rinks are so crowded, even on an expensive night, that anyone who goes really fast is immediately—and rightly—stopped by the stewards. Ten-pin bowling almost inevitably involves long, long waits.

Teenage tracks

Waiting for somebody in a North London café, I was told that a local gaiety was to put a short-playing record on the player, leap on to one's motor-cycle, drive through the shopping centre to a café two miles away and get back before the record finished. I am sure the police stopped that little game as soon as they found out about it. But one buys a motor-cycle to go fast on it, and there are a very limited number of places, such as Silverstone or Brands Hatch, where one can go as fast as one likes.

Why cannot we have lots of motorcycle and scooter and moped tracks for ordinary teenagers? The tracks would to be organised so that the men did not kill themselve be placed where they di disturb the Sunday afte peace of the rest of us. should not be impossible.

Rock-climbing is not one's idea of enjoyment. one who lives in one of the cities of the North can soo out whether or not it is the climbing a few rocks in the district or on the Yor moors. Londoners have n except Harrison's rocks Tunbridge Wells (which sandstone and, I think, h or—farther away—others sandstone, nicer, but you h pay) near Crowborough. couldn't Londoners have rocks on, say, Hamp Heath? They could be ported from the north—or they even be plastic?

Skiing still seems one ecstasies reserved for the w or the exceptionally enterp So it must be, if one can only a fortnight once a

n in order

by EIRLYS ROBERTS

cks would have so that the young l themselves, and re they did not nday afternoon est of us. That possible.

g is not every- njoyment. Any- one of the great rth can soon find not it is theirs by rocks in the Peak the Yorkshire ers have nothing n's rocks near lls (which are I think, horrid) ay—others (also , but you have to wborough. Why ners have some ay, Hampstead could be trans- north—or could astic ?

eems one of the d for the well-off ally enterprising. f one can go for ht once a year, hundreds of miles away. But in Arcachon, near Bordeaux, I am told, people ski on pine-needles spread over the sand dunes. There is also plastic snow. Why cannot we arrange skiing surfaces with that ?

Riding is a passion with teenage girls, but in London it is not only expensive but so difficult to get that many parents just give up.

Welsh Sunday

All these are gaps in city life. Adolescents in small towns may have some compensations in having country pursuits—if they want them—nearer at hand. But they also have fewer of the cities' amenities.

Have you ever tried to get a cup of coffee on New Year's Eve in a country town in East Anglia? Or have you found anything whatever to do on a wet Sunday afternoon in Wales?

The suburbs of the great cities are often as bad. It was reported recently that police had to disperse 150 teenagers who were chanting "Open up" outside a café in Chiswick which had had to close. "I've had to close down," said the owner, adding ominously and sadly: "Now the teenagers have nowhere else to go."

The Government cannot be expected to provide all our amusements for us, and presumably skating rinks and riding schools do not provide enough return on capital to be attractive to large private investors: otherwise we should probably have more.

Perhaps what is needed is some kind of get-together between local authorities and private investors, the local authorities possibly contributing some of the millions they say they lose at present, as the results of hooliganism, towards providing more interesting ways of using adolescent energy?

Whatever the details, let us do something to make this country a little easier to be young in. Until we do, it is we who need the civics lesson, not the teenagers.

12 June 1964

Mr. Sol Schwartz
68-01 218th Street
Bayside, N.Y. 11364

Dear Mr. Schwartz:

I would like to thank you for sending Mr. Farmer a copy your May 24 letter to the editor of the New York Times. However, I believe that it is unfortunate that you interpret Mr. Rundquist's statement as being opposed to our efforts to curb police brutality.

CORE in no way supports crime, hoodlumism or gangsterism whether it be committed by persons black or white. CORE also recognizes that there have been many irresponsible charges of police brutality made. We recognize that we have the responsibility to be as accurate in our statements as is possible. To the extent that we have failed, we shall attempt to do better in the future.

Citizens such as yourself and newspapers such as the New York Times also have a responsibility. To a large degree the newspapers of New York City are abdicating their responsibilities. For example, the New York Times has recently, through one of its reporters, created a fiction of the so-called "blood brothers." And, on the other hand, they have painted Rabbi Schrage's safety patrol in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn as an anti-Negro vigilante group. It was this same Rabbi Schrage who was the administrator of the Yeshiva whose youths were attacked by a gang of Negroes. Rabbi Schrage was in our office on Friday, June 5 and pointed out that his safety patrol was an interracial effort on the part of Christians and Jews to stem crime from all sources. His purpose in coming to us was to appeal for our help in correcting the picture of his organization that has been fostered by the New York Times and other daily newspapers.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

MAY 26 1964

68-01—213 Street
Bayside, New York 11364
May 24, 1964

EDITOR: The New York Times
New York, New York 10036

Dear Sir:

Law-abiding citizens oppose all forms of brutality—police or otherwise. James Farmer, the national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, does our city, and more especially our Police Department, a grave disservice when he promotes the "big lie" of police brutality. George Rundquist of the New York Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union is quoted as saying (TIMES 5-22-64):"You hear the cry of police brutality when there isn't any. It's a technique that is being used now."

Daily our newspapers report the hoodlumism that infects sections of our city. Recently, Jewish yeshivah students were attacked in Brooklyn. There were the attacks on Columbia professors by gangs of "underprivileged youths"just two days ago. Mr. Farmer is lacking in a sense of civic responsibility when he fails to realize that his propaganda contribution can only add to the fuel of a "long hot summer". Sociologists recognize that hoodlumism is an urban problem. The least that all of us, including Mr. Farmer, can do is to try to keep this disease free of racial or religious overtones. I suggest that Mr. Farmer would be well advised were he to devote his energies to the formation of an adjunct organization to C.O.R.E. to be known as the Congress of Racial Responsibility, and to leave the police in the able hands of our commissioner.

Very truly yours,

Sol Schwartz

Sol Schwartz

cc: Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

1- Fatal 11. Shooting not fatal
2- Drunken cops.
3- Grand Jury total investigations
4- # of Grand Jury indictments
5- Disciplinary action taken (if any).
6- # teenagers.
7- # while under arrest or in police station
8- "Mistaken identity"
9- # law suits won.
10- Rookie or probationary cops

FATAL	DRUNK	GRAND JURY INVESTIGATIONS
3	14	4
4	15	
5	29	7
10	34	14
12	46	17)
17	47	17)
21		19)
22		19)
25		25
29		52
30		54
33		
39 (accident)		
51+ suicide		
52 (Powell)		
53		
54		
55		
56		
59		

LAW SUITS WON	ROOKIE OR PROBATIONARY COPS
11	1
24	25
31	
33	
37	
38	

RY ATIONS	# OF GRAND JURY INDICTMENTS	DISCIPLINARY ACTION (IF ANY) +	# TEENAGERS	WHILE ARRESTED OR IN STATION	"MISTAKEN IDENTITY"
	25	1 6 mo. 15 - suspended 16-$5,000 bail 19-transferred 21-8-15 yrs. later freed 21a - suspendedd 23 - arrested 25-later freed 27-midnight curfew on rookies 29-ousted 30-arrested 31-arrested 32-arrested 37-3yr probation 42-felonious assault 46-arrested 49	23 12 25 35 39 41 46 55 56 59	13 ~~38~~ 41 48 54	38

PROBATION	SHOOTINGS NOT FATAL	
	1	41 - handcuffed
	9	paralysed
	11	42
	13	46
	14	47
	15	48
	16	49
	18	50
	21a	58
	23	
	24	
	31	
	34	
	35	
	36	
	~~11~~	
	37	
	38	

10 5 11 48 1 Probationary copshoots two Negroes sitting on stoop at 1458 Bedford Ave. provocation in Brooklyn gets 60months cop. Francis Hogan (9/11/48)

2 Delegation from Civil LRights Congress protested to police against "fifty cases of police shooting and manhandlings particularly against 48 Negroes". (9/30/48)

3 City Hall picketed in killing ~~if~~ of Willie Milton, Negro, by cop. 1 64 (city ed.?) (7/30/64)

4 Grand jury to investigate fatal shooting of Charles Theifer of Bronx 3, 1 by Ptl. Eugene Stasinck. Protest at Bronx Bathgate Ave Police Station (1/21/49) (from Daily Worker - cop claimed man drew knife. Alfo failed to investigate charges of manhandling of Paul Wright ~~by~~ 49 age 19 by cop badge #529~~#~~ 5 (1/21/49)

5 Ptl. Donald Mullen of Gates Ave Station (cop lives in Maspeth L.I.) 1 shot and killed herman Newton of 617 Halsey St. Bklyn, 22 yrs. over traffic regulation. No arrests made. Was not referred to Grand Jury 49 because of conflicting statemements (6/1/49)

6 NAACP asks Gov. Dewey to appoint special prosecutor & grand jury to investigate Newont's death. Also made allegations of other cases of pol~~k~~ b~~rutal~~ brutality. NAACP said it had several witnesses whose sworn 49 testimony refuted police version that man drew a knife (6/16/49)

7 No indictment for cop in Newton case. Grand jury failed to recover 3 "sufficient evidence". (~~6~~7/14/49). NAACP staged protest to decision ? 49 in Bklyn 8/5/~~6~~49)

8 NAACP asks court for grand jurty minutes says D.A. said there were no known eye witnesses but NAACP said they had 8 eye witnesses 7/28/49 49 called it whitewash (apparently didnot get minutes).

9 Ptl. Samuel Rubenfeld wounds a Puerto Rican Heminion Miranda 11 20 years old in East Harlem D.A. said no reason found for criminal actinn agains t cop. E. Harlem Assoc. of Churches and Pastors staged demonstration on police brutality. In another case, Police Comm. William P. O'Brien said that the beating of Carl Bellon 18 years old by two detectives he found no case for disciplinary action against the two. (11.15.49) (the man was shot while running ~~art~~away but charged 49 with felonious assault).

10 Stray shot kills woman passerby in Central Park theif chase. Dead 1 woman Mrs. Carrie James 50, of 46 W 120 St. Cop was Nicholas F. Adrizzo 50 (4.19.50)

11 Miriam Horowitz 25, of 450 Ocean Pkway Bklyn wins $75,000 for being 11, 9 shot by cop at 152 & Amsterdam Ave who shot a suspect hitting her 50 (4/25/50)

12 Thurmond Towns 19, Negro, shot and killed by Ptls. John Croake 1, 12 and William Alexander at 137 St. & St. Nicholas Aves. They were chasing a purse snatcher on night of May 8 when he was shot cops refused to say if he was identified as the thief or had purse or money in his 50 possession. His family denies it. (Worker - rally held 5/17/50)

13 George Westray 31, Negro beaten up by police August 10 taken to Lincoln 11, 7 Hospt. in Hosp. Ptl Daniel McEvery shot him twice in abdomen -nothing

49 done to cop. (reported only in Worker 11/24/49)

11,2,3 49 Detective Joseph Bijou suspended for shooting of 8/3/49 Raymond
14 Pacheo, while former drunk. Bnx Cty Ct. jury cleared him. Said he
50 only had 3 or 4 bottles of bear. Claimed Bacheo lunged at him with a knife (5/27/50)

11,2,5 15 Ptl. John J. Reilly shot Robert Fogel 30, Negro, a vet. Hearing
49 scheduled for felony ct. on charge of felonious assault cop was drunk He was suspended. (only in worker 1/4/49)

11,5 16 Cop suspended held in $5,000 bail felonious assault, blzck-jacked
& shot Paul Lymon (sailor, white). Cop--Ptl. Michael Bilanchuck of
49 East 22 St. Station. Police records show that cop wzs reinstated in 1936 after having been suspended in connection with death of a man he blackjacked. The sailor was shot over an argument on c Communism. (city ed. 3/2/49)

1,3,3 17 2nd grand f jury failed to indict on insufficient evidence. Sam
Applebaum of Liberty Ave pricinct fatally shot Henry Fields Jr. 26, Negro, on May 26 1950 after hit & run accident. Fields was shot at Liberty Ave & Osborn St. Bklyn when he was coming out of a car Asst. D.A. William L. Siegel called findings of 1st grand jury "gross miscarriage". Here cop admitted he didn't shoot in self-defense onlysaid stop and shot man. D.A. Siegel siad grand jury "failed to give the case a complete and impartial investigation but, on the contrary, acted capriciously and contrary to law" (6/22/50) of justice. Judge Samuel Lebowitz on request of prosecutor resubmitted it to 2nd grand jury. After this verdict D.A. Miles F. McDonald announced "we are not going to take any further action" "We've done our duty as far as it is possible for us to do it" (6/29/50).
50 1st grand jury May 29, 1950 a crowd of 400 angry people had to be
53 dispersed. The widow sued city for $250,000 but lost 4.24.53.

11, 18 NAACP presented witnesses to D.A. office that John H. Derrick
24 Negro vet shot Dec 7, at 8th Ave & 119 St. without provocation cop says he looked suspicious stopped him he drew gun. NAACP said he had no gun and had probably $3,000 on him not found. Shot by both
50 Ptls. Basil Minakotis & Louis Palumbo of W 123 St. Station (12.15.50)

3 19 (County) Grand Jurty heard 45 witnesses "found no basis for
51 indictment" (2/17/51)

3,5 20 Both cops transferred to other stations (1/9/51). NAACP accuses D.A. Hogan of mishandling inquiry (2.19.51) Federal grand jury
51 investigated (but no results in papers) 6/26/51

1,5-Hom-head 21 Ptl. Stanley E. Davis Jr. sentenced to jail 8-15 yrs for killing
Arthur Battle 36 in his home 788 Bergen St. Bklyn He and 2 other off duty cops went to Battle's home to search for service gun stolen in a barroom brawl earlier. Gun not found in a scuffle Davis of Classon Ave Precinct living at 556A Macon St. Blyn shot Battled dxx He died in hosp. (5.1.53). Happened in May 25. Davis said Battle tried to attack him with carving knife 9/29/52) They had no search warrant. Judge Rex Lebonitz accused other cops of lying to save
53 Davis 2/28/53. All seem to be Negroes. Later freed in 2nd trial

21A

after appeal ct. said summation of D.A. was bad. (5.9.54). #Cop shoots
54 up bar Ptl. James C. Kavanaugh of 235 Ethford St. drifting off duty
53 shot up flights. Suspended. Greenpoint. Bklyn (2.12.53)

22 Mother of Carmelo Figuero 28 of 859 Southern Blvd. Bnx. gives sues
city for $350,000 for killing son who allegedly stabbed another
53 man (5/7/53) no more details.

23 Vincent Coutreras. 17 yrs. of 363 Ave X Bklyn shot by specialpatrolman
after fight because boy wont drive out of parking lot. cop held
52 without bail. Robert Friedenthal is patrolman (10.11.52)

24 George Wilkes wins $27,000 from city in suit ptl. Benjamin Bokland of
Ralph Ave Pct. emptied revolver into a crowd while making arrest
53 during disturbances Ried & Halsey Bklyn 5.26.53

25 John Sterling 15 yrs of L.I. killed fleeing vandalism in Bklyn by
rookie off duty ptl Robert Surrey. Kid threw garbage can at kidsxx
xxxxxxxxxxxx window 2 a.m. Wman screamed. police said kid not
55 drunk. Comm. Francis Adams said cop acted properly (2.15.55) (whit kid)

Grand jury indicts cop suspended without pay. 3/24/55. Cop freed by court jury 4/29.55

Editorial in Herald Trib "The records are full of cases in which the polie have shot at fleeing figures, often with unintentionally fatal results. And often when something a good deal less than dangerous criminals turned out to have been involved. There is a possibility that the police have been getting a little too free and easy with their firearms, and the latest case is one that should cause the whole subject to be looked at frankly. Self-defence is one thing, so is protecting the public. But where nothing indicates more than a minor offense or disturbance of the peace, there is surely some way of apprehending the suspect besides a resort to the bullets that can miscarry with such dire results....no one would want to be so callous as to suggest that the loss of a young life is justified merely because it was a mistake..." Herald Trib. 2/15/55

Midnight curfew imposed on rookies result of this slaying. 3/11/55

Comm. Kennedy reminds police of ban on pistols'use in trivial cases. 11.7.55

Ptl. Paul Creighton ousted from force for killing a man after visiting several bars. Hasn't been determined if he had sufficient cause for killing (no more story or details) 9/29/56

Ptl. John A. McNeil arrested admits killing of Catherine Keenan 8/17/56, 1/15/57 (both white). He claimed it was accidental.

Constantine Georges, florist, at 365 Halsey, shot by off duty cop who said thought he was a prowler 4:15 a.m. Ptl. Jos ph Gilles later arrested man won $55,000 suit. Report said cop was drinking 3/27/57

Ptl. Harold Stewart of W. 123 Pct. arrested for shooting Ben Fieldsj. cop was dru nk 6/23/56

Widow of Mannie Margolies gets $95,000 in suit, husband killed. Copes came to investigat phone call of disturbance said saw him running from scene and shot him. Later said he had pen knife but judge ruled this was not introduced into police report they filed 1950. 6/8/56

Off duty cop fired at passer-by on Flatbush Ave., then gave 8 of fellow cops a block-long battle to station house. Pt. Richard O'Neiljbooked on felonious assault. Doctors said he was drunk. 6'5", 225 lbs. 2/11/56

"Victim of unproved attack fires warning, then shoots East Side Assailant". Victor Vega, 14 said to have attacked cop with bat 8/6/56. Daily Worker says boy couldn't understand English when cop spoke. He ran and was shot. Kid said other people were running from scene. Daily Worker 8/9/56

Alfred Jackson of 8 E. 112 St. shot critically he and friends jumped over turnstile ordered to stop and ran onto tracks. 2 got away shot by Ptl. Bernard Waldman 2/14/54/

Raymond Burns 46, Negro owner of candy store at 747 E. 168 St. shot in leg by ptl. Cornelius Flynn, Burns was drinking coffee at a luncheonett when cop entered & searched him and during search he was shot in leg. Cop pleaded guilty to 1 of 4 counts. Burns asked judge to be lenient with cop. He was placed on probation for 3 years. 11/11/53, 12/15/53

wm $60,000

38 William Burdick carpenter of 219 E. 23 St. won $55,150 from City when cop Ptl. Robert Lee mistook him for hold-up man and shot him in left leg. Jan 23, 1952. He was
53 ordered out of his car and shot somehow (story not clear) 10/23/53

39 Raymond Gannaway 13, of 91 Madison Ave Bklyn killed accidentally when cops were firing at su
60 suspect they claimed beat one with his night stick. Crowd gathered. Police had to call for their tactical patrol. 4/3/60

59 COMM. KENNEDY BARS ALL-NEGRO POLICE FOR HARLEM AS ETHICALLY WRONG 7/23/59

41 Leroy Revels, Negro 14 of 774 Henry St. Bklyn shot and paralysed fleeing in handcuffs behind back. Kid said he found a loaded zip gun. Cops said he was with friends and then admitted he was alone. St. John Alevizon according to police chasing kid fired warning shot and stumbled and other shot hid kid. Doctors said both bullets were
53 in kid.This story was an interview of kid by Post. NY Post 5/18/53

58 Same story - Boy 14 shot 3 times by cops 5/15/58

42 Joseph Rugolsky of West Hempstead, L.I. shot in neck by Dect. Michael O'Malley in diner in Queens cop said kids were disorderly. Cop said accident held for felonious
58 assault. hearing set for Nov. 6. 9/24/58

61 Shooting for Safety Mag. article show cops training 10/15/61

58 New Range Show police weak in shooting at moving target 2/5/58

57 Police may adopt FBI pistol tactics i.e. in training 6/22/57

Ptl. William H. Preiss held in jail drunkenness and critically shooting Kevin Ward
18, of 1325 Noble Ave Bnx. OUtside Bar in Bx. Cop said kids attacked him but Asst.
58 D.A. Said evidence showed not so 1/2/58

Chas. Taggart of 4042 Bronxwodd Ave. shot by drunken detective Peter J. Coyls in
59 Bronx Police. Doctors said cop drunk when arrested. 11/17/59

48 Al Garrett 24, shot by ptl. John Cuzzo who said former tried to hit him with chain. They
59 were both alone in gates station house. Garrett being booked for boisterousness 4/18/59

49 Ptl. George C. Violenes Jr shot Martin Burfast while trying to collect a bet for a friend. Occurred in Harlem. Comm. Kennedy said he facdd departmental and criminal
59 charges 7/2/59

50 Ptl. Clifford Phillips shot Robert Keating in Bronx bar after they were drinking and
59 argued, no charges against cop. Man booked for felonious assault. 12/27/59

60 Ptl. Anthony Dotti kills 2 and then himself in bar at 114 Sixth ave. 1/15/60

52 Lieut. Thomas R. Gilligan killed James Powell 15, Negro Harlem riots Sat, Sunday, etc.
64 7.17.64

53 C.L.U. asks inquiry into killing of Frank Falio (?) by cops wanted for killing a
63 cop 9/3/63

Victor Rodriquez and Max Maximo Solero (P.R.z) arrested at 93 St and in patrol
car were killed. Cops were Pts. James Edmundson (driving) and Ronald Wilson. Puerto
Ricans picketed Comm. promised to name a deputy to investigate. cops were transferred
64 to other precints. 12/23/63. Cops cleared by grand jury 4.9.64

1,6, 55 Henry Lee Rock 14 fatally shot by housing Authority cop Julio Martinez who said
64 boy ran into him when ~~he~~ he was going to investigate a complaint. Bx. D.A. promises investigation 1/6/64

1,6 57 Francisco Rodriquez ~~15~~ 18 of 108 St. "Boy of Y ar" killed ~~by pt~~ ptl. cop Ronald Meszares (?
64 in back of head said boy had pulled a gun. P.R.s angry. Murphy defends shooting residents say unlawful shooting. 2/~~1~~9/64 Grand Jury clears cop 5/7/64

5-7 59 Raymond Burns wins $60,000 suit against City 9/16/59 (see above) p 4

11 58 Ptl. Thomas L. Sullivan of W. 100 St. Pct. ~~s~~harged with felonious assault after
64 arguing ~~wi~~ with owner in a bar wounds a man and kills a dog. 4.4/64. Bar at Amsterdam Ave.

1,6 59 Police station at ~~1~~ W. 100 St. picketed for shooting of Mahrice Mulligan 14 years
64 who allegedly stole lady's bag. 4/28/64

TELEGRAM 6/17/64

MAYOR ROBERT F. WAGNER
CITY HALL
NYC

NOW IS THE TIME FOR YOU TO SPEAK OUT IN SUPPORT OF A CIVILIAN REVIEW BOARD. SUCH A REVIEW BOARD WOULD DO MUCH TO RESTORE PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN THE POLICE AND ~~KE~~ TO REASSURE MEMBERS OF ~~THE~~ MINORITY GROUPS THAT THEY CAN GET A FAIR HEARING. THE POLICE DEPARTMENT CANNOT INVESTIGATE AND JUDGE ITSELF.

JAMES FARMER
NATIONAL DIRECTOR
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

SL.

Dear M Farmer

I have suffered one of the Worst Cases of Police Brutality & continuous Violation of law & Civil Rights.

I was supposed to appear for a hearing April 8, 1964 Law Department Fcb # 103561 against City Police Police Brutality, False Arrests. Effecting me, my business my family.

I was not allowed to appear Instead I was take off to a Mental Hospital where I am now I need immediate representation I need some one to obtain & Hurry to get me out. The cost is for over $100.00. others have Served it. I have Help Sincerely - Hymn Klein

JUL 24 1964

JUL 27 1964

LAW OFFICES
SCHIFFER & COHEN

JUL 27 1964

BARRY LEE COHEN
GEORGE SCHIFFER

40 EAST 49TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.
PLAZA 2-8060

July 24, 1964

Mr. John Wynne,
Deputy Chief Inspector,
Police Department
City of New York,
Fourth Division,
153 East, 67th Street,
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Chief Wynne:

As indicated to you on the telephone that I would, I consulted with Mr. Herman concerning the desirability and propriety of making witnesses available to your inquiry, prior to the appearance of these witnesses at the grand jury.

Mr. Herman and I are both of the opinion that it would be more proper to have witnesses appear first at the grand jury.

You may be assured of our cooperation to your investigation, subject to the foregoing.

Consequently, witnesses will not be made available on Wednesday July 29. As I further told you on the telephone, our witnesses will not be made available at any police department real estate. I am of the opinion that the witnesses are frightened of appearing in precincts, division offices, headquarters. Since it is far more difficult to secure the truth from a frightened witness than from a calm one, and since most of the witnesses are youngsters, I suggest that they be interviewed in their own homes or in my office, or in some other place where they will feel relatively at ease.

This is further to reiterate my request that the Civil Complaint Bureau and the Fourth Division cooperate

COPY

SCHIFFER & COHEN

in our investigation by making available to us, under suitable safeguard and conditions fixed by you, witnesses known to you but not known to us. I recognize fully that these witnesses are not required to talk to us. I would be the first to respect their right to avoid us. If, however, we are to conduct a fair and full investigation, the police department should cooperate with us to the extent of suggesting to the witnesses that the police department has no objection to their talking to us, if the witness has no objection. Certainly, these witnesses have nothing to fear from us. We have resolutely refused to release the names of witnesses to the press during the pendency of the investigation. It goes without saying that we do not expect to speak to witnesses scheduled to go to the grand jury until after they have done so.

You should recognize that in the absence of a civil review board, the community will place some weight on our objective investigation. Such an investigation should be valuable, not detrimental, to the police department and should have its full cooperation.

Very truly yours.

George Schiffer

cc: Mr. James Farmer
Carl Rachlin, Esq.
Alexander Barnum, Esq.
Leonard B. Boudin, Esq.
Deputy Inspector Savitt

COPY

JOSEPH MEIERS, M.D.
601 WEST 115TH STREET
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.
RIVERSIDE 9-7700

July 25, 1 9 6 4

To Mr. James
Farmer,
President of CORE;
Mr. Gore,—
38 Park Row
NEW YORK (38) N.Y.

JUL 27 1964

Dear friends of C.O.R.E.,

I am mailing you this copy of a letter directed to Senator Constance B.Motley (N.Y.State), while being fully well aware that "these days" you are --possibly more than ever!—inmidst of hard and quick decisions. On the other hand,it could well be that THIS very small communication of mine (i f used wisely and adroitly) could become the start of a significant and— to all public-minded people — useful development;especially in the "creation" and devising of tolerable 'relations" between the public (especially: protesters, pickets,etc.) and the'Police' in general; from whose ranks the potential and the actual 'billies' can be more readily spotted (and eliminated with the help, application and introduction of which would have to be demanded and (politically) put through by the appropriate Organizations,— along them,indeed.C.O.R.E.— I shall phone. Yours sincerely

JM/a:am

RE: Practical Efforts to render the Police Forces (espec. in N.Y. City, other cities and towns) in N.Y.State more effective;especially by neuro-psychiatr.selective screening;eliminating 'violence-prone' ('brutality'-inclined) individuals.-----

July 24, 1 9 6 4

The Honorable
Constance Baker MOTLEY, Esq
New York State Senator,
c/o
West 32nd Avenue,
875 New York (25) N.Y.

cc: CORE.

JUL 27 1964

HOS. MEIERS, M.D. (neuro psychiatrist)
501 WEST 115th ST.
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

My dear Senator Motley:

After having discussed the above captioned TOPIC — namely "Prevention" of individual cases of so-called "Police Brutality" occurrences by effective and meaningful SCREENING (of recruits as well as already serving personnel), rather than merely applying post-factum (civilian or other) "Complaint Boards— with you in early July, as you may recall, on the telephone, I am taking the liberty of putting,hereby, a very brief SKETCH of,at least partial,steps which could and ought to be taken in order to "free" the "active" street-police force, by legislative as well as administrative ordinances, from the presence of s n y persons (patrolmen and officers on any level) who harbor --more often unknown to themselves!! --"within"them undesirable character traits,damaging to their duties; especially, in the direction of 'uncontroled' violence ("brutality").

While it appears to be true that— at least more on the surface than in depth!— such 'psychiatric screening' is being done already, at least before 'induction' into the Force (in N.Y.City,and other larger cities),EXPERIENCE has shown that these pre-induction (psychologic) "screening measures" are NOT satisfactory — and that not just within the latest months,etc.

While it might be objected (especially, on the part of Police administrators) that such thorough "screening", i.e. pre-uncovering of character traits would be 'impracticable', too cumbersome,etc., this is, to my knowledge, NOT necessarily so. Modern "mass" psycholog.screening tests— applied to at least 50 persons at one time,like those done now routinely in the Swiss army—(Z-tests)—show the well-founded promise of good results. I shall be very glad to share with you,dear Senator Motley, any information at my disposal.

Yours respectfully and sincerely

CC:: Councilman WEISS
CC:: Offices of (N.Y.) Civil Rights' Organizations (NAACP; CORE; Urban League; SNCC)

JUL 29 1964

7/25/64

Dear James,

I am in agreement with you that Harlem groups have been ignoring the issue of a civil review board to investig "alleged police brut." I want you consider whether today the courts do not provide such a civil review board. In my opinion they do - and yet still do not provide adequate control of police. Merely duplication of the courts' function with another modified court will not, I believe, be sufficient.

The reason I feel the courts have not performed their function well is as follows:

Today when a private citizen is oppressed by a policeman or witnesses an act of brutality, he is unable to act by filing a complaint because today's NYC police force enjoys anonymity - just like the members of a mob - and hence the policeman loses responsibility for his actions. True, police have visible numbers - but these are evident only from the front - within clubbing range. When across the street one sees four or five large police beating someone up, few people have the courage needed to walk up to the group - tap an officer on the shoulder - and say - "Pardon me", but what's your #?"

(OVER)

My suggestion which I hope you will approve of and use — is to press for large front and back licence tags to be worn by police - to rid them of the security of anonymity. The tag should be visible at a distance [like the # on a football jersey] and should contain name also.

correspondance to this address will be forwarded →

John Berger
201 East 79 st
N. Y. 21, N. Y.

310 Wagner Hall

THE CITY COLLEGE
OF
THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
New York 31, N.Y.

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE.

AUG 17 1964

August 12, 1964

Mr. George E. Rundquist
Executive Director
New York Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear George:

Enclosed is an article from the Herald Tribune which I think puts its finger on the nub of the question. As I have always stated, I don't know what a civilian review board can do as long as it is the law in New York State that a policeman can use his gun to apprehend when he has reason to suspect that any felony has been committed. I would like to suggest that the ACLU propose a change in the law with regard to apprehension in New York State to the effect that a policeman may not use his gun to apprehend a juvenile offender unless he has reason to believe that a major felony has been committed, thus bringing the law on apprehension into line with the juvenile offender law. These kids, shot by one policeman on two separate occasions in one day, were guilty at most of petty larceny.

You know that this question has been my major concern since the day that you and I visited Commissioner Stephen Kennedy, after which visit there was a marked change in the policeman's use of guns to apprehend. Mr. Murphy has evidently reversed the Kennedy policy.

If I cannot get a thorough consideration of this policy by the ACLU Board, I would feel my presence on the Board to be of little value.

Sincerely yours,

John A. Davis
Chairman

JAD/cc
Enclosure - 1.

Copy to - Mr. James Farmer, CORE.

Policeman Shoots 2 Fleeing

By Sue Reinert

Of The Herald Tribune Staff

"It's a common occurrence everyplace," said Lt. William Kelly in the 40th precinct stationhouse yesterday. "It happens every day. Don't you read the papers?"

He was talking about the fact that twice within the apace of 24 hours, Patrolman James Mullins of the Bronx precinct had shot a suspect in flight. One, a 14-year-old Negro shot yesterday morning was critically wounded in the neck. The other, a 15-year-old Puerto Rican shot Monday was in fair condition with buttock wounds.

Both incidents occurred within two blocks of the South Bronx area covered by the 40th precinct. The stationhouse is at 138th St. and Alexander Ave.

By noon yesterday — nine hours after the second shooting, Patrolman Mullins and his Negro partner, Patrolman Avant McMillion, had gone home. Lt. Kelly, asked about them, said with a trace of anger: "They're good cops. They're all good cops naturally. Otherwise they wouldn't be on the force."

Both of the suspects' names were withheld because of their age. The 14-year-old was in critical condition at Bellevue. A neurological expert and a vascular surgeon were called into consultation on his case. The 15-year-old was in fair condition at Lincoln Hospital.

Yesterday's shooting was at 3:17 a. m. in the Cypress Ave. station of the IRT Pelham Bay Line. Patrolmen Mullins and McMillion were cruising past an A & P store at 138th St. and Cypress Ave. when they noticed two things almost simultaneously, police said:

The grating on the supermarket door was broken and three youngsters were running into the subway with a large paper bag.

Two of them, a 15-year-old boy and a 14-year-old girl, were caught and Patrolman McMillion held them on the subway steps, police said.

ing Boys in 2 Days

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The third ran into the station, where Patrolman Mullins ordered him to halt, police said.

They said that when he jumped onto the tracks, the patrolman fired a warning shot and then shot the boy in the cheek. All three youngsters were charged with juvenile delinquency. The wounded boy dropped the bag he was carrying. It contained groceries.

On Monday morning at 4 a. m., the two partners were cruising at St. Ann's Ave. and 139th St.—two blocks from the supermarket—when they saw a car that had been listed as stolen, police said. Two youths who were in it jumped out and ran up to a building roof at 572 E. 140th St., according to police.

After a chase across rooftops, Patrolman Mullins shot the 15-year-old boy, who was also charged with juvenile delinquency. His companion escaped.

A spokesman at Police Headquarters said yesterday that the patrolman had only been doing his duty, which was to use all necessary force to capture and restrain prisoners. "Maybe it doesn't happen every day, but it is a common occurrence," he said.

The spokesman said police have an acute sense of responsibility about the fact that they carry weapons, and that they do not pull out their guns lightly.

Police Brutality

September 3, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

Mr. Farmer;

For an interminable period of time, the general public has been subjected to your periodical harangues on radio, television, and in the press. Your recent vicious, baseless attack, however, on the decision rendered by the grand jury in the Lieutenant Gilligan investigation transcends the bounds of propriety.

In a manner prescribed by our legal processes, a panel of citizens -- composed of both white and Negro members -- was convened to consider the evidence in this case. A lengthy and exhaustive investigation was held, during which time the testimony of innumerable witnesses was introduced -- some of which testimony, by all published reports, conflicted with reality and apparently was shaded for reasons best known to the participants. After considerable deliberation, this grand jury exonerated Lieutenant Gilligan of any criminal wrongdoing in the death of James Powell. You, sir, have chosen to ignore the findings of this learned group and have, instead, set yourself up as a rather vituperative tin god belching and bellowing venom, and demanding the scalp of Lieutenant Gilligan.

This intensive, thorough investigation was occasioned by the demands of a small segment of the community who questioned the motives of an experienced, much-decorated police officer who, in performing the duties with which he had been charged (i. e., maintaining law and order), found it necessary to shoot to death a charging, enraged, knife-wielding delinquent. Your claims of injustice to a "small fatherless boy," an "innocent youth," a "happy-go-lucky type," serve only to becloud the issue and fan the flames of racial discontent. This "happy-go-lucky" youth -- armed with a deadly weapon and apparently intent on inflicting great bodily harm -- chased, unsuccessfully, a building superintendent, causing the latter to seek refuge. When confronted by a police officer, acting within the scope of his lawful authority, this "innocent youth" turned his attack on the officer. Unfortunately, the youth persisted beyond the point of reasonable restraint by the officer, and was shot to death.

The fact that the officer was white and the youth a Negro was not one of choice, but, rather, circumstance. I am sure that at the moment of decision the police officer thought not of the color of the lad's skin but, rather, of the deadly weapon with which the youth was armed.

It does not suffice to call this an unfortunate incident. A young life has been lost. Your tirades, however, and your demands that Lieutenant

Gilligan be offered as a sacrificial lamb to satiate the howling mobs, will do naught to change this situation. They may, in fact, only worsen existing tensions.

The Negro community might better be served if the Messrs. Farmer, Wilkins, Ruskin, et. al., the acknowledged leaders of the Negro people, would concentrate their efforts towards advocating respect for law and order, rather than harmonizing in the now-familiar chorus of "Police Brutality!" If such be the result in this instance, the life of James Powell need not have been lost in vain.

Sincerely,

Thomas M. Treacy

Thomas M. Treacy
466 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

December 3, 1964

Mr. Henry J. Satsky
600 York Street
Elizabeth, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Satsky:

Thank you for your letter of October 1st, addressed to Mr. Farmer, which has been referred to me. Please accept our sincere apologies for the delay in replying. Because of the press of events during the weeks before and after the elections, we have lagged behind on our correspondence.

We very much appreciate your concern for the problems of crime and delinquency in our city, and are glad to have your suggestion for the formation of a "civilian police patrol". We are forwarding copies of your letter to Mr. James McCain, Director of Organization and Mr. Louis Smith, Regional Director for their consideration.

I am enclosing some literature on CORE that may be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:nm

HENRY J. SATSKY
600 YORK STREET
ELIZABETH, NEW JERSEY

FLANDERS 1-1420-1421

OCT - 7 1964

October 1, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
C.O.R.E.
239 W. 125th Street
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Recently my son, a stranger to the Harlem area, found himself lost while driving to a meeting with a friend. He stopped in a Harlem drug store to ask for directions and was victimized by a hold up. One of the concomitant tragedies was that people in the store observing the holdup did nothing to stop it.

I have too long labored in the interest of all mankind to suggest the fact that the Negro people be condemned for the actions of a couple of Negro holdup men. I am further aware that the unfortunate circumstance of people not caring about what happens to other people is not indigenous to the Negro and is a sad commentary on the level of American morality.

My purpose in writing to you at this time is to make a recommendation that something must be done in order to dramatize the fact that decent American Negroes and whites are equally intimidated by the criminal element invading the Harlem area. I am fully aware that the criminal element is frequently white and engage in acts of encouraging gambling, prostitution, and the use of dope.

What I urge is the formation of a "civilian police patrol", modeled after the "Maccabees" who operate out of the Crown Heights, Brooklyn area. Aside from possibly serving a significant and useful purpose in the prevention of crime, they may also serve in the apprehension of criminals. Such a functioning body, carefully organized and supervised to avoid a "law-unto-themselves-vigilant" approach would also dramatize that which should be self-evident: that the Negro people are opposed to hoodlumism and insist upon more widespread and better police protection.

You have my every good wish for your continued success.

Cordially,

Henry J. Satsky

hjs:ft

Police brutal

April 6, 1965

Mr. Thomas R. Farrell
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Farrell:

At the suggestion of Mr. Rachlin I am forwarding the enclosed information to you. Mr. Rachlin thought you might be interested in having it in view of your investigation into policy activities.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

NM/ssb

[redacted]

Polski

MAY 15 1964

THE DISTRICT ATTORNEY
COUNTY OF NEW YORK

May 13, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
CORE National Director
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Thank you for your telegram of May 6, 1964. We sincerely appreciate your interest in the matter referred to therein. As you know, it is contrary to the long established policy of this office to comment publicly on any matter under investigation. We are however deeply concerned with possible violations of the penal sanctions of the Civil Rights Act, as we are with all crime in this community. I therefore assure you that we are and will continue to investigate thoroughly any and all specific complaints of criminal conduct within the County of New York.

Sincerely,

Frank Hogan

Frank S. Hogan

Police Brutality 7-16-64

Report (1:15 p.m.) from Mike Silverberg of George Schiffer's office: "Kids were in front of building across street from Wagner H.S. Janitor of school had hose; started spraying kids. Powell ran across street and into school. No one knew that a man standing around was a cop (we can presume the janitor did, or he wouldn't have talked to him.) Janitor told copy Powell had a knife. At that point Powell came running out of the school. Copy said:

"I'm going to shoot the black off of you," and shot Powell.

Powell dropped to sidewalk, cop fired two more shots into him from close range and then kicked him."

Witnesses say Powell had no knife; police say he had. Mike checked area; it is cordoned off; many police with riot helmets.

Police Brutality

July 17, 1964

The Hon. Michael Murphy
Commissioner of Police
City of New York
240 Centre Street
New York, New York

Dear Commissioner Murphy:

I was pleased to note that you have promised a thorough investigation of the dreadful events involving the homicide of young Powell yesterday.

With that in mind, permit me to relate to you the substance of a conversation with Inspector Coyle early yesterday evening at the precinct where the investigation is being conducted.

At one point I asked the Inspector whether Lt. Gilligan was being detained. He was not, Inspector Coyle advised me. Expressing surprise at this, I indicated that people whose guilt had not been ascertained, but who were charged with mild offenses while participating in civil rights activities, were generally held by the police; they were not served with a summons, an alternate procedure.

In reply he commented that while policemen have been held in custody on prior occasions, there was no reason to do so in circumstances involving justifiable homicide. At that very moment, in the same precinct building, immediately above us, the Assistant District Attorney was questioning witnesses about the case.

Since Inspector Coyle has chosen to pre-judge the case before the investigation has been completed, may I suggest that you designate as investigators persons outside his authority, but under your immediate direction?

More generally, and in addition to the civilian review board over which you and I have previously disagreed, may I once again suggest the following for your consideration:

a. In view of the obvious fact that, regardless of the reason, people living in areas populated by Negro and Puerto Rican minorities have little confidence in the fairness of the police, it is important that you who stand immediately to institute a program showing your personal concern with the rights of minorities and publicizing the steps you will take to see that they are treated at the 1st registrar-in the same fashion as white people. Only you have the stature and responsibility to undertake such a program. I am sure that the importance of this is apparent.

Nor does it suffice to say that it is the responsibility of minority peoples and their leaders to do this; only the police, on one side, are in a position to convince minorities that they will not be treated differently from whites. They are not used to equal treatment.

Neither does it suffice to say that the views held by peoples in the minority areas of the city are unfair or unreasonable. This is the simple, prevailing attitude. If the police improvement wishes, as I am sure it does, to have the cooperation and friendliness of all citizens of New York, the extra steps, as necessary to maintain the tranquility of the community must be undertaken.

b. Complaints against individual members of the Department should be obtained in the first instance by your citizens Committee; the investigation must be conducted by persons responsible to you and not by line officers. There can be such complaints are to be filed should be made widely known, that they will not be handled by persons who may be directly or indirectly concerned with the matter of the investigation must also be popularized.

c. The use by police officers of weapons while off duty must be prohibited. Neither is it that a hardened criminal escape than a young boy be killed. At this point we can leave the facts in the Powell homicide, but obviously we must consider the thought that there must have been something unusual about young Powell and his family in that he voluntarily, every day in this hot summer, took himself from the house to institutions to improve his education. The charge that a young man with such commendable motivation would attack an armed man must be considered in this light.

It is too easy for an off-duty officer to justify his use of his weapon. When he is off-duty his status should be that of any other civilian. While I realize that this may be subject to circumvention, I do think a thorough reconsideration of this matter is in order.

No one more than I--and I think I can speak for Mr. Farmer and the CORE organization--desires intimate and cordial relationships between the police and New York citizens of all qualities, races and creeds. The suggestions made above are made with a view to establishing such relationships. The police have proven that, in other situations involving Departmental problems, they can act with dispatch.

The relations between the community and the police are even more important and deserve even greater action.

Very truly yours,

Carl Rachlin
General Counsel

CR:rrl

CC: Mayor Wagner

BCC: James Farmer
Gordon Carey ✓
Marvin Rich
Val Coleman

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Roy Wilkins
Jerry Wurf
James Youngdahl
Arnold S. Zander

Workers Defense League

ALgonquin 4-4953

112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

21854

July 20, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Jim,

Just a brief note:

I have enclosed WDL"s wires to Screvane and Murphy.

Secondly, think it is a good time to announce a second mock Public Review Board if there is not immediate -- positive -- action from City Hall. Seems to me it is essential to put the blame for the riot where it belongs and not permit the ambiguity which the papers reflect to continue.

Best,
Rachelle
Rachelle Horowtiz

RH/ps
Enn:

WDL NEWS

published by Workers Defense League
112 EAST 19TH STREET, NEW YORK 3, N. Y. C.
ALgonquin 4-4953

JUL 21 1964

NORMAN THOMAS
Honorary President
ROWLAND WATTS
President
PEARL WILLEN
Chairman of the Board
VERA RONY
National Secretary

July 20, 1964
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

For further information call
Rachelle Horowitz -- Al 4 4953

Workers Defense League President Rowland Watts called today for the immediate reconvening of the City Council in order to pass the Weiss Bill which would establish a Civilian Review Board into complaints of Police Brutality.

Mr. Watts called this weekend's riots in Harlem "the logical outgrowth of a situation in which the citizen feels he has no other recourse against police brutality." He stated that Police Commissioner Murphy shares much of the responsibility for this weekend's bloodshed and violence because of his continued refusal to hear criticism of the Police Department and his refusal to suspend Lt. James Gilligan, pending a public hearing.

The WDL, which has defended many victims of police brutality and which has participated with a host of other liberal organizations in a campaign for a Public Review Board, sent the following telegrams to Acting Mayor Paul R. Screvane and Police Commissioner Murphy:

TO ACTING MAYOR PAUL R. SCREVANE:

THE CITY COUNCIL BY ITS INACTION ON THE WEISS BILL CALLING FOR A PUBLIC REVIEW BOARD HAS TOLD ALL NEW YORKERS THAT THERE CAN BE NO ORDERLY CIVILIAN REDRESS AGAINST POLICE BRUTALITY. ALL PIOUS STATEMENTS URGING NEGROES TO STAY IN THEIR HOMES WILL NOT BE HEEDED UNTIL CITY OFFICIALS INDICATE THAT THE CITIZENS COMPLAINT AGAINST THE POLICE WILL BE HEARD AND ACTED UPON. URGE YOU TO CALL IMMEDIATE SESSION OF THE CITY COUNCIL TO PASS WEISS BILL AND BEGIN IMMEDIATE PUBLIC HEARINGS INTO SHOOTING OF JAMES POWELL AND POLICE BRUTALITY IN HARLEM THIS WEEKEND.

TO POLICE COMMISSIONER MICHAEL J. MURPHY:

VIOLENCE AND BLOODSHED IN HARLEM THIS WEEKEND SHOULD PROVE TO YOU BEYOND A DOUBT THAT THE CITIZEN MUST HAVE ORDERLY REDRESS FOR HIS GRIEVENCES. YOUR POSITION AGAINST A CIVILIAN REVIEW BOARD HAS CREATED AN ATMOSPHERE OF HOPELESSNESS AMONG NEGROES AND PUERTO RICANS. URGE YOU TO RECONSIDER YOUR STAND AGAINST WEISS BILL AND TO SUSPEND LT. JAMES GILLIGAN PENDING A PUBLIC HEARING.

-30-

Be fair, be just, be reasonable, be considerate, and thoughtful of others

GOD IS OUR VINDICATOR, HELPER AND SHIELD

NUMBER 624 TO 626

Let God rule our heart

Love thy God
Have wisdom, understanding and love
Have fellowship one with another
Be followers of what is good and right.
— L. JOSEPH KAHN

THE FINAL DECISIONS OF OUR WORTHINESS AS JEWS OR NON JEWS REST IN THE HANDS OF GOD.

51 STRATFORD ROAD
BROOKLYN, N. Y. 11218

JUL 22 1964

Mr James Farmer,
National Director C. O. R. E.
38 Park Row
New York City

file → Gilligan

Dear Mr. Farmer:—

Please convey my deepest sympathy to the Powell family in the senseless killing of their son James Powell. I do hope and pray that you will go all the way & why this incident had to happen and what cause this thing had to happen from the beginning there is no reason why they had had to die the way he did. God bless you and your loved ones and God be with you in your work for your people.

Sincerely
In His Service
L J Kahn

Police

Farmer Press Conference September 2, 1964

Immediate -- Determination by the police department of the judgment and sense of responsibility shown by Lt. Gilligan in this instance. A failure to indict does not indicate that the Lt. acted properly.

To prevent further tragedies: to restore confidence in the police force:

1. Establish a Civilian Review Board -- a truly independent agency so that the community can have confidence that its complaints are honestly judged.

2. Better screening of the police to weed out the emotionally disturbed.

3. Review of regulations that require off-duty policement to be armed. Armed off-duty police undoubtedly apprehend some of those who break the law.

   However, police are human. Off-duty they are entitled to drink a few beers. They are armed at times when their judgment is clouded.

   Further, the person apprehended may never know or believe that the person clad in a sport shirt or bathing trunks is in fact a policeman.

4. Better training in human relations for present policemen as well as for recruits.

5. Increased recruitment of minority group personnel for the force.

File: Police Brutality

September 2, 1964

THIS IS CORE'S REPORT ON THE GILLIGAN CASE

This report is the product of CORE's intensive investigation of Gilligan's slaying of James Powell. Commenced at the direction of general counsel Carl Rachlin within two hours after the event, the investigation was carried out by three attorneys and four law students. George Schiffer, assistant general counsel, was in charge. Jim Finney of Law Students Civil Rights Research Counsel coordinated the work of the students. The investigation is one of several undertaken in CORE's continuing program against police brutality.

More than twenty witnesses were interviewed in all, the investigators spent over two hundred hours. Five witnesses were discovered whom the district attorney had not been able to reach. The district attorney was also given the names and addresses of other witnesses who refused to be interviewed by CORE. Thus the CORE investigation made a substantial contribution to the district attorney's.

CORE concludes that Powell was shot needlessly. Even if Gilligan's story is believed, and many witnesses contradict it, CORE cannot understand how a highly trained, two hundred pound policeman found it necessary to shoot and kill a 122 pound boy at close range.

If this killing was not a crime, then the law and police department policy are at fault. If the law is as the Hogan report suggests, then a policeman who suspects a citizen's conduct is free to attack the citizen; if the citizen resists, the policeman may kill. But then the killer cannot be convicted, or even brought to public trial, unless a case against him can be proved beyond a reasonable doubt: proof that the suspicion had no reasonable basis, proof that the policeman used far more force than necessary.

In other words, the government of laws, not men, depends on the forbearance of a hurried policeman. He can turn a mildly comic street scene into a killing, a disorderly conduct into an execution.

In this case, Gilligan shot a half-grown boy twice with a very powerful gun. CORE is unalterably opposed to permitting or encouraging such action by police. The police in New York shoot far too many people. It is time to set positive restraints on the police use of weapons.

CORE's legal department is now preparing a study in depth of the New York law on police violence. This study will be presented to the New York legislature now considering a revised penal law.

There is alot of talk today about law and order. CORE wants law that applies to police killers, order that applies to whites as well as Negroes and justice that applies equally to all.

September 2, 1964

THE GILLIGAN CASE

Report of the Congress of Racial Equality

On the morning of July 16, 1964, at approximately 9:30 A.M., Lt. Thomas R. Gilligan, off-duty member of the New York City Police Department, shot and killed James Powell, citizen of New York City. Gilligan, aged 37, weighed 200 pounds. He had, on at least four occasions, disarmed adult criminals. Powell, aged 15, weighed 122 pounds. His height was 5 feet, 6-1/2 inches. He was a Negro.

Gilligan shot three times and two of the bullets struck Powell. When Powell had fallen to the sidewalk, Gilligan used his foot to turn the boy over. Powell was then still alive, but could not speak. The whole incident occupied perhaps thirty seconds.

The killing occurred on a hot, sunny, Thursday morning, across East 76th Street from Robert F. Wagner Junior High School. Powell had been taking voluntary summer classes there. About 15 of Powell's fellow students actually saw the shooting. Other students saw Powell fall and saw Gilligan turn him over. Still more students heard the shots and came running out. Several adult passersby also witnessed the killing.

By the time that an ambulance and police had arrived, several hundred students were on the street, in a hysterical mood. Reporters arrived.

Gilligan was impassive. While the first witnesses were still being interviewed, Gilligan went on "sick leave" and the Police Department, through Assistant Chief Inspector Coyle, issued a version of the killing exonerating him.

It is not unusual for a policeman to shoot a citizen. Neither the law nor police department policy place strong restraints on a policeman's use of force, or on a policeman's choice of force.

On the contrary, the law is interpreted by the Hogan Report as permitting a policeman to shoot and kill a total stranger if the policeman reasonably suspects the stranger's conduct and the innocent stranger fails to submit promptly. Essentially, that is what may well have happened in this case.

Powell was an only child. His father died three years ago. Powell and his mother lived in a Bronx low-cost Housing Project occupied almost exclusively by Negroes. Never poverty stricken in the terms of ghetto starvation, the family nevertheless remained in the lowest third of the city's income.

Powell had had minor trouble with the law. Once he was arrested for robbery and acquitted; twice he was caught climbing over subway turnstiles to avoid paying the fare.

As a small, fatherless boy, Powell tried to establish himself as a happy-go-lucky type, always ready to lend his things; joking and laughing. He was not a leader. Occasionally, he had a fist fight. Usually he lost. He did not fight much, never with weapons.

To his mother, Powell was all she had left since the death of her husband. Until the shooting, Mrs. Powell worked, except when she was sick. She has a bad heart.

Gilligan worked his way up as a cop with daring exploits. At least two of these prior incidents occurred when he was off-duty. Once he shot another Negro boy, allegedly to prevent his escape. Sixteen years on the police force, his rise to Lieutenant was rapid and associated with violent episodes. These episodes obviously had the approval of Gilligan's superiors, since citations and promotions resulted.

On the morning of July 16, Jimmie Powell got up to go to school. Not a particularly good student, he had decided that he would try to improve. His reading was particularly poor, so he enrolled in

a remedial reading class at Wagner. The trip each way was almost an hour.

As the summer principal of Wagner fondly points out, attendance at these classes is wholly voluntary. The students are given special incentive in the form of extra credit. Their motivation is excellent. Students travel long distances to attend. No disciplinary problem exists. A majority of the students is Negro.

In the neighborhood, the story is different. East 76th, between Second and Third Avenues, is a quiet street with little traffic. On the edge of Yorkville, a number of ethnic groups -- German, Hungarian, Irish, Czech, Austrian -- are found there. In recent years, new construction and renovation of brownstones have stopped the deterioration. Few Negroes live there. The summer students had caused a certain amount of trouble. They were noisy and undisciplined in the streets. In the neighborhood, the regulars, including janitor Pat Lynch, did not like them.

Almost every day some of the students missed classes or came early for classes. They would gather on the streets, talking, flirting, doing what teen-agers do when assembled. In the ten days of summer session, this open-air social hall had become established.

On the way to school, the children tended to travel in small groups. For example, on July 16 two friends went to Jimmie Powell's house. Then all three took the bus. Powell had acquired two pocket knives a few days earlier. They were borrowed that morning by his two friends. Arriving at East 76th well before the next class, the three joined a group of boys and girls already there, and separated.

Across the street, Pat Lynch saw some boys on the stoop of 211 East 76th Street, one of the two buildings for which he was janitor. He decided to spray the stoop, plants and young trees then, although the job should have been finished earlier. Also, he did not

like having these Negro kids eating on his stoop, messing it up.

He asked the students to move. After a few minutes, most did. One refused; Lynch turned the hose on the boy's face. Several kids shouted at Lynch. He turned the hose on them, boys and girls alike. One boy was drenched. He and others began to throw objects taken from nearby garbage cans at Lynch. Lynch responded with the hose. The Powell boy joined the fray near the end, as Lynch retreated into 215 East 76th Street. A pane of glass on the outer door of that building was broken by one of the missiles thrown after Lynch.

The soaking incident lasted only five or ten minutes. It was accompanied by loud, profane remarks on both sides. Lynch did make racial comments, the most often quoted being, "I'm going to wash the black off you."

After Lynch entered 215, the students who had been on the north side of East 76th Street scattered. Some joined their fellows on the south side, some lounged against the south side of cars parked at the north curb, and a few remained on the north sidewalk. Powell returned to the south side of the street.

At this time, Gilligan was in a television repair shot in 215 East 76th Street, allegedly having a radio fixed. A relative of Gilligan's lives in the building and Gilligan formerly worked out of the 19th Precinct. No satisfactory or complete explanation of Gilligan's presence at this early hour, 60 blocks from his home, has been made. He was no stranger to the repair shop. The shouting, garbage and bottle throwing and general disorder involving a score of students did not cause Gilligan to make any arrest. The Hogan Report suggests he deliberately avoided becoming involved.

East 76th Street is a narrow street with narrow sidewalks. 211 is a 16 foot wide building. The repair shop and the entry to 215 are 16 feet wide together. The sidewalk is 12 feet deep. From the

repair shop door, in the shop's middle, to the 215 steps is 13 feet. From the front of the low steps it is 7 feet to the door of the building. Thus the stage of action was the size of a modest bedroom. 215 has a permanently locked inner door (as Gilligan would have known) and two outer half doors, one closed, one open.

Having reached the south side of the street, Powell joined his acquaintances. There was talk, about the Lynch incident, about other things. Powell talked to a couple of girls. Then he went to his friend and asked for his knife back. The friend, who wanted to keep it for a while, said he could not find it. Powell then went to the second pal, asked for, and got his other knife. This was seen by the two friends and one girl. No one apparently paid further attention to Powell, except one of the girls to whom he had been talking.

There is no question but that Powell wanted to discuss matters further with Lynch. None of the kids took this seriously. None joined him.

Powell crossed to the north side of the street, about outside the repair shop. He moved quickly. Without pause, he entered the double doors of 215, tried to open the inner door, found it locked, turned, took a step out.

<u>There he was shot for the first time</u>.

Gilligan came out of the repair shop at virtually the same time that Powell was turning to leave 215. Gilligan says he left the store as Powell was coming around a parked truck to enter 215. Many witnesses contradict this. Gilligan suggests that this happened immediately after Lynch entered 215; but this could not be. There must have been an interval, if only to allow Powell to get his knife on the south side of the street. Witnesses say Gilligan came out with his gun drawn, pointed forward, at waist level. <u>He did not wear a badge</u>. He was dressed in a shirt and pants. As he ran the few steps to 215,

he shouted, "Hey, you!" Gilligan says that while Powell was between the doors of 215, in the instant before he turned to come out, Gilligan drew his gun, put on his badge and verbally identified himself. Almost at the same instane as Gilligan's shout, one of the girls yelled, "Look out, he's got a gun." The shots followed without interval. Gilligan fired the first shot as he reached a position in front of 215, blocking Powell's exit. The second and third shots were fired in rapid sequence. These facts are confirmed by numerous witnesses.

Gilligan says the first was a warning shot. The witnesses say the first shot took effect. Two bullets only entered the boy. One bullet was found at waist level in the inner door frame of 215, the other in the boy's chest. One bullet entered Jimmie's abdomen and passed out of his back. One bullet passed through his right forearm and into his chest.

Gilligan says that Jimmie had aknife in his hand and was attacking him. He claims he tried to ward off Jimmie's first blow, had his hand injured, then shot. Many of the witnesses saw no knife in the boy's hand or were not in a position to see. One claims to have seen a closed knife. Some claim to have seen an open knife. Lynch saw no knife, stated he was never attacked with a knife. The entire incident occurred with such extreme rapidity, occupying only a few seconds from Gilligan's leaving the repair shop. Gilligan, having more distance to cover, must have been moving approximately three times as fast as Powell, if a number of witnesses are to be believed. There was no time for Gilligan to stop or to identify himself, or to give warning. The pace of action and restricted space support the testimony contradicting Gilligan's story. The fair conclusion is that Gilligan and Powell were moving towards each other, Gilligan moving faster. If Powell was aware of Gilligan at all, it is entirely plausible to suppose that he thought himself under unprovoked attack by an armed stranger.

Some witnesses claim Powell's hands were at shoulder height, some that they were down, when he was shot. The former testimony is probably correct in view of the path of the bullet. The fair conclusion, then, is that Powell's hands were at about shoulder height when he was shot.

This tends to confirm that he either had no knife in his hand, threw the knife away in the gutter where it was found later, or was gesturing surrender. All of these alternatives are supported by different witnesses. Many witnesses state positively that there was no attack, and the position of the hands suggests that their recollection was correct.

Powell had never seen Gilligan. Consequently, there was no motive for an attack. According to many witnesses, Gilligan shot from the hip as he came. It is suggested that the bullet found in the door frame was a warning shot. If so, it was fired waist-high, directly across the path of the boy. It passed through a pane of glass in the closed front half door and buried itself only to a depth of three-fourths of an inch. It could well have passed through the boy, although the police ballistics expert does not think so.

The official version is that the second bullet struck Powell's arm, then entered his chest. But Powell continued to attack. Therefore, in self-defense, Gilligan shot again. This is Gilligan's story, corroborated by some witnesses.

This story is contradicted by witnesses and objective considerations. First, it assumes Gilligan to have halted, which he probably did not. Second, Gilligan used a .38 calibre revolver, a weapon with great stopping power. At close range, and the two cannot have been more than three to five feet apart, the shock of impact was tremendous. The impact exceeded a blow from a sledgehammer. It is objectively unbelievable that a 122 pound boy, struck in the forearm

and chest by a .38 calibre bullet could continue an attack. The very closeness of Gilligan and Powell suggests that the shooting was unnecessary. The disparity in age, size and training indicate that a single blow, delivered at close quarters, would have stopped Powell.

Many witnesses confirm that the first bullet to strike made Jimmie fall against a low railing and then further forward on his face. The second bullet, they say, struck him either as he was falling or after he had fallen. Further, the second bullet was fired immediately after the first. But the first caused such a grievous injury that the medical expert states it would have been fatal shortly. A continued attack was, therefore, most improbable, and the firing of the second bullet casts doubt on the justification of the first. Some witnesses persist in stating that at least one bullet was fired after Powell was down.

The objective evidence suggests that the second bullet entered the abdomen and exited the back, from which it is concluded that the shot was fired as the boy was falling. Some witnesses, seeing Gilligan stand over the fallen boy, gun pointing, may have thought he shot then. The possibility remains that he did shoot after the boy was down.

Gilligan then turned the boy over onto his back with his foot. Although there is some contradictory testimony on this point, the weight favors that this happened. Several people were within a few feet throughout the incident, but one of Powell's two pals ran across the street to reach Powell first. He saw that Jimmie was alive and tried to talk to him. But Jimmie could say nothing. He turned to Gilligan, asked him to get an ambulance. Gilligan then pulled out his badge and said, "I'm a cop, he's my prisoner, you get the ambulance." That Gilligan first showed a badge after the shooting is confirmed by a number of witnesses. Gilligan, of course, contradicts.

The Hogan report on the case sets forth the testimony of numerous witnesses. Some of that testimony confirms, some contradicts Gilligan's own version. Gilligan's own story depends greatly on his claim to have been injured by Powell. Gilligan appears to be supported by no witnesses on this point and is contradicted by several.

On July 17, the Daily News printed two photographs of Gilligan. One showed his right hand bandaged. This comports with the hospital report of contusions to the right little finger, treated by applying a splint. The second photograph shows the hand and the entire forearm bandaged. It is thus apparent that the larger bandage was deemed unnecessary by at least one doctor shortly after the incident. The Hogan Report does not make the facts of Gilligan's alleged injury clear at all. The diagnosis of July 16 mentioned no abrasions; that of July 17 did. Further, on July 17 the doctor found a sacroiliac injury not mentioned on July 16.

The Hogan Report accurately reflects the contradictory state of the evidence. It fails to emphasize the most significant contradictions, the disparity of the opponents, the restrictions of time and space. The Hogan Report does not spell out a case of crime against Powell or justification for Gilligan. That the Grand Jury could have believed Gilligan and his supporters is clear. That the Grand Jury could have approved the killing of a boy in these circumstances reflects the ambiguity of the applicable law.

The Hogan report takes an erroneous point of view of the law, even if many of the statements, in themselves, are correct. The proper view should be to limit the use of force, especially deadly force, by the policeman. The Hogan report states that if there is a disorderly conduct, the policeman may kill if he is resisted. Indeed, the Hogan report points out, the officer has no duty to retreat even if he can safely do so. In other words, a violation of law not even a crime can be transformed by a policeman's agression to a situation in which he becomes judge, jury and executioner.

Quite to the contrary, the law requires the policeman to bend every effort to bring the suspect before the court. There the suspect, even if found guilty, might be sentenced to a small fine, to a few days in jail. It is, therefore, wholly inappropriate to kill a suspect to prevent escape when the consequences of conviction would be negligible. While the applicable law is not as clear as it should be, it certainly does not encourage killing in situations precipitated by the officer himself. While the Hogan report may be technically correct, applied to some circumstances, it is misleading in the context of this case.

Obviously, there are circumstances in which policemen must use force. Those circumstances are, however, limited by the fundamental consideration that the police exist to protect the citizen and to aid lawful process. Every person is taught that a citizen is innocent, until proven guilty. But reasonable belief that a felony has been committed and that the suspect committed it, or the reasonable belief that the suspect is committing a crime, permit a policeman to use force to effect an arrest or prevent the crime. The degree of force permitted must be reasonable. Deadly force must not be used except in felony, and even then it must be necessary. The right to use deadly force is not license to kill.

In practice the consequence of these rules is that a suspect, presumed innocent, may be killed by a policeman who has a reasonable, but erroneous, belief as to the suspect's conduct. All the constitutional protections, the whole government of laws, not men, rides in the strained perceptions of a hurried policeman.

More, the policeman may use force to defend himself, as any man. But the policeman may go further. The policeman may be the agressor, attempting a capture. If the suspect resists the agression or counter-attacks, the policeman is deemed assaulted and may use deadly force without retreating. It is, however, sheer bootstrapping to suggest, as the Hogan report does, that a violation not authorizing deadly force may be coupled with resistance to permit killing. It is highly undesirable thus to encourage shooting at minor offenders attempting to escape arrest.

The policeman's duties to use no more force than necessary and to avoid killing if possible are difficult to assess objectively. The use of the very powerful .38 calibre pistol itself imparts the risk of death from any single shot; yet the gun is standard. This circumstance again calls for restrictions on the policeman's right to shoot at all.

The special privileges of the policeman to use force may be seen to depend on the suspect's recognizing his assailant as a policeman. If an ordinary sitizen sought to interfere with the suspect in most of these situations, the suspect would have every right to resist. Only insofar as the citizen has a duty to respond to public authority, to answer in court charges against him, does he have a duty to submit to a policeman. The right of the policeman to use force depends initially on an overt breach of that duty

If, therefore, the policeman does not identify himself as such, the citizen has no obligation to obey. Further, the principle that the policeman's use of force must be reasonable and necessary,

imports the obligation on him to give warning. The law, then, contemplates a sequence of events before the use of force: the policeman's perception of circumstances authorizing his intervention, the identification and the warning, the perception of identification and warning by the suspect. In the stroboscopic flicker of the event, such a sequence can easily abort. If the policeman is not trained to avoid force to the last moment, but encouraged and protected in its use, reflex will cause shooting.

The killing over, Gilligan became the suspect, entitled to all constitutional protection. His culpability must be proved beyond a reasonable doubt. In other words, Gilligan could kill on reasonable suspicion; could intervene in a situation involving no more than a child's bragadoccio; could kill. But he is answerable only beyond a reasonable doubt. This dichotomy is the major weakness of the law: the permissive standards on the use of force, the absolute standard on its punishment.

It is plain that Powell did not in fact commit a crime justifying Gilligan's interference with deadly force. But if he had a reasonable belief that such a crime existed, he had a right to intervene. If Gilligan had such belief, it could not have been based on the discomfiture of Lynch, an incident already terminated. If Gilligan saw Powell run to 215, as he claims, Gilligan knew the inner door to be locked. Indeed, as Gilligan faced Powell, the boy was already leaving 215. No crime was, therefore, in progress. Gilligan could not, therefore, have been acting to apprehend a suspected felon or to prevent a crime. At this point, law, discretion and good police practice would have suggested Gilligan stop, assess the situation, retreat if necessary to allow the boy access to the street, be certain Powell intended a crime. The immediate agressive response, the failure to retreat made death inevitable. A side step, some words might have made it wholly unnecessary to shoot under any interpretation of the facts.

If Gilligan's story that Powell attacked him is believed, the question of self-defense arises. The evidence is preponderantly that Gilligan was running at Powell. Certainly Gilligan made no move to retreat although he could have done so. Powell may well have thought himself under attack. The Gilligan story, if true, does not explain the need to kill in self defense.

The amount of force used has particular significance. Some of the witnesses say Gilligan came out of the repair shop with drawn gun. Gilligan says he drew after coming out but before Powell faced him. In either event, Powell first saw Gilligan as an armed stranger at close quarters. The readiness of the gun caused its use, whether or not there was an attack, not the danger to Gilligan from a half-grown boy.

The conclusions of one person on such questions are not, however, the necessary conclusions of another. If the facts were that Powell had an open knife in hand; that Gilligan had grounds, as an officer, to interfere; that Gilligan had stopped; that Gilligan audibly identified himself as a policeman and wore his badge; that Powell than attacked Gilligan, then, under present law Gilligan had a right to use force available to him. Powell's assumed open knife was a deadly weapon. Thus a deadly weapon could legally be used in response.

This state of the law is obviously unsatisfactory. Policemen should not shoot boys half their size. Had forbearance entailed some risk to Gilligan, so be it. The police exist to protect citizens, not to shoot them. No sympathy can be extended to a two hundred pound adult, professionally trained to use force, who kills a small boy to avoid some personal risk.

A minor, indeed comic, street incident results in death. The occurence is not unusual. Before and since the Gilligan case

there have been other police shootings in ambiguous circumstances. The odds on every day greatly favor that a new incident will take place and that it will involve a Negro victim. The constitutional rights which surround a citizen mean little to the dead and maimed.

File

M. MASON GAFFNEY
707 East Fleetwood Place
Whitefish Bay, Wisconsin
53217

OCT 8 1964

October 5, 1964

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Carey:

Thank you for yours of 30 September, but I must honestly report that its tone tends to confirm my fears. It seems to say two things at once. You deny that you defend anyone for knifing a policeman, but you call the policeman who defends himself against knifing a "murderer." You do not breathe a word of criticism of the aggressor, the knife-wielder who was first of all engaging in threatening and disorderly conduct and secondly attacked the officer who was seeking to keep the peace with a deadly weapon with evident intent to do great bodily harm and perhaps kill. That strikes me as a seriously unbalanced evaluation of a situation, more becoming the Muslim ideology than that which I have in the past associated with CORE.

It seems to me we tend to set a double standard. Policemen are supposed to be models of self-restraint as they jeopardize their lives in the under-paid job of keeping the peace. Members of mobs, j.d.s, rioters, and looters are supposed to shoot us between the eyes at high noon before twenty witnesses before we can defend ourselves. I have supported CORE because I dislike mob rule and I dislike double standards. It is a deep dis-appointment to me now to see CORE move in the direction of condoning, or seeming to condone, such things.

You say police brutality is daily reality in many northern ghettoes. I'm sure you are right, but I'm equally sure you are wrong to place all the causation on the police. It is a mutual thing -- the citizens can brutalize the police, as much as the other way around. When you adopt a philosophy that requires the police to be blameless paragons and excuses those who require policing you are postponing a solution of the problem.

Sincerely,

Mason Gaffney

30 September 1964

Mr. Hazen Gaffney
707 East Fleetwood Place
Whitefish Bay, Wisconsin 53217

Dear Mr. Gaffney:

I am replying to your September 9 letter to Mr. Farmer. I do not know of any instances where we encourage or defend anyone--white or Negro--for attacking or knifing a policeman. In the Gilligan case in New York City, for example, we certainly strongly protest the murder of a fifteen year old boy by a policeman twice his size. P

Police brutality is a daily reality in many northern ghettoes. We will continue to do our utmost to persuade the police from using unnecessary force.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:lP

Gordon

M. MASON GAFFNEY
707 East Fleetwood Place
Whitefish Bay, Wisconsin
53217

9-9-64

SEP 10 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer -

When a negro is denied the ballot, and you defend him, I am with you.

But when a negro knifes a policeman, and you defend him, I wonder if you are not losing perspective?

I cannot blame you, nor cease to admire you for your past courage and achievements, but for a while at least I am cooling it.

If this makes me one of the phony parlor liberals, so be it. I think we must draw the line when the demand for equal rights becomes a demand for special license to act irresponsibly.

Sincerely.

Mason Gaffney

Police Brutal

30 September 1964

Mr. Shaun Gaffney
707 East Fleetwood Place
Whitefish Bay, Wisconsin 53217

Dear Mr. Gaffney:

I am replying to your September 9 letter to Mr. Farmer. I do not know of any instances where we encourage or defend anyone--white or Negro--for attacking or knifing a policeman. In the Gilligan case in New York City, for example, we certainly strongly protest the murder of a fifteen year old boy by a policeman twice his size. P

Police brutality is a daily reality in many northern ghettoes. We will continue to do our utmost to persuade the police from using unnecessary force.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

grc:lp

Police Gilligan Case

LAW OFFICES
SCHIFFER & COHEN

BARRY LEE COHEN
GEORGE SCHIFFER

40 EAST 49TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
PLAZA 2-8060

November 13, 1964

Hon. Edward F. Cavanagh, Jr.
Deputy Mayor of the City of New York
City Hall
New York, New York 10007

Dear Deputy Mayor:

Some months ago Mayor Wagner publicly announced the establishment of a police brutality review procedure under your direction. Thereafter you advised me that this procedure would involve the review of findings of the Police Department's Civilian Complaint Bureau, including, if necessary, complete reinvestigation by attorneys of your staff.

This is, therefore, to request, on behalf of CORE, that you undertake an immediate review and reinvestigation of the Gilligan case.

Our own investigation of the Gilligan case indicated that the killing of the Powell boy occurred in questionable circumstances. We stressed, in our report, that the interpretation of applicable law advanced by Mr. Hogan was in our opinion erroneous and that Mr. Gilligan's behaviour could hardly be considered proper police practice. The killing in broad daylight, of a small 15 year old boy by a large, highly trained police officer cannot constitute good police work, whatever the applicable rule of law.

The action of the police review board shocked us because it virtually commended the killing. By concluding that no police rules had been violated, the Board has approved Gilligan's conduct. This is intolerable, as a decision on the facts

of this case suit as a precedent.

The procedure of the Civilian Complaint Review investigation was secret and evasive. We were given no understanding that we would have an opportunity to present views and witnesses. This understanding was not honored. It appears that the Police Department investigation was carried out while I was in Europe and, although responsible officials of the Department well knew of my primary concern with the case, no effort was made to even contact my office. Neither was any effort made to contact any other civil officials. The Police Department findings are therefore prejudiced, suspect and entitled to no weight whatsoever since they result from an ex parte proceedings.

The issuance of the findings of the Department by Commissioner Murphy and the pressure on the Board of the Police Department's public relations man show further that these findings are so partisan as to be entitled only to disdain. Indeed, the entire handling of the Gilligan case by the Police Department shows such gross insensitivity and contempt for the public that the removal of those responsible is plainly indicated.

We further question the return of Gilligan to duty in which he is entitled to go armed. Without regard to any question of criminal responsibility, the man has killed. A killer ought not to be armed, especially with the Police Department's endorsement, so that he may feel free to kill again. Even if his conduct had been entirely proper, he ought not hereafter be put into a position where he might again have occasion to use a weapon.

In our view, the laws and the Police Department regulations regarding policemen's use of force, and particularly deadly weapons, require substantial revision. In reconsidering the Gilligan case, we urge you to give thought to the question, whether policemen are not under a special duty, because of their training, to use restraint and to avoid the us-

of firearms. We urge you to examine the facts of this case from the viewpoint that a trained, large man ought not to use a gun on a boy, even if the boy has a knife.

If the procedure publicly announced by the Mayor has any validity whatsoever, then the public and Mrs. Powell are entitled to a frank, honest, complete and open disclosure of all the testimony in the Gilligan case and to an objective review of the Police Department handling of it.

Yours very truly,

GEORGE SCHIFFER

GS:mmc

cc: Hon. Robert F. Wagner, Mayor
Mr. James Farmer, CORE
Carl Rachlin, Esq.
Deputy Comm'r Walter Arm

December 2, 1964

Mr. David Alves
3511 John C. Lodge
Unit 914
Detroit 1, Michigan

Dear Mr. Alves:

Thank you for your letter of November 23, addressed to Mr. Farmer, which has been referred to me.

We certainly agree with you that one of the major problems in the field of civil rights is that of police discrimination against Negroes, and including the whole area of equal justice.

Mr. Farmer appreciates your interest in the civil rights movement and CORE activities and was glad to have your comments.

I am enclosing 2 pamphlets about CORE which might of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Materelli
Staff Associates

NM/m
Enclosures

1. Cases don't get into papers
2. Accidental shootings - poor shots A or S
3. Papers don't cover all cases/no follow ups.
4. Assignment of Negro Policemen to Harlem
5. Civilian Review Board.

Corpse Police Comm (1)

Files Sat 8/17/46

Mrs. Susan Kiernan, 62 yrs. Bklyn. dies of stray bullet
A by Patrolman Francis DeFeis - chasing suspect 11/22/46

Mrs. Adele Gelb 63, accidentally wounded on W 73 St. N.Y.
A by Ptl. Joseph Dooley. 9/15/46

Boy 4½-year old Ernie Ursutia of 195 E 100 St killed 2 cops
A shot down under Suspect Lieut. James Brady & Actg. Lieut John Brennan 8/4/47

at 1458 Bedford Av.
Probationary cop shoots two negroes sitting on Stoop/without
Offense provocation in Bklyn gets 6-months cop. Francis Hogan T. 9/11/48

Delegation from Civil Rts. Congress protested to police against "fifty-cases
of police shootings & manhandling particularly against negroes."
T. 9/30/48

Justice Frank Oliver in Bronx Special Session
Court said 'Cops can't shoot'. He says "Take the Police
S Dept. N.Y City Cops can't shoot. Why 10 of them taking 10
shots couldn't hit a door 20 yds. away on the level. But
that's because they have to buy their own." 8/4/48

City Hall picketed in killing of Willie Milton negro by
cop. - Killed/Cityed - 7/30/6?

Grand Jury to investigate fatal shooting of ~~William T. Patton~~
Jehas. Thrasher of Bronx by Ptl. Eugene Stasiuch. people
picketed at a Bronx Bathgate Ave. police station. 1/21/49
Daily Worker version of this story added cop claim man drew knife
also failed to investigate charges of manhandling of Paul Wright 19 by cop badge #5295
Daily Worker 1/21/49

Ptl. Donald Mullen of Gates Ave. Station (cop lives in Maspeth L.I.) shot & killed Herman Newton of 617 Halsey St. Bklyn., 22 yrs over traffic regulation. No arrests made. D.A refused it to Grand Jury because of conflicting Statements 6/1/49

N.A.A.C.P. asks Gov. Dewey to appoint Special Prosecutor & Grand Jury to investigate H. Newton's death. Also made allegations of other cases of police brutality. N.A.A.C.P. said it had several witnesses whose sworn testimony refuted police version that man drew a knife 6/16/49

No indictment for cop in Newton case Grand Jury finds facts & removes "sufficient evidence". 7/14/49

N.A.A.C.P. stayed protest & decision in Bklyn. 8/5/64

N.A.A.C.P. asks court for grand jury minutes says D.A said there were no known eye witnesses but N.A.A.C.P. said they had 8 eye witnesses 7/28/49 - call it whitewash. (Apparently didn't get minutes

Ptl. Samuel Rubenfeld wounds a Puerto Rican Herminion Miranda 20-year in East Harlem D.A said no reason found for Criminal action again cops East Harlem Assn. of Churches & Pastors staged demonstration on police brutality. In another case Police Comm. William P. O'Brien said that the beating of Earl Bellon 18 yrs by two detectives he found no case for disciplinary action against the two. 11/15/49 (The man shot while running away but was charged w felonious assault)

Stray shot kills woman passerby in Central Pk. they chase dead woman Mrs. Carrie James 50, of 46 W 120 St. Cop was Nicholas F. Adriggo 4/19/50

Miriam Borowitz 25, of 450 Ocean Pkwy Bklyn wins $75,000 for being shot by cop at 152 & Amsterdam Ave who shot a suspect letting Le 4/25/50

A-1-76

(2)

Police Commissioners

(D) Thomas F. Murphy 2/21/51 - to 54
Francis W.H. Adams end of 53 to July 55
(R) Stephen P. Kennedy 8/2/55 to 54.
(R) Michael J. Murphy 2/23/61 —

Thurmond Towns 19, negro shot & killed by Ptls. John Crothe & William Alexander at 137 St. & St. Nicholas. Ave. They were chasing a purse snatcher on night May 8, when he was shot Cops refused to say if he was identified as the thief or had purse or money in his possession his family denies it — Daily Worker 5/17/50

George Westray 31, negro beaten up by police August 10 taken to Lincoln Hospital & hospital Ptl. Daniel McEnery shot him twice in abdomen - nothing was done & cop reported only in Daily Worker 11/24/49

Detective Joseph Bijou suspended for shooting of 8/3/49 Raymond Pacheo, while former drunk Bronx County Court jury clears him said he only had 3 or 4 bottles of beer claimed Pacheo lunged at him w a knife 5/27/50

Ptl. John J. Reilly shot Robert Fogel 30, negro a vet. hearing scheduled for felony Court on charge of felonious assault cop was drunk. He was suspended — Only in Worker 1/6/49

Ptl. cop suspended held in $5,000 bail felonious assault, blackjacked & shot Paul Lymon sailor (white) cops were Ptl. Michael Bilanchuck of E 22 St. Station. The police records show that cop was reinstated in 1936 after being suspended in connection w death of a man he blackjacked. The sailor was shot over an argument on Communism — Killed by Ptl. 3/2/49 N.Y.T.

reelected from

2nd grad jury fails to indict on insufficient evidence Ptl. Sam Applebaum of Liberty Ave. precinct fatally shot Henry Fields jr. 26, negro on May 26/50 after fist & gun accident. Fields was shot at Liberty Av. & Osborn St. Bklyn. Asst. Dist. Atty William I. Siegel called findings of 1st grad jury "gross miscarriage

Here cop admitted he did not shoot in self-defense only said stop & Shot man.
D.A. Siegel said grand jury "failed to give the case a complete & impartial investigation
but, on the contrary acted capriciously and contrary to law." T. 6/22/50

same case

of justice Judge Samuel Leibowitz on request of prosecutor resubmitted it to 2nd grand jury. After this verdict
D.A. Miles F. McDonald announced "we are not going to take any further action." "We've done our duty as far as it is possible for us to do it" 6/29/50 Story of 1st grand jury May 29, 1950 a crowd of 400 angry people had to be dispersed. The widower sued city for $250,000 but lost 4/24/53

NAACP. protest witness to DA Office that John H. Derrick 24, negro vet shot Dec. 7, at 8th ave & 119th St. without provocation, cops say he looked suspicious stopped him he drew gun. NAACP said had no gun & had probably $3,000 on him not found. Shot by both 8ths. Basil Minahanotis & Louis Palumbo of W 123 St. Station 12/15/50

(County) Grand jury heard 45 witnesses "found no basis for indictment"
T. 2/17/51

The two cops (shot Derrick/one) transfered to other Stations T. 119/51
NAACP. accuses DA Hogan of misleadly inquiry 2/19/51
At federal grand jury investigated (but no results i papers) 6/26/51

$27,000 awarded by jury in Bklyn Supreme

Virginia Carley 13, of 412-4th Ave Bklyn shot by accident cop shooting a stray dog 4/24/53

A-1-70

(3)

Pfc. Stanley E. Davis jr. sentenced to jail 8-15 yrs for killing Arthur Battle 36, in his home 788 Bergen St. Bklyn. he & 2 other Ex-Cops went to Davis home to seek for Service gun stolen in a barroom brawl earlier Gun not found in a scuffle Davis of Classon Ave. present living at 556A Macon St. Bklyn Shot Battle died in hospital. Sept 5/1/53 Happened May 25.

Davis Said, Battle tried to attack him & carving knife 9/19/52. They had no search warrants judge Lebowitz accused other Cops of lying to save Davis 2/28/53. All seem to be Negroes. Later freed in 2nd trial after appeal Court Said Summation of D.A was bad 5/19/54

Cop shoots up bar Pfc. James C. Kavanaugh of 235 Elkford St. drinking off duty shot up lights suspended. Greenpoint Bklyn 2/12/53

Mother of Carmelo Figueroa 28, of 859 Sutter Blvd Bronx sues city for $350,000 for killing son who allegedly stabbed a cop 5/7/53 (no more details)

Vincent Contreras, 17 yrs. of 363 Ave. X Bklyn shot by special patrolman after fight because boy wont get dime out of parking lot. Cop held without bail Robt. Friedenthal is patrolman. 10/11/52

A Shot in 20 bullet series by Sgt. Chase suspect caught 12/11/52 shot hits woman Mrs. H. Whitehall in bus cop pursuing Car 3/22/53

George Wilkes wins $27,000 from city in Suit Pfc. Benjamin Bohland of Ralph Ave & Ct. fired emptied revolver in a crowd while making arrest during a disturbance Reid & Halsey Bklyn. 5/26/53

Downtfall with more Sex

Ernest Ortega shot accused of trying to rob cop car in 142st Broad
12/29/52
Mario Lopez 16 killed cop making another arrest said he chased them with knife 3/2/53

John Sterling 15 of L.I. killed fleeing vandalism in Bklyn.
4th. Robt. Surrey. hid threw garbage can at widow 2.9.m woman screamed hid not drunk Commissioner Francis Adams said cop acted properly. 2/15/55 (white kid)
grand jury indicts cop suspend without pay. 3/24/55
cop freed by court jury 4/29/55
Editorial in Herald Trib says "... the records are full of cases in which the police have shot at fleeing figures, often with unintentionally fatal results. And often when something a good deal less than dangerous criminals turned out to have been involved. There is a possibility that the police have been getting a little too free and easy with their firearms, and the latest case is one that should cause the whole subject to be looked at frankly. Self-defense is one thing, so is protecting the public. But where nothing indicates more than a minor offense or disturbance of the peace, there is surely some way of apprehending the suspect besides a resort to the bullets than can miscarry with such dire results...
no one would want to be so callous as to suggest that the loss of a young life is justified merely because it was a mistake..."
Herald Trib. 2/15/55
Midnight Curfew imposed on rookies result of this slaying 3/11/55

Comm. Kennedy reminds police of Ban on Pistols use in Trivial cases. 11/7/55

Cop ousted from force for killing a man after visiting several bars Ptl. Paul Breighton hasn't been determined if he had just cause for killing (no more story or details) 9/29/56

(4)

Ptl. John A. McNeil arrested admits ~~shooting~~ killing of Catherine Keenan. 8/17/56, 1/15/57 (both white) he had claimed it was accidental.

Constantine Georgas florist @ 365 Halsey shot by off duty cop who said thought he was prowler 4:15 a.m. Ptl. Joseph Gilles later arrested man won $55, on suit, report said cop was drinking 3/21/57

Ptl. Harold Stewart of W 123 Pct. arrested for shooting Ben Fields Fields cop was drunk. 6/23/56

Widow of Mennie Margolies gets $95,000 in suit, husband killed ~~is shot~~ cops came to investigate phone call of disturbance said saw him running from scene shot him. Later said he had pen knife but judge rule this was not introduced into police report they filed 1950. — 6/8/56

Off duty cop fired a passer-by on Flatbush Ave. then gave 8 of fellow cops a block-long battle to station house Pt. Richard O'Neill booked on felonious assault. Doctors said he was drunk. he weighs 6'5", 225 lbs. [Killed stood ed. 2/11/56 — Note treatment he got by his own.

A 2 children, 9 & 7 yrs. shot in Bronx chase 4 robbery suspects held — 7/21/56

Victim of unproved attack fires warning, then shoots East Side Assailed > Victor Vega, 14 said to have attacked cop & bat 8/6/56 Daily worker says boy couldn't understand English when cop spoke he ran & was shot. Kid said other people were running from scene. Daily Worker 8/9/56

A Philip Farmer jr. 5-month old shot who cops fired at esqe fugitive - 10/15/54

Alfred Jackson 57 E 112 St. Shot critically he & friends jayed over turnstile ordered to stop ran onto tracks 2 got away shot by Plt. Bernard Waldman 2/14/54

Raymond Burns 46, negro owner of Candy Store at 747 E 168 St shot in leg by Plt. Cornelius Flynn, burns was driving coffee at a lunchcounth when cop entered & searched him & during search he was shot in leg. Cop pleaded guilty to 1 of 4 counts Burns acted judged to be insane & cop he was placed on probation for 3 years. 11/11/53, 12/15/53

William Burdick carpenter of 219 E 23rd St won $5,150 from city when cops Plt. Robt. Lee mistook him for hold-up man & shot him in left leg. in Jan. 23 of 1952. he was ordered out of his car & shot somehow (story doesn't say) 10/23/53

A Two women bystanders wounded in gun battle with police called suspects 4/27/58

Raymond Gannaway 17, of 91 Madison Ave. Bklyn killed accidentally when cops were firing at suspect they claimed beat one & his wife & the crowd gathered police had to call for their tactical patrol 4/3/60 (no further stories)

* Comm. Kennedy bans all-Negro police for Harlem as ethically wrong 7/23/59

Negro Leroy Revels, 14, of 774 Henry St. Bklyn. shot & paralyzed fleeing in handcuffs behind back. Kid said he found a loaded gas gun. Cops said he was & friends then ~~charged~~ admitted he was alone. Sgt. John Klevizos

5

Cont of | avoding & police chasing him fired warning shot & stalled & other shot hit & kid. doctors said both bullets were in kid this story was an intervew of kid by Post reporter
N.Y. Post 5/18/53 (nothing more in papers)

Same story | Boy 14 shot 3 times by cops. + . 5/15/58
Joseph Bugolsky of West Hempstead L.I. shot in neck by Dect. Michael O'Malley in diner in Queens cop said kid were disorderly cop told said accident held for felonious assault hearing set for Nov. 6. - 9/24/58

Shooting for Safety May. Article how Cops train 10/15/61
New Range Show police weak in shooting at moving target 2/5/58
Police may adopt FBI. pistol tactics 12 in training 6/22/57

Ptl. William H. Priess held - said drunken & critically shooting Kevin Ward 18, of 1325 Noble Ave Bronx. ontinue
bar in Bronx | Cop said kids attacked him but Asst. D.A. said evidence showed not so 11/2/58

Chas. Taggart of 4042 Bronxwood Ave shot by drunken detective Peter J. Coyle in Bronx Police docks said Cop drunk when arrested 11/17/59 (no more on case in papers)

Al Garrett 24, shot by ptl. John Cuzzo who said former tried to hit him w chair they were both alone in gates station house Garrett wanted, being booked for boisterousness 4/18/59

Ptl. George C. Vickers jr. shot Martin Burfast while trying

Raymond Blevins wins $60,000 suit agnst City 9/16/59 - See P.4

to collect a bet for a friend ocurred in Harlem
Comm. Kennedy said he faced departmtl & Criminal charges 7/2/59

Pctl. Clifford Phillips shots Robt. Keating in Broad bar after they were drinking and argued, no chages agnst cop was booked for felonious assault. 12/27/59

Pctl. Anthony Dotti kills 2 & himself in Bar at 114 Sixth Ave. 1/15/60

Lieut Thomas R. Gilligan kills James Powell 15, negro Harlem riots start, Sunday 7/17/64

C.L.U. asks inquiry into killing of Frank Faleo by cops wants for killing a cop. 9/3/63

Victor Rodriguez and Maximo Solero (P.R.s) arrested at 93rd St. in patrol car were killed. Cops were Ptr. James Edmundson (driving) and Ronald Wilson. Puerto Ricans protested Comm. promised to have a deputy to investigate Cops were transfered to other precincts 12/23/63 — The Cops cleared by Grand Jury 4/9/64

Henry Lee Roch 14, fatally shot by Housing Authority cop Julio Martinez who said boy ran into him when he was going to investigate a complaint. Brond D.A. promises investigation 1/6/64

Francisco Rodriguez 18 of 108 St. 'boy of year' killed by

(6)

Grad Jury clears Cop. 5/1/64

ptl. Cop. Ronald Meszaros is back of head said boy had pulled toy gun. P.D.'s angry. 2/19/64 ⇐
Murphy defends shooting residents say unlawful shooting

Ptl. Thomas L. Sullivan of W 100 St Pct. Charged c felonious assault after off arguing c owner in a bar wounds a man kills a dog. 4/4/64 ba at Amsterdam Av.

Police station at W 100 St picketed for shooting of Maurice Mulligan 14 yrs who allegedly stole lady's bag - 4/28/64

DAVID ALVES
3511 John C. Lodge
Unit 914
Detroit 1. Michigan

NOV 2 5

Nov 23rd 1964

Mr. James Farmer. dear Sir: I am a Negro senior citizen retired and in my 70th year old I have read a lot about you and I wish I was able to come to New York City and shake your hand I just note in the New York Times paper they are putting that Policeman back to work who killed the 15 year old Negro boy July 16th 1964 between the hour of 9 Oclock A.M. and 10 Oclock A.M. he been off all this time drawing the tax

payers money why in he
should been tried for Murder
you see ce kept uk with the
case from the 16th July 1964 until
the grand jury white washed
the case. ce note you peopl have
a Districk Attorney. Frank S.
Hogan there in New York. like
we have here in Detroit Michigan
Sam Olsen. our Prosecuting Atty
a white boy stabed a Negro boy
to death in a park here in Detroit
and he Sam Olsen would not
issue a warrant for the white
boy. had all white jury and they
turned him loose. and last year
two white Policemen in scout
car shot a Negro woman in

Back two times. and one time in the stomach she was coming down the street with a Negro man at 2.30 Oclock A.M. Killed her. he said she had knife after him so he had to shoot her in the back two times and one time in the stomach his life was in danger he told and all they did with him they taken him off the scout car and put him to work in main office of Police Dept from 11 Oclock P.M. until 7 Oclock A.M. the Negros ask the Police Commissioner to supend the Policeman and he would not

do it and then they ask the Mayor to suspend him and the Mayor would not do it. same thing like in your city. and a white Policeman here in Detroit he had a Negro and he was Manager of him to be a prize fighter like John Roxbough was Mgr for Joe Lewis. so the White Policeman shot and killed the Negro and put him in trunk of his car going to put him in lake and he got caught up with and he went to court and said the Negro had knife and they turned him loose & could go on telling you

case after case and this is in Detroit Mich. not down South & note in paper that Mayor Wagner he going to run for re-election next year for Mayor Again & would say if the Negros and Puerto Rican get together they could defeat the Mayor next year 1965. but it would do to put it in the News papers just talk it between them selves. & say he no good when it comes to the Negros & never could figure out why he Mayor Wagner sent for Rev. Martin L. King and when King came to New York why he

did go and talk with those 7 Negro leaders. and then go to Gracie Manson and talk with the Mayor he did have to carry you 7 Negro along with go by him self they talked hours and it never did come out in the papers what the talk was about. and ce note on Aug 15th 1964 they appointed a Negro name Capt. Sealy. precinct commander in Harlem. Capt Sealy 47 years old been Policeman for 21 years and New York City with 7½ million People he had to put him in Harlem he the Mayor wanted to make the Negros feel good by appointing Capt. Sealy and that

Something. The 15 year old Negro dead. and to ce checked the paper and this James Powell is the second Negro boy this Policeman have killed now Mr. Farmer ce want you to know ce dont condone crime of no kind white-Negro but ce would like to see stop to that killing of the Negro and they come along and say he had knife and they never do a thing to them when it a negro. just to show you here in Detroit a white deputy sheriff beat a 16 year old white boy and they fried him note he did not kill him just beat him. you see Mr. Farmer my wife died July 18th 1957 and we were not blessed with no

chickdren and ce never married
ce just have my 3 room apt
which ce cook for my self
and keep my apt clean as Pin
have my T.V. Radio-Phone To
talk with my friends read
a lot and love to write my
friends in other Cities ce dont drink
or smoke so no beer garden for
me go to my Church every
Sunday morning never miss
well ce am past 78 years old and
we still have the Uncle Toms Negroe
all over yet. my Doctor told me
to keep off my feet much as ce
can so ce have the rocking
chair and house slippers and
for 5 nights a week ce listen

to Chet Huntley and David Brinkley on N.B.C. T.V. at 6.30 P.M. & think they are tops to give the news. as Chet in New York and David in Washington D.C. our two daily News papers here in Detroit been on strike since July 13th 1964 the last report on Radio said we would have the papers back on street by Nov 25th 1964. & come to close May the Good Lord Bless you and keep you

Very Truly Yours
David Alves

P.S. I believe if the
Mayor Wagner had
suspend that Policeman
it would not have
Been a riot there in
New York City

I'y f up l of Nov 23,
add to Mr F, wh he has rec'd
to me:

We ctly ag w you that one of the
maj probs in the field of civ
rights is the one of police
discrimination against Negroes, &
the whole area of equal justice.

Mr F. appreciates your interest
in the civ rts movt & C's
activities and was glad to have
your comments.

I am encl 2 pamph about C that
may be of int. to yr.

Sincerely yrs

INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

TO: James Farmer
Marvin Rich
Clora Coleman

FROM: Carl Rachlin

RE: James Powell Case

This is to remind you that nowhere in Hogan's report re Gilligan is there mention of the testimony of the people who were nearest (about eight feet) to the event.

An Italian Government official and a middle-aged lady were walking by at that very moment and

a. saw no knife in Powell's hand,

b. did not see Powell physically touch Gilligan, and

c. no reference to the medical history of Gilligan was made.

4 Policemen Attacked in Bronx; Fairgoer Is Slain Over a Nickel

Suspects Attack Policemen

By THEODORE JONES

An attempt to arrest a young burglary suspect led to the stabbing of a Puerto Rican grocer and injuries to four policemen Friday night and early yesterday morning in two related incidents in the Bronx.

According to the police, the grocer, Enrique Negron, 56 years old, was stabbed in the back as he went to the aid of a white patrolman being menaced by an angry crowd of 200 persons late Friday night at Bathgate Avenue and 174th Street.

The patrolman, Philip Siegel, 43, who was punched and kicked by the mob, had been attempting to arrest a Negro youth as a suspect in a store break-in when the crowd gathered. During the ensuing melee, the youth escaped. A follow-up

Continued on Page 44, Column 3

Two Boys Arrested at Fair

By PHILIP H. DOUGHERTY

A 20-year-old Bronx dental technician was fatally stabbed early yesterday morning at the World's Fair in an argument over a nickel.

The stabbing took place on the Avenue of the States, between the golden tepee of Wisconsin and New Jersey's cluster of tents, about 70 minutes before the 2 A.M. closing. It was chilly and most visitors had left for home.

Two teen-aged boys, who were in a group of Brooklyn youngsters that sneaked onto the grounds in the back of a delivery truck, were charged with juvenile delinquency - homicide. Their names were not released. One is 14 and the other 15.

Also booked at the 110th Precinct in Elmhurst, Queens,

Continued on Page 46, Column 1

1776 Topping Avenue
Bronx 57, New York
May 26, 1965

Wiley
file - Police brutality

MAY 28 1965

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

I am enclosing another example of police brutality. How dare a white policeman attempt to apprehend a negro criminal! My hat is off to those 200 good citizens who rioted, and especially to the one who stabbed that Puerto Rican man who came to the aid of the policeman.

For every isolated, rare case of police brutality, there are at least 10 cases of police being hindered in their jobs of ridding the city of hoodlums.

You are very vocal in demanding punishment for police, vocal enough to cause riots and make the gullible believe that brutality is really an issue and is a policy of a department that is handling negro hoodlums with kid gloves.

When 50 girls beat up 2 detectives; when hundreds prevent a policeman from making an arrest, when another hundred do the same

just two days later, where are you?
Nobody can hold CORE responsible, or can they?

You create hatred for police and when people react in the manner described in the enclosed article, you remain absolutely silent.

One can only conclude that you approve of such action.

Why don't you come out and say you are in favor of: hindering the police. Obeying. Just accuse Patrolman Liegel of brutality.

Yours truly,

Jerry Tennenbaum

Police Brutality

July 7, 1965

Mr. Charles G. Moerdler
New York Young Republican Club
The Biltmore, Madison Ave. & 43rd St.
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Moerdler?

Thank you very much for sending us a copy of the New York Young Republican Club's report, "The Police and the Public".

The proposals, as far as they go, are good. Their implementation would be a step forward.

There are a number of additional steps which I believe would also be desirable. There should be established a civilian review board comprised entirely of civilians and including minority group representation. There is needed for better recruitment procedures for applicants, and better training procedures for recruits as well as for officers. Further, there should be psychological screening for applicants and present officers.

We need an end to "No-Knock" laws and others which infringe upon the citizen's possessive rights. In addition, we need to work with the Vera Foundation and others to improve bail procedures.

In order to insure the just settlement of suits involving police malfeasance, there ought to be a waiver of the "sovereign immunity" of the State (see Hargrove v. Town of Cocoa Beach, 96 S. 2d 130 (Fla. 1957) and Molitor v. Kaneland Community Unit District No. 302, 163 N.E. 2d 89 (Ill. 1959)).

Very truly yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF/rp

New York Young Republican Club

THE BILTMORE, MADISON AVENUE & 43rd STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017 • Telephone: 986-8328

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July 2, 1965

I enclose herewith a copy of this Club's report entitled, "The Police and the Public". You may find it of interest. Your critical comments would be appreciated.

Cordially yours,

Charles G. Moerdler

Charles G. Moerdler

Proposals good, as far as go.
Must & add a civ rev bd, composed
entirely of civilians, & min sup rep.
better recruitment procedures for applicants
" try " " recruits, & pos offrs
psycho screening of applicants & permit members
end of "no knock" laws & other statutes infringing on right
against bail procedures
just settlement of suits re police malfeasance requires
waiver of "sovereign" of state. (see Harrison v. Town of Coeur
Bush, 96 So. 2d 130 (Fla, 1957)

Motion v Rockland Community Unit Dist No. 302, 163 N.E. 2d 89 (Ill. 1959)

THE NEW YORK CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT

PART I

"THE PUBLIC AND THE POLICE"

A Report and Proposals by

The City Affairs Committee

and

The Committee on Civil Rights and Civil Liberties

of

THE NEW YORK YOUNG REPUBLICAN CLUB

THE NEW YORK CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT

PART I

"THE PUBLIC AND THE POLICE"

A Report and Proposals by

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and
The Committee on Civil Rights and Civil Liberties

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THE NEW YORK YOUNG REPUBLICAN CLUB

Introduction. Some 13 years ago, J. Edgar Hoover, Director of The Federal Bureau of Investigation, wrote:

> ". . . Law enforcement is a protective arm of civil liberties. Civil liberties cannot exist without law enforcement; law enforcement without civil liberties is a hollow mockery. They are parts of the same whole--one without the other becomes a dead letter."*

Though few will disagree with Mr. Hoover's observation, there has raged during the past several years a many-faceted controversy between law enforcement authorities and civil libertarians over proposals which both sides view as essential to the preservation of their cause. At issue, as viewed by law enforcement authorities, has been not merely their integrity but, more importantly, their ability effectively to combat crime. As viewed by civil libertarians, the issue has been their attempt to secure compliance with the requirements of the Bill of Rights as well as various

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*Hoover, Civil Liberties and Law Enforcement, 37 Iowa Law Rev. 175, 177 (1952).

statutory provisions, and also their effort to reverse the tide of mistrust of law enforcement authorities by some segments of the public (particularly among minority groups). In New York, the clash has manifested itself in the controversy surrounding such measures as the "No-Knock", "No-Sock", and "Stop and Frisk" laws, among others.

Quite apart from the statutory and constitutional problems implicit in this controversy, it is perfectly apparent that the widespread and frequently heated distrust of the police on the part of some minority groups within the City has been exacerbated and inflamed by the suspicion that the police themselves were failing to abide by the law. The resolution of the important civil liberties issues involved in police conduct cannot fail to go a long way toward the relaxation of the racial tensions which have beset this city.

The proposals here made in an effort to help solve a few of the basic problems in this controversy are the outgrowth of conversations with leaders of community civil rights organizations, policemen and others. It is doubtful that these proposals will have uniform support. They are offered nonetheless in the belief that a major step forward can be achieved in extinguishing the fires of discontent, in improved law enforcement and in the protection of civil liberties by the adoption of these proposals.

Conclusions and Recommendations

I

We urge that legislation be enacted forthwith to require (1) that the moment a person is arrested, or taken into custody he immediately be advised by the arresting officer or detaining authority (a) that he need not make any statement and that any statement which he might make may be taken down and used in evidence against him, (b) that he has the right to communicate with counsel and (c) that if he does not have or cannot afford counsel, a lawyer will be appointed by the Court for him without charge, and (2) that he be given the opportunity to consult with an attorney forthwith.

II

We urge that pending enactment of the legislation discussed above, the rules and regulations of the Police Department of the City of New York and the pertinent governing rules and regulations of law enforcement agencies throughout the State be amended forthwith to adopt the requirement proposed above and that steps be taken by the appropriate authorities (such as the Police Commissioner or local Superintendent of Police) to assure that there is compliance with those regulations.

III

Section 165 of the New York Code of Criminal Procedure provides that "The defendant must in all cases be taken before the magistrate without unnecessary delay . . ." and Sections 188, 189, etc. of the Code require that defendant then be advised of his rights, including the right to counsel. Our research efforts indicate that law enforcement authorities, including both the police and the district attorneys' offices, have frequently failed to comply with those laws and that arraignments before the courts have frequently been delayed for hours or days to facilitate interrogation of witnesses in the absence of counsel--in spite of the fact that § 1844 of the N. Y. Penal Law makes it a crime to delay in bringing a defendant before a magistrate.

We demand that the Judicial Conference of the State of New York, the District Attorneys and the Commissioners of Police take such steps as may be necessary to compel adherence to these provisions of law. As pointed out by the late Justice Brandeis: "If the government becomes a law breaker, it breeds contempt for law; it invites every man to become a law unto himself; it invites anarchy. To declare that in the administration of the criminal law the end justifies the means--to declare that the government may commit crimes in order to secure the conviction of a particular criminal--would bring terrible retribution."

IV

We urge that there be established, on an experimental basis at least, and financed by funds available under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, a "neighborhood law office" or "local office of public counsel" stationed on an around-the-clock basis in the several so-called "trouble" police precinct station houses in this City, to furnish free legal assistance, civil as well as criminal, to the needy who are unable to pay a fee. The primary purpose of this recommendation is to help remove the specter which now hovers over police stations and, hopefully, make them more closely approach their intended purpose--a place where help is always available. Making the police precinct station house the place to go for advice and aid in times of need will, we think, aid in improving the fast deteriorating relations between some segments of the public and the police. It will also assure ready access to legal assistance by those in the areas and at the times of greatest need.

V

We urge that there be established forthwith a Police Advisory Council to which would be appointed representatives of all major civil rights groups, established minority groups and the like, leaders of the religious and civic communities and representatives of police-line organizations (such as the PBA). The council would be charged with the function and responsibility of formulating definitive plans looking toward the improvement of relations between the public and law enforcement authorities, serving as a convenient advisory vehicle to which

disputes can be referred for analysis and recommendation and serving as an agency designed to do whatever may be necessary to create the requisite aura of good will under which law enforcement will become more effective and civil liberties and civil rights will become meaningful. Ample precedents exist for the creation of such an agency.*

I. The Individual's Right to be Fully Apprised of His Rights. We have referred previously to the controversy now raging between law enforcement authorities and civil rights and civil liberties groups respecting various proposals such as the "No-Knock", "Stop and Frisk", "No-Sock" and other measures. At issue, on the one hand, has been the furnishing of an additional weapon to aid law enforcement authorities in the struggle to prevent our Cities from becoming jungles. Civil libertarians, however, have viewed these measures as improper incursions upon constitutional guarantees of precious liberties.

One aspect of the controversy has thus far received comparatively little public attention, although it has raged

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* The proposal here made for the creation of a Police Advisory Council is not intended as an alternative to a Civilian Review Board along the lines proposed by Congressman John V. Lindsay.

in the courts for some years. It centers on the rights of the individual from the moment he enters the custody of the police to the time of his arraignment in court. Simply stated, it concerns the rights of individuals to be fully apprised of their rights under the law and the State and Federal Constitutions. As thus phrased the problem appears to be a simple one. In practice, however, it proves complex. Several practical illustrations seem appropriate to facilitate grasp of the dimensions of the problem.

Not long ago in an upstate New York community, two police officers placed a fifteen year old boy in custody and took him from his home to police headquarters where he was questioned for a considerable period of time in connection with the forcible taking of a purse from an elderly lady who had been seriously injured in the robbery. The lad then was taken to a detention home and held for four days during which time a confession was obtained. He then was held for a week without being permitted to see or speak to his mother, a lawyer or any adult friend. Section 724 of the New York State Family Court Act mandating immediate notification of the boy's mother, as well as several other statutory provisions enacted to safeguard the rights of minors, thus were plainly violated. Nonetheless the boy was adjudicated a delinquent for having committed an offense

which, if he were an adult, would have been robbery in the first degree and he was committed to Elmira Reformatory for a term not to exceed 3 years. Upon appeal, however, the Appellate Division reversed and ordered a new hearing, holding that the lad had been denied his constitutional rights to due process by reason of the detention without the right to see or consult parent or counsel. As for the confession, it was ruled invalidly obtained upon the same grounds.*

One can readily appreciate from this relatively one-sided case the basic outlines of the problem here posed. Law enforcement authorities were convinced that the lad had committed a crime; he apparently had an "unsavory record"; was on probation at the time of the incident; and the police wanted a confession and the swift disposition of a case they viewed to be clear-cut. However, as observed by the Appellate Court: "No explanation can justify unreasonable detention for the period involved here . . . the failure to permit him to see his parents, a lawyer or other friendly adult, said the [United States] Supreme Court, was a violation of due process guaranteed under the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution."** With the reversal of the holding, the efforts of the

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* Matter of Dennis, 20 A.D. 2d 86 (4th Dep't, 1963).

** Id. at 88-89.

police had, to some extent at least, been in vain and they were forced to start anew. The lad's right to be fully apprised of his rights under the law had been denied and the actions taken against him thus were invalid.

Perhaps a somewhat closer case will facilitate the reader's consideration of the problem.

In People v. Stewart*, the California Supreme Court was faced with an appeal by a man accused of murder and of perpetrating a rash of violent robberies in Los Angeles. The defendant was identified as the alleged assailant as the result of the cashing of checks stolen in one of the many robberies. On January 31, 1965, the Los Angeles police went to defendant's home and asked for and were given permission by defendant to search his home. They unearthed several items belonging to victims of the robberies. Defendant was arrested. During the days of interrogation that followed defendant repeatedly denied guilt of any crime. However, on February 5, 1965--five days following his arrest--defendant confessed commission of the robbery in which the fatality had occurred, expressed sorrow and repeated his admission during a recorded interrogation. He then was taken before a magistrate for arraignment. At trial he was convicted. On appeal, the

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* 43 Cal. Rep. 201, ___ P2 ___ (1965)

California Supreme Court reversed, excluding the confession on the grounds that at the time of defendant's arrest the investigation had passed the general investigatory stage, had reached the accusatory stage and, accordingly, defendant was entitled to be advised of his right to counsel and to remain silent. Stated otherwise, the general investigation had been completed and suspicion had now firmly focused on the defendant. The defendant was then entitled to be tried in an adversary (i.e., non-inquisitorial) proceeding and to defend himself, with the aid of a lawyer at that trial, and could not be required to assist the prosecution. The failure to apprise defendant of his rights,thereby to permit him intelligently to appraise the course he should follow,required exclusion of the confession and, with such exclusion, reversal of the conviction.

One other recent case seems worthy of brief discussion. At 11:15 p.m. on March 15, 1961, a policeman was murdered during the attempted commission of a Newark tavern robbery. Shortly after the crime, defendant Russo was seized a few blocks from the tavern. He was arrested, taken back to the tavern and identified as one of the culprits. He then was taken to a hospital for treatment of a bullet wound in his arm, allegedly sustained in the crime. In the early morning of March 16, Russo was admitted to the hospital. After emergency treatment,

he was questioned briefly but denied complicity in the crime. He also refused permission to operate for removal of the bullet. However, the pain became excruciating and, on March 17, he submitted to an operation. He was accompanied to the operating room by a police officer. Upon return to his hospital bed, Russo, under police questioning, for the first time admitted his participation in the attempted hold-up. Russo was detained at the hospital until March 24 when he was released in police custody and taken directly to police headquarters and again interrogated. After some two hours oral questioning, he confessed. He then was detained for an additional three hours to permit the reduction into writing of his statement, which he then signed. On March 28, Russo was finally taken before a magistrate. At trial evidence was given that Russo was in "the lower reaches of the average range of intelligence".

In late May of this year, the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit reversed Russo's conviction, holding that the conviction was based upon an illegally obtained confession and could not stand. The confession, the Court held, was inadmissible because at the time it was obtained the focus of the investigation had here shifted "from inquiries of a general nature to the acts of a particular suspect" and, accordingly, "counsel for the individual subject to the interrogation must be present unless counsel be intelligently waived

by the suspect." Here the record showed that Russo had not been apprised of his right to counsel, or to remain silent, and, hence, he could not have intelligently appraised his rights or waived them.*

The treatment afforded defendants in the cases discussed above is in marked contrast to the circumstances attending arrest of the typical "white collar" criminal (such as persons charged with tax evasion, embezzlement or fraud). There, the suspect is usually aware of the police investigation long prior to his arrest, comes to the police station with his lawyer and is promptly released on bail without interrogation. Certainly, he is afforded every opportunity to consult with counsel and can generally afford to do so. Similarly, the professional criminal generally is fully aware of his rights and is often met at the police station by a battery of attorneys dedicated to preserving those rights. Thus, the failure to give the cautions and the opportunity to seek assistance along the lines we propose would seem to disadvantage primarily the poor, the ignorant, the unsophisticated. A system of justice dedicated to granting equal protection of the law to all citizens cannot justify such marked disparity of treatment affecting fundamental rights.

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* U.S. Ex Rel Anthony Russo v. The State of New Jersey, et al., unpublished opinion of Chief Judge Biggs, filed May 20, 1965, in Docket Nos. 14833 and 14869.

The cases previously discussed are, of course, some of the more recent and dramatic holdings that when the police have passed beyond a general investigation of an unsolved crime and are attempting to get a confession from a suspect who is in custody and who has not been advised of or knowingly and intelligently waived his right to counsel and to remain silent, any confession obtained will be inadmissible at trial and any conviction following a trial at which such a confession was admitted into evidence will be reversed. There are other cases in a variety of jurisdictions which arrive at the same conclusion*, many which go but partially down that road by holding that if a lawyer notifies the police that he wishes to see a client then in police custody, though the latter is unaware of that request, any statement which defendant makes in the absence of counsel and after such notification is invalid**, and still other cases (notably in New York) which seem flatly to refuse to concur

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* E.g., People v. Dorado, 42 Cal. Rep. 169, 398 Pac.2d 361 (California Sup. Ct. 1965); State v. Mendes, 33 U.S.L.W. 265, 266 (Rhode Island Sup. Ct., 5/10/65).

** E.g., People v. Sanchez, Law Report News 5/6/65 (N.Y. Court of Appeals, April 22, 1965); People v. Gunner, 14 N.Y.2d 178 (1965); People v. Donovan, 13 N.Y.2d 148 (1963).

with the holdings previously discussed and find instead that a defendant in police custody need not be cautioned as to his rights to counsel or to remain silent and any confession otherwise validly obtained will not be excluded at trial.*

Thus, the battle continues in the Courts. One Court holds the caution to be necessary, and another disagrees. For example, in the 3rd U.S. Appellate Circuit, which includes New Jersey, the Federal Courts hold that an obligation exists to advise an accused of his rights to counsel.** However, the Chief Justice of New Jersey is reported/ recently to have directed that New Jersey's state courts disregard the ruling of the Federal Appellate Court, pending action of the U. S. Supreme Court.

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* E.g., People v. Gunner, 15 N.Y.2d 226 (1965); State v. Burke, Wisc. , 133 N.W. 2d 753 (Wisconsin Sup. Ct. 1965).

** U.S.A. ex rel Russo v. The State of New Jersey, supra.

/ New York Times, June 9, 1965, p. 1, col. 1.

With respect specifically to the right to remain silent, there is express authority in the Constitution of the State of New York to the effect that ". . . No person shall . . . be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself . . . .". While it has never been specifically held that the protection of Section 6 applies to police interrogations, one New York Appellate Court has stated that:

> ". . . the constitutional provision has been construed as meaning not only that a person should not be compelled to be a witness against himself in a criminal proceeding, but that its object was to insure a person from being compelled to give testimony as a witness in any investigation which might tend to show that he had committed a crime . . .".*

Additionally, Section 10 of the New York Code of Criminal Procedure provides:

> "No person can be compelled in a criminal action to be a witness against himself, nor can a person charged with crime be subjected, before conviction, to any more restraint than is necessary for his detention to answer the charge."

The New York courts have not as yet construed the phrase "criminal action" to include the period of detention before arraignment so as

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* People v. Florentine, 97 N.Y.S.2d 553, 554, 276 App. Div. 730 (4th Dep't 1950).

to extend the privilege to that time.* Several states have, however, confirmed such privilege by legislation. For example, Section 103-2(a) of the Illinois Code of Criminal Procedure, provides:

> "(a) On being taken into custody every person shall have the right to remain silent."

In New York, there is pertinent statutory law with respect to the right to counsel. Section 165 of the Code of Criminal Procedure provides that: "The defendant must in all cases be taken before the magistrate without unnecessary delay . . ." and Sections 188 and 189 require that defendant then be advised of his right to counsel and be

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*Although, it would appear from the recent decision of the New York Court of Appeals in People v. Gunner, 15 N.Y.2d 225 (1965), that such a construction would, in all likelihood, not be forthcoming in this State at this time.

given a reasonable time and opportunity to secure counsel.*

See also N. Y. State Constitution Art. 1, §6.

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* Police department regulations require that an arrested suspect be booked without unnecessary delay and that he then be afforded an opportunity to make three phone calls. We are, however, advised that the regulation is quite frequently ignored, particularly by detectives. It is our information that detective personnel who bring a suspect into a police precinct station house quite frequently fail first to bring him to the desk officer so that he may be booked. Instead, we are told, they take him directly to an interrogation room where questioning proceeds for varying periods of time. Detective personnel are, we are told, not under the immediate supervisory jurisdiction of the uniformed desk officers but are under the jurisdiction of separate detective supervisory personnel. Accordingly, although a police department desk officer--usually a lieutenant--may desire to comply with the police department regulations respecting prompt booking, he will hesitate to involve himself in a dispute over the actions of men for whom he is not directly responsible. The detectives maintain that the suspect has not been formally arrested (although he is in custody for all practical purposes) and, hence, need not be put through the "booking" procedures.

A shocking example of the problems encountered in this area occurred recently in the case of George Whitmore, Jr., accused of the slaying of Janice Wylie and Emily Hoffert. Whitmore had been indicted for the murders on the basis of a confession which he later repudiated. While awaiting trial, further investigation of the crimes pointed to Whitmore's innocence. In dropping the indictment, an Assistant District Attorney was quoted in the January 28, 1965, edition of the New York Times, on page 1, as having said: "I am positive that the police prepared the confession for Whitmore as his lawyers charged a

The rational basis of this important provision was

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few days ago." The following description of the manner in which the police operate appeared in the same edition of the New York Times on page 17:

> "How does law enforcement begin operating when a homicide occurs in Manhattan? When there is a killing the first person on the scene, usually, is a uniformed patrolman. He notifies the detective squad attached to his precinct. The detective squad then calls in representatives from the homicide squad.
>
> "The homicide squad is made up of so-called experts and investigates nothing but slayings. It conducts its investigations along with the precinct detectives.
>
> "Under normal procedure, an assistant district attorney, who is on homicide call in New York County 24 hours a day, is called to talk to a suspect only after the suspect has made a statement to the detectives in which he has admitted the crime.
>
> "Occasionally the detectives will call the assistant district attorney and say something like: 'He hasn't broken yet, and it's been two hours.'
>
> "Quite often the prosecutor will reply: 'Call me again in an hour. Keep working.'
>
> "Occasionally also--and this is at the discretion of the prosecutor on duty--he will proceed to where the suspect is being questioned before the suspect has made any admissions.
>
> "This visit is to discuss the case with the detectives and possibly guide them to other facets of their inquiry. Normally, however, an assistant district attorney responds only when he is told a suspect has made a confession.
>
> "And at those times the prosecutors appear with stenographers, also attached to Mr. Hogan's office, to take down the

recognized in concurring opinions in the U. S. Supreme Court in Spano v. New York, where it was stated "a person accused of crime needs a lawyer right after his arrest probably more than at any other time".*

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confessions, which District Attorney's office prefers to call statements."

Obviously, this kind of a situation is one which gives rise to serious questions and should not be permitted to exist.

* 360 U.S. 315, 325-26. Stated otherwise:

"As case after case reached our appellate courts, the exact point at which even non-coercive questioning of a suspect by the police must cease became more authoritatively established. At first, post-indictment questioning and confessions were held inadmissible; then post-arraignment confessions; then confessions obtained after the appearance of counsel prior to arraignment and after arrest. It has become increasingly clear that to give full effect to the constitutional guarantee the moment of arrest should be the maximum limit of constitutional questioning in the absence of counsel. People v. Parisi, 42 Misc. 2d 607, 611, 249 N.Y.S.2d 493, 498 (Oneida City Ct., 1964)."

Thirty-two years ago the New York Court of Appeals--the highest Court of this State--expressed its grave concern at the failure of the police to observe the plain requirements of the previously discussed statutes respecting prompt arraignment. Thus, stated the high Court, "We feel it a solemn duty to remind the officers of the law that the suspicion now attaching to them has been fostered by their own conduct."* The Court went on:

> "The police are guilty of oppression and neglect of duty when they willfully detain a prisoner without arraigning him before a magistrate within a reasonable time. (Code Crim. Pro. § 165.) The conclusion is inescapable that they do this for the purpose of subjecting him to an inquisition impossible thereafter."**

The Court placed its hope for remedy upon the professional responsibility of the District Attorneys:

> "The willful violation by the police of the statute which calls for prompt arraignment is a crime (Penal Law, § 1841.) An officer who holds a prisoner in custody instead of taking him to the nearest magistrate without unreasonable delay should be disciplined by his superiors and prosecuted by the District Attorney like any other malefactor. A District Attorney who willfully neglects to initiate such a prosecution after knowledge of the offense may be guilty of a crime himself."***

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* People v. Mummiami, 258 N.Y. 394, 399 (1932).

** 258 N.Y. 394, 399-400.

*** 258 N.Y. 394, 400.

Three decades after the Court of Appeals of this State thus spoke in Mummiami, not a single case against a police officer under Penal Law § 1841 (or §1844) is reported. The hope that District Attorneys would restrain over-zealous police from unlawful conduct--unreasonable delays in arraignment thereby to permit questioning which may yield confessions or corroborative evidence--has proven unwarranted. The District Attorney's office, quite as much as the police, regard the hours or days before a suspect is arraigned in court as a precious opportunity for obtaining his assistance not only in solving the crime but also in supplying the evidence which makes a conviction inevitable.*

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*While, from the law enforcement viewpoint, the approach thus taken by the District Attorneys is readily understandable, it should be noted that quite apart from questions of constitutional dimension, the District Attorney's practice of conducting such interrogations of uncautioned and unrepresented potential defendants would seem to violate Canon 9 of the American Bar Association's Canon of Professional Ethics. Cf. ABA OPINIONS, No. 95 (1933); Broeder, Wong Sun v. United States: A Study in Faith and Hope, 42 Neb. L. Rev. 483, 602 (1962).

We believe that several points quite clearly emerge from the foregoing discussion. First, that there is a tendency on the part of the courts to require that the moment a person in police custody becomes suspect of having committed a crime--as contrasted with merely being questioned in connection therewith--a duty exists on the part of law enforcement authorities to advise him of his right to counsel and his right to remain silent. There are, as we have pointed out, those who urge that such a caution would be most injurious to effective law enforcement. The argument they make, and it is not without force, is that once a person is thus cautioned by the police he will thereafter remain silent either on his own or upon the advice of counsel and valuable evidence and leads will not be obtained. They suggest that the ever-spiraling incidents of crime in the City of New York mandate that every possible weapon be made available to law enforcement authorities and that the cautionary approach would deprive the police of a weapon in their battle to preserve law and order.

We have previously discussed one fallacy in the approach outlined above--namely that, as pointed out by the U.S. Supreme Court in Escobedo v. Illinois:

> "We have also learned the . . . lesson of history that no system of criminal justice can, or should, survive if it comes to depend for its continued effectiveness on the citizens' abdication through unawareness of their constitutional rights. No system worth preserving should have to fear that if an accused is permitted to consult with a lawyer, he will become aware of, and exercise, these rights. If the exercise of constitutional rights will thwart the effectiveness of a system of law enforcement, then there is something very wrong with that system."*

There are other fallacies in the argument. It is not necessarily true that cautionary advice along the lines which we advocate will serve to impossibly burden law enforcement authorities. Indeed, since 1952, agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation have been under instruction to give the cautions we urge. Thus, as stated by Mr. Hoover:

> "Agents are taught that any suspect or arrested person, at the outset of an interview, must be advised that he is not required to make a statement and that any statement given can be used against him in court. Moreover, the individual must be informed that, if he desires, he may obtain the services of an attorney of his own choice. . . ."**

Similarly, the Uniform Code of Military Justice provides that no suspect may be interrogated without first being warned of his right not to make a statement and that any statement he might make might be used against him. 10 U.S.C. § 831(b).

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* Escobedo v. Illinois, 378 U.S. 478, 490 (1963).

** Hoover, Civil Liberties and Law Enforcement: The Role of the F.B.I., 37 Iowa L. Rev. 175, 182 (1952). See also, Report of the President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy, 619, 621, 625 (1964); and Jackson v. United States, 337 F.2d 136, 138 (D.C. Cir. 1964).

Anyone who watches television is, of course, perfectly familiar with the caution traditionally employed by the police in Great Britain--that the suspect need not make any statement and that any statement which he might make might be taken down and used in evidence against him. We are advised that the New York State Police at one point published a bulletin stating, in substance, that upon arresting a person the arresting officer should advise him of his right to remain silent, his right to consult with counsel and of the fact that anything he might say might be used against him. Additionally, a significant number of states have enacted statutes requiring the posting, in jails, station houses or other places where a person may be detained, of certain sections of the Penal Law concerning right to counsel.* Similarly, the Illinois Code of Criminal Procedure provides that there shall be posted in a conspicuous place in jails, police stations and the like a sign calling to the attention of prisoners the specific language of statutory provisions which permit such prisoners to remain silent, advise them of their right to communicate with counsel and advise them

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* See, e.g., Section 803 of the Vermont Criminal Code.

of their right to consult in private with their attorney. In New Orleans, the state criminal code does not require the posting of any such notice. Nonetheless, the Criminal Court Bar Association of New Orleans prepared a poster (Exhibit 1 hereto) which sets forth substantially the same matter referred to above and such posters have for some time been placed in police stations in plain view of all persons being booked.*

Despite the cautions thus given by the F.B.I., the military police authorities, the British police and others, they have quite obviously not found any over-burdening difficulty in obtaining convictions or even confessions. If they can achieve that result, and at the same time honor the civil liberties of the individual, we submit that the Police Department of the City of New York can do no less.

The question which next follows is at what point in time should the caution be given. As previously pointed

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* We are, however, advised that efforts over a period of several years on the part of the Legal Aid Committee of The Association of the Bar of the City of New York to obtain a similar cautionary poster have proven wholly unavailing. Apparently, law enforcement authorities in New Orleans, Louisiana, are less afraid of advising a person of his rights than are the New York City Police.

out, it must by law be given at the time of arraignment in court and that arraignment is by law required to be as promptly as possible following arrest. Police Department regulations evidence an understanding that some caution is necessary at the moment a suspect is brought into the police station and is booked--for the regulations require that he then be advised of his right to make three telephone calls. The cases discussed above indicate that the caution should be given at the moment that the questioning turns from the investigatory stage to the accusatory stage--that is when suspicion focuses firmly upon the arrested person as the culprit. We believe the latter standard is unworkably vague. We also believe that practice has demonstrated that the appropriate moment should be far sooner than that presently contemplated by the statutory framework in New York as it is now enforced or (more accurately) not enforced.

Accordingly, we recommend that the moment a person is arrested or is otherwise deprived of his liberty by forceable detention the caution should then be given by the police officer or detaining authority. We focus upon that period of time because it is clear that at that point in time the focus of the policeman's questioning necessarily turns away from general investigation to specific suspicion. That conclusion necessarily follows from the statutory provisions that an arrest

may be made without a formal warrant when the crime is committed in the presence of the police officer, following the commission of a felony or when reasonable cause exists for believing that the person arrested committed the crime, etc. Cf., Penal Law § 177. In other words, a person cannot be arrested unless some basis exists for the officer reasonably to believe that the person arrested has in fact committed the crime. Certainly, at that point we have reached the accusatory stage rather than the mere investigatory stage. Hence, that would appear to be the most propitious point in time--immediately following the arrest--for the caution to be given.

However, our recommendation should not be viewed as detracting from the present requirement of law that an arrested person be arraigned "without unnecessary delay" before the appropriate judicial authority. Many other rights are called to the attention of the prisoner at the time of such arraignment--such as the right to post bail and thereby leave the custody of law enforcement authorities--and other consequences flow from such arraignment--such as the right to a statement of the charges against the suspect. We believe that the time has long since passed when law enforcement authorities can themselves disregard the law in their pursuit of justice. It is trite but true that the law is there for all to obey.

Accordingly, we recommend that the judicial conference and the Police Commissioner of the City of New York take such steps as may be necessary finally to compel adherence by law enforcement authorities to the provisions of law respecting prompt arraignment.*

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* That official lawlessness must be met with condemnation and swift corrective action because of its corrosive effect upon society, is plain from the following observation of the late Mr. Justice Brandeis:

> "Decency, security and liberty alike demand that government officials shall be subjected to the same rules of conduct that are commands to the citizen. In a government of laws, existence of the government will be imperiled if it fails to observe the law scrupulously. Our government is the potent, the omnipresent teacher. For good or for ill, it teaches the whole people by its example. Crime is contagious. If the government becomes a lawbreaker, it breeds contempt for law; it invites every man to become a law unto himself; it invites anarchy. To declare that in the administration of the criminal law the end justifies the means--to declare that the government may commit crimes in order to secure the conviction of a private criminal--would bring terrible retribution." Olmstead v. United States, 277 U.S. 438, 485 (1928) (dissenting opinion).

One final observation appears appropriate. There doubtless are those who do not agree with the proposals here made and who will urge that reforms in this area be delayed at least until the Courts force such action. The full answer to that approach is that law enforcement will suffer a major setback if it delays reforms until finally forced to adopt them. Aside from the obvious moral and public relations drawbacks to such dilatory tactics, a serious "tactical" disadvantage exists. It is not at all unusual for the Courts to make their decisions retroactive in areas such as this and this has the effect of freeing many, many prisoners whose guilt could probably have been established without resort to illegal practices and inadmissible evidence, who could have been properly tried, convicted and their convictions sustained upon appeal if their rights had only been protected, or who could even have been retried and reconvicted if prompt action were taken before witnesses died, disappeared, etc. However, lengthy delays in instituting reforms or in facing up to hard decisions makes such actions frequently impossible and guilty persons are set free on "technicalities". Stated otherwise:

> ". . . I am convinced that for too long we have ignored the tremendous potential utility of state legislation in the administration of criminal and constitutional justice. Suppose, for example, that the bar throughout the nation had successfully pressed for legislation--or even, if it was believed necessary, a constitutional amendment--requiring the states to supply counsel to all indigent criminal defendants. I venture to say that if there had been a legislative solution before the Supreme Court felt impelled to overrule a

> prior holding and intervene in Gideon v. Wainwright, in order to lead because the states had lagged behind, many of the problems posed by the retroactive application of that decision might have been avoided. In such a case, it might not have been necessary for the federal courts to upset all the thousands of convictions obtained in every state of the nation because defendants were denied the basic moral and legal right to be represented by a lawyer. The defendant who 5, 10 or 20 years ago may have been offered counsel although that can no longer be proven, the accused who--although denied counsel years ago--could readily have been convicted at the time even with the most astute advocate, but who is now effectively guaranteed release by the disappearance of evidence with the passage of decades--these and others like them may now claim the benefits of Gideon and seek release. I wonder if we would face a similar picture if action in the first instance had been by legislation or even state court fiat rather than by federal court decrees made necessary because of the states' abdication in this area.*

The author of that statement, United States Court of Appeals Judge Irving R. Kaufman, recently commented upon the problems here discussed and the basic proposals here made, stating:

> ". . . The legitimate concern with coercive or unfair police interrogation might best be served by legislation rather than the drastic cure of judicial decisions extending the right to counsel from the courtroom to the police station. . . . at the very least, the legislature has an obligation in the first instance to deal with these problems and not to adopt a hands-off policy, abdicating to the courts. . . ."**

Judge Kaufman added,

> ". . . legislative action may remove the necessity for the courts to step into the breach with a hard-and-fast and indeed more drastic remedy in order to preserve the rights of a single defendant but admittedly potentially disruptive of the smooth working of our dedicated law-enforcement agencies."**

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* Kaufman, Reform in Criminal Law: Have the Lawyers Lagged Behind, 37 N.Y. State Bar Journal 217, 219-20 (June 1965).

** Supra, 37 N.Y. State Bar Journal at 222.

We believe that the proposals here made thus will not only aid the public generally by securing the civil liberties of the individual but will also specifically aid law enforcement (a) by improving its relations with the public whose help is so desperately needed if the ever-spiraling crime rate is to be halted, and (b) by precluding the possibility that in the not too distant future thousands of convicted criminals will be released in one fell swoop because of law enforcement's refusals to heed the need for change.

II. PUBLIC COUNSEL IN POLICE PRECINCT STATIONS. We have recommended that, on an experimental basis at least and financed by funds available under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, a lawyer or advanced law student be stationed on an around-the-clock basis in the several so-called "trouble" police precinct station houses around this City to furnish free legal assistance, civil as well as criminal, to the needy who are unable to pay a fee and also to police officers who may require on-the-spot legal advice (a situation which we are told occurs with some frequency). Two principles intermesh in this proposal.

For too long, precinct station houses have been viewed by some as symbols of oppression and thus to be avoided. To be sure, most people rarely find a need to enter a police station.

Our field research interviews in minority areas disclose that a substantial segment of the ghetto population views the police station as a place to be shunned. We hope by this proposal to reverse that approach and to give the public, particularly minorities, a better understanding of the fact that police officers are there to help and not harm. Making the police precinct station house the place to go for advice and aid in time of need will, we think, help remove the spectre which now hovers over police stations and, hopefully, make them more closely approach their intended purpose--a place where help is always available. In turn, this will, we think, improve the fast deteriorating relations between minorities and the police and make the task of law enforcement at least slightly easier.

A more basic question than the situs of such aid is the question of the need to be fulfilled. For some 89 years, the Legal Aid Society has met the legal needs of the indigent with excellence and dignity, but, until 1961, without support from public funds. In recent years, the need has risen for a variety of reasons, including the express assignment to Legal Aid of public defender activities. That the need for free legal assistance is vast was recognized by the City in the recent Proposal for Legal Services of the Anti-Poverty Operations Board, namely that some seven neighborhood law offices be established this year, two to be operated by Legal Aid.

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These offices would be in addition to the several offices which Legal Aid has operated for years and which have rendered legal assistance to thousands upon thousands of needy New Yorkers. Certainly, few can reasonably doubt that an increasing need exists. We propose it be met now and that the places where such need will be fulfilled be the police precinct station houses in the areas of greatest need. As we have previously pointed out, federal poverty funds may well be available for the purpose.

One further observation appears appropriate with respect to this proposal. The neighborhood law offices thus proposed to be housed in police stations would provide legal assistance to those unable to pay a fee but requiring aid in civil, criminal and Family Court matters, as well as problems before public agencies such as the Rent and Rehabilitation Administration. By their very presence on the premises, these lawyers and law students* would also help assure that prompt arraignment occurs and that criticism of station

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* Legislation to permit law students to undertake a greater role in this area was enacted by the Legislature this year. See Senate Intro. 1341; Assembly Intro. 2233. The measure is sound and will, we hope, be signed into law by the Governor.

house brutality, if it in fact exists, is eliminated.* In other words, the police and public will be served by the "public

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* Several participants in the preparation of this report have expressed grave reservations concerning our proposal for public counsel stationed in police stations. They believe that police officers would inevitably view the placing of such counsel in precinct stations as an indication that the public has lost all confidence in the willingness and ability of the police to enforce the law with impartiality and with proper respect for the rights of all individuals. Recent events, in particular the picketing of the Mayor's office in Newark, New Jersey, by policemen who had come all the way from New York City, as well as by local officers, both negro and white, and conversations had with individual police officers, indicate that policemen today share a widespread feeling that the public has already lost such confidence. Thus, those who express these reservations, strongly believe that we should not give those to whom we look to for the protection of our lives and safety any greater reason than they now have for this feeling of alienation and frustration. Moreover, there is the danger, they believe, that the presence of such counsel would unduly interfere with the proper execution of police duties for the reason that counsel is properly an advocate and, thus, a lawyer who is present when a prisoner is booked might well feel it his duty to go beyond merely insuring that his client is properly advised of his rights and promptly arraigned, but may also argue for his immediate release on improper grounds or begin building a defense by sowing pearls of reversal into the record. Additionally, they question whether prospective clients would have confidence in counsel housed in a police station with the City as the landlord.

counsellors" here proposed.*

III. THE POLICE ADVISORY COUNCIL. We have seen too often of late the eruption of demonstrations which might perhaps have been averted if persons of good will on both sides could have taken the time and trouble to sit down, reflect and then attempt to act to obviate the need for or to prevent demonstrations. For example, the circulation of petitions and demonstrations both for and against an independent Civilian Review Board** might perhaps have been avoided if persons of good will were to have acted quietly and effectively over a period of years to improve existing police department procedures for the handling of complaints by the public. Similarly, instances of complaints against actions or procedures on the part of the police might be avoided or at least mitigated if an organized deliberative body were in existence that could formulate proposals for change.

The Advisory Council approach has long been utilized

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* Supporting arguments for such public counsel, or at least for experimentation in the area, may be found in the recent article by Professor Frankel in the American Bar Association Journal. Frankel, Experiments in Serving the Indigent, 51 A.B.A. Journal 460 (May 1965).

** The proposal here made for the creation of a Police Advisory Council is not intended as an alternative to a Civilian Review Board along the lines proposed by Congressman John V. Lindsay.

by federal, state and local agencies. It exists now under the 1964 Civil Rights Act; it has existed for years with respect to various federal agencies and has generally proven to be effective. The Advisory Council approach has also proven effective with respect to a variety of state agencies such as the New York State Council on Youth; the Workmen's Compensation Advisory Committee; the Disability Benefits Advisory Committee; the Advisory Committee for Self-Insurance; etc. In New York City, the Mayor's Advisory Committee on Operation Bowery has worked diligently and not without a good purpose. In other words, advisory committees can serve a useful purpose if properly constituted, if a sufficiently defined role is provided for them and if persons of stature and good will are appointed to such a council. We do not mean to suggest that all such committees serve a useful purpose--for we have seen all too frequently in this City that committee upon committee has been appointed and it has served no useful purpose. Nonetheless, we submit that a useful purpose would be served if a bona fide effort were made to provide for the appointment of a Police Advisory Council of stature and with a sufficiently broad role.

We recommend that there be established by law a Police Advisory Council to which would be appointed representa-

tives of all of the major civil rights groups, established minority groups and the like and representatives of police-line organizations (such as the PBA), and charged with the function and responsibility of formulating definitive plans looking toward the improvement of relations between the public and law enforcement authorities, serving as a convenient vehicle to which disputes can be referred for analysis and recommendation and serving as an agency designed to do whatever may be necessary to create the requisite aura of good will under which law enforcement will become more effective and civil liberties and civil rights will become meaningful. As the title implies, the Council would be a purely advisory one in nature but any police commissioner with an ounce of good sense can readily see that the Council will prove only as effective as he permits it to be useful and it will be useful only if persons of recognized stature are appointed to it, and this includes the appointment of representatives of all parts of our community, regardless of their political or religious beliefs. For example, there are those who may violently disagree with the position taken by various civil rights groups. Yet, those groups and their leaders represent the views held by a sizeable segment of the ghetto community. Their appointment to the Council would serve to enhance the

possibility that it will serve a useful purpose. Similarly, the Council will present an unnecessarily one-sided viewpoint and be denied the full range of experience and knowledge unless it also includes law enforcement representatives. The Council should be a working (and not political) body. It can be, if handled properly.

June 28, 1965.

Respectfully submitted,

JACQUES L. DEBROT,
GEOFFREY T. CHALMERS,
Chairmen,

SID DAVIDOFF,
J. DAVID KINDMAN,
DORSEY DUNN,

City Affairs Committee

CHARLES V. DREW,
Co-Chairman,

CLAY MAITLAND,
BURTON J. AHRENS,

Committee on Civil Rights and
Civil Liberties

CHARLES G. MOERDLER,
President,

NEW YORK YOUNG REPUBLICAN CLUB

RIGHTS OF ARRESTED PERSONS

THESE ARE SOME OF YOUR RIGHTS UNDER THE LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE STATE OF LOUISIANA

RIGHT TO CALL LAWYER

"All persons arrested shall, from the moment of their arrest, be entitled to confer with counsel....." *(L. S. A. – R.S. 15:77)*

RIGHT TO USE TELEPHONE

"They (arrested persons) shall be given the right and privilege of using the telephone in the jail or station or send a messenger for the purpose of communicating with counsel and with his friends and relatives for the purpose of securing counsel. They shall also have the right and privilege of using the telephone in the jail or station or send a messenger for the purpose of communication with any person, firm or corporation in order to secure their release by bail or parole." *(L. S. A. – R.S. 15:77)*

RIGHT TO BAIL

"In all....cases (other than capital cases) the person accused shall be entitled to bail. The amount of the (bail) shall be fixed with considerations of the seriousness of the offense charged, the previous criminal record of the (person accused) and the probability or improbability of his appearing at the trial...." *(L. S. A. – R.S. 15:86)*

RIGHT TO REMAIN SILENT

"No person shall be compelled to give evidence against himself in a criminal case or in any proceeding that may subject him to criminal prosecution. No person under arrest shall be subjected to any treatment designed by effect on mind or body to compel confession of crime; nor shall any confession be used against any person accused of crime unless freely and voluntarily made." *(Article I, Section II, Louisiana Constitution, 1921.)*

PREPARED AND DISTRIBUTED BY THE CRIMINAL COURTS BAR ASSOCIATION,
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

EXHIBIT 1

JM Lawrence
174 Prince St
NY

– police brutal
Erby

AUG 1 6 1965

COPY

Certified Mail No. 704817

August 12, 1965

Hon. Nelson A. Rockefeller
Governor, State of New York
22 East 55 Street
New York City, N. Y.

Re: Petition, Pursuant to
Sec. 63, Executive Law:
Superseding of District
Attorney of Kings County

Dear Mr. Governor:

As a citizen of this State, and a resident of New York City, I address to you the within Petition, pursuant to Section 63, subdivision 2, Executive Law, to request after due forthwith study that you make a direction requiring the Attorney General to supersede Aaron Koota, the District Attorney in and for Kings County in the matter of The People Vs. Sheldon Liebowitz, involving charges of murdering Nelson Erby on July 15, 1965.

I do hereby lay the charge before you that District Attorney Koota has committed the tortious acts of willful misconduct in proceedings heretofore had in the above mentioned criminal matter, to the end of intentionally and wrongfully prejudicing the right of The People to try and punish Sheldon Liebowitz for the crime.

Many citizens of this State were witnesses to the murder, and saw the events wherein Sheldon Liebowitz, a police officer employed by the municipal corporation of New York City, caused a pistol to be handed to him, and thereon proceeded to aim and discharge four bullets into the body of Nelson Erby as Erby lay a distance away from him prostrate upon a public sidewalk. The witnesses observed that Liebowitz committed the crime upon Erby in anger, and conclusively established a complete case of murder in the first degree.

The foregoing evidences were made available to the District Attorney. Thereon, Mr. Koota pursued an utterly illegal course before the Grand Jury, and persuaded the Grand Jury to follow him along such course, to the end purpose of publishing a claim that Sheldon Liebowitz was exonerated of the crime by the Grand Jury.

Concurrently, Mr. Koota further persuaded the Grand Jury to issue an alleged "finding", not in the nature of an indictment, which posthumously criminally accused the decedent Erby of the offense of attempted Felonious assault, as a supposed basis for exoneration of Liebowitz.

I charge that District Attorney Koota willfully, wrongfully and intentionally violated his oath of office, and the laws of this State to effect a de jure and de facto "whitewash" of the criminal charges available against Liebowitz, in the special interest of according New York City police unequal privileges under the law, upon the following grounds:

One. In violation of Section 700, County Law, Mr. Koota willfully, wrongfully and intentionally refused to prosecute the criminal charges available against Sheldon Liebowitz. Mr. Koota went before the July Regular Grand Jury in Kings County in the Liebowitz Erby matter, and there explicitly stated to the assembled Grand Jurors that he was not alleging bona fidily that Sheldon Liebowitz was guilty of the Crime. He refused to lay a charge bona fied of crime before the Grand Jury against Liebowitz.

Two. In violation of Section 245, Code of Criminal Procedure (C.C.P.), Mr. Koota willfully, wrongfully and intentionally falsely advised the Grand Jury to go on a "fishing expedition" respecting the Liebowitz-Erby matter, under his advice that he did not believe a crime had been committed by Liebowitz respecting the deceased.

Three. In violation of Section 251, C.C.P., Mr. Koota willfully, wrongfully and intentionally falsely advised the Grand Jury that its function was to consider whether it ought to "exonerate" Liebowitz of the Crime as a result of discrediting legally credible prosecution witness evidence, the same as if it were a Petit Jury and Trial Court.

Fourth. In violation of Section 250, C.C.P., Mr. Koota willfully, wongfully and intentionally, on his own motion, produced Sheldon Liebowitz before the Grand Jury assembled, and further sua sponte produced six or seven other persons whom he knew, or was reliably informed would solely allege matters in defense of the interest of Sheldon Liebowitz respecting the murder charge, and caused Liebowitz and the six or seven defense case witnesses to be asked leading and purposive questions to elicit from him and them matters contradicting the complete charge against Liebowitz, and by his acts compelled the Grand Jury to hear all such contradictory evidence against the merit of a prosecution case.

Five. In further violation of Sec. 251, C.C.P., Mr. Koota caused arguments, under guise of explanation of the law, to be alleged before the Grand Jury, so as to willfully, wrongfully mislead the Grand Jury members into falsely believing the contradictory matters they had heard from Liebowitz and the six or seven witnesses making a defense case, were merely "explaining away" of the murder charge against Liebowitz. By these acts, Mr. Koota willfully, wrongfully and intentionally invaded the exclusive private opinion making province of the Grand Jury, to the end of effectually tampering with their judgments.

Six: In violation of Section 253-a, C.C.P., Mr. Koota persuaded and willfully, wrongfully, intentionally caused the Grand Jurors to violate Section 1783, Penal Law, by publishing a report, not in the nature of an indictment, accusing Nelson Erby posthumously of the crime of attempted felonious assault upon Liebowitz, at the time of decedent's DEATH AT THE Hands of Liebowitz, by alleging that at such time Nelson Erby was seeking to accomplish a "design to do Sheldon Liebowitz great personal injury."

Seven: In violation of the same laws, Mr. Koota presently is preparing, by one Mr. Golden, a paer, which he intends to submit to the Grand Jury, and persuade them to approve, which is to allege a summary of evidence adduced in the course of the said proceedings before the Grand Jury, to prove that Nelson Erby had committed said crime upon Liebowitz.

I present the following summary review of the laws of this State applicable to the aforementioned matters.

One. The District Attorney is bound, by Section 700, County Law, to solely conduct "prosecutions" in the name of the People of this State. Mr. Koota, in fact and in law, solely appeared before the July Regular Grand Jury, Kings County, in the Liebowitz-Erby matter in his representative capacity as the District Attorney of the County. At all times he, or his agents or servants there, participated in the Grand Jury proceedings, they solely claimed and represented themselves to that Grand Jury as being there in their representative capacities. As such they were at all times bound by the scope of their offices, in the extent of acts they could there perform. They were bound solely to act as attorneys, and as attorneys for the People conducting a prosecution case, and he and his servants or agents had no authority to be there for any other purpose or cause. They could not act as "non prosecutors", or as advocates for a cause of defense against the crime involved.

Two. The Grand Jury of this State solely possesses power -- jurisdction to act in matters as a Grand Jury -- where a bona fide charge exists before them. "Crimes committed and triable in the county" are not "non crimes" or speculative or possible charges.

> "In order for the Grand Jury to exercise their power it must (emphasis supplied) be made to appear by complaint, or information, or knowledge acquired that there is reason to believe that a crime has been committed. They have no power to institute or prosecute an inquiry on chance or speculation that some crime may be discovered. Such an inquisition based on supsicion would be odious and oppressive and would not be tolerated by our laws. They must be reason to believe that a crime of specific character has been committed by a particular person whose name may be either known or unknown to the Grand Jury."
>
> Mr. Justice Goff, Gen. Sessions, N. Y. County, in MATTER OF MORSE, 42 MISC 664, 665, 87 N.Y.S. 721

It was utterly improper for the Grand Jury to assume it might, without a bona fide charge laid by some person before it, or by one its members also bona fide on personal knowledge, enter upon inquiry in Liebowitz-Erby. When District Attorney Koota told the Grand Jury he did not believe Liebowitz had committed a crime, and apologized that he wanted the Grand Jury to investigation upon his speculation, which he even equivocated, he invited inquiry without lawful jurisdiction, contrary to law. See HALE V. HENKLE, 201 U.S. 43, 64, where the U.S. Supreme Court notes the law of New York prohibits Grand Jury "fishing expeditions".

Three. Sec. 249, C.C.P., expressly prohibits any Grand Jury inquiry without bona charge or claim laid, by its prohibition against any but legal evidence being presented before a Grand Jury. Since "evidence" is "proof of a charge" it is self-evident you can't have "evidence" without a charge, for if there is no "charge" there can't be "proof of a charge" nonexistant. See SPECTOR V. ALLEN, 281 N.Y. 251, which prescribes mandatory procedure under which the court out of which a Grand Jury runs being obliged to test the "relevancy" of evidence sought to elicited, upon the standard of the "charge".

Four. District Attorney Koota wrongfully and unethically acted before the Grand Jury when, on his own motion, he produced Liebo-

wits, but also the six or seven other witnesses whom he knew would allege matters to defeat or impeach a prosecution case. He wrongfully acted "in conflict of interest" to his bounden duty as State prosecutor by willfully, knowingly bringing in witnesses to contradict a prosecution case. His ethical duty to inform the Court of matters he knew of which might "explain away" the charge, did not extend to impeaching his own case before the Grand Jury as a matter of law.

> "The privilege of permitting an accused person to appear before the Grand Jury should be accorded sparingly and when accorded should be surrounded with the utmost caution and care. If that not be done and indictment found is liable to BE SET ASIDE BY THE COURT. (emphasis supplied.)
>
> Mr. J. Goff, Supra, at p. 665

See PEOPLE V. FLECKENSTEIN, 27 MISC 2d 728, where Mr. J. Dickens, at General Sessions, New York County, set aside an indictment as a matter of law because Hogan's office, before the Grand Jury, adduced evidence by his witness showing the property allegedly stolen had not been for three days prior to the date of the alleged theft in the place in which it was allegedly stolen.

When Mr. Koota made Mr. Liebowitz, and six or seven defense case witnesses into the prosecutor's own witnesses before the Grand Jury, by producing them, he necessarily equivocated and defeated the charge against Liebowitz as a matter of law. Mr. Koota's acts of bringing known defense witnesses before the Grand Jury as his own witnesses inherently invalidated any possible indictment, and was "whitewash" as a matter of law.

Five. Mr. Koota had knowledge or credible information, secured by interrogations conducted by members of his staff, that the said defense witnesses would present the evidence contradicting the facts evidenced by prosecution witnesses. In the course of the inquiry under Mr. Koota's direction, these witnesses were led through a prepared questioning to elicit the contradictory defense evidences.

Let us compare the solicitude accorded Mr. Liebowitz withthat accorded to George Whitmore, for example. How many times has Mr. Koota gone out to round up defense witnesses so he might produce them before a Grand Jury to sympathetically question them to contradict a prosecution case.? Both the State and Federal constitutions, to which Mr. Koota holds oath, binds him to accord equal treatment to all persons. Is it true that some are more equal than others? The facts demonstrate that Mr. Koota willfully, intentionally and prejudicially is according persons employed by the New York City police department, and other policing agencies, specialized treatment not accorded persons similarly accused of crime, of seeking to impeach the evidence available for prosecution by his own acts.

Six. Mr. Koota willfully, knowingly and wrongfully persuaded the Grand Jury to believe that they are an ad hoc Star Chamber court, empowered with the full trial and acquittal powers of a petit jury and court. On Thursday, July 16, 1965, Mr. Koota stated: "If he (Liebowitz, is found by the Grand Jury) to have acted as a reasonable and prudent person, he will be exonerated (by the Grand Jury)". From the beginning, even before he went before the Grand Jury, Mr. Koota publicized he would have the Grand Jury take on the power to make fact-credibility judgments between prosecution and defense witnesses he would produce before them, and to have the Grand Jury in secret act as a complete and final petit jury and court.

"A Grand Jury is the grand inquest between the government and the citizens". Mr. Justice Story, in United States v. Coolidge, 2 Gall 367.

"The Grand Jury is a constitutent part of the Court, and is under its general supervision and control. The Court "inquires" by the Grand Jury, and "tries and determines" with the petit jury. 1 Bishop, on Crim. Procedure, Sec. 142, 733." IN RE GARDINER, 31 MISC. 364, 36

"It will be bornerin mind that (a Grand Jury legality) inquiry is not a question of the guilt or innocence of the defendant. It is purely and simply one of law - was there sufficient evidence presented before the Grand Jury to warrant the finding of the indictment." PEOPLE V. MCGAHAN, 155 MISC 707

"(A Grand Jury) has the bread power to listen to evidence offered by one side of a controversy only." PEOPLE V. MC CABE, 148 MISC 330, 333.

"It is the function of a grand jury in its proceedings to ascertain whether prima facie grounds for a criminal prosecution have been made out, sufficient to warrant a trial by a petit jury." 33 CORPUS JURIS SECUDNDUM, 1. 1035, hdnt. 84, and many cases cited.

The Grand Jury "do not try issues. They determine whether a crime has been committed, and simply accuse the defendant if there is sufficient evidence to show a crime has been committed, and if unexplained it point to the guilt of defendant and would warrant a conviction by a trial jury, then the Grand Jury ought to find an indictment." PEOPLE V. BOOTH, 52 MISC 340, 343.

"The Grand Jury inquiry is in the nature of a preliminary examination, and should not be converted or subverted into a regular trial, like, for instance, a public trial at law or chancery, implying the right to adduce (conflicting) testimony resulting in a judicial determination. . . Their (the Grand Jury's) plain duty is to bring to trial in a proper court persons whose identity is established prima facie in the proof of commission of a crime and furnish reasonable protection against malicious and unfounded (emphasis supplied) prosecution on the other hand." PEOPLE V. BLAIR, 33 N. Y. S. 2d 185, 191

Instead of coming in good faith, as an advocate for the State of New York, and laying out the many evidence of the 21 prosecution witnesses supllied him through the Brooklyn branches of the NAACP and CORE, whose testimonies showed the premeditated and malicious murder of Erby by Liebowitz, Mr. Koota intentionally and wrongfully adduced, beyond these prosecution witnesses, the seven or eight persons supplied by fellow policemen of Liebo tiz, and proceeded by intentional leading questions to have these police witnesses contradict the prosecution facts, and the, he further advised the Grand Jury it could discredit the prosecution evidences, and choose to adopt any account, defense or prosecution, as they saw fit.

Mr. Koota willfully, intentionally, wrongfully converted and subverted the Grand Jury in a special, secret-trying, Court of Star Chamber, orchestrated into a decision by the modes of questioning and "explanations" of law that Koota paraded before them. It is safe to expect the propositions of law, Koota advanced respecting the law of the murder case, had as much illegality and one-sidedness to them as the propositions of law he advanced to induce the Grand Jury to illegal act in the whole matter.

Seven. Mr. Koota caused the drafting of the following non-indictment special "finding" of fact by the Regular Grand Jury:

"We find that Sheldon Liebowitz, an officer in

the police department of the City of New York, in taking the life of Nelson Erby acted in a lawful and justifiable manner in defense of himself at a time when he had reasonable grounds to apprehend a design on the part of said Nelson Erby to do the said Sheldon Liebowitz great personal injury and that there was imminent danger of such design being accomplished."

The language of the "findig" prima facie evidences the work of a person of legalistic bent, and is some evidence of the argument of defense matter there by Koota before the Grand Jury.

Mr. Koota has announced that, upon a paper prepared by his assistent, Mr. Golden, a further "findig", consisting of a summary of "evidence" "found" by the Grand Jury is to be issued in justification of the proclaimed Grand Jury exoneration of Liebowitz.

The acts of the District Attorney in drafting Grand Jury findings, are the acts of the District Attorney tampering with the exclusive opinion-making processes of the Grand Jury. The "presentment" to be made, notwithstanding alleged Grand Jury endorsement of it, will be the handiwork of the opinionformulation of the District Attorney, and not solely the creature of the Grand Jury. This is clearly an illegal act of tampering with exclusive jury province, as declared in U. S. V. KILPATRICK, where it is noted that the "finding of a Grand Jury must be their own, uninfluenced by the promptings, or suggestions of others, or the opportunity thereof." The two weeks of intense scrutiny by the District Attorney into matters encompassed in this "presentment" are shocking evidences of the extent to which the District Attorney is leading the Grand Jury into making a rationalia. That two weeks are needed to draft this "finding", show the legal promptings by the District Attorney is the essence of the verdict allegedly found by the Grand Jury.

Eight. Mr. Koota's acts of causing the Grand Jury to posthumously condemn Nelson Erby for crime, when he is unable to defend himself against the charge, is unconscionable misconduct. Apparently the dead Negro must suffer a kind of discrimination which, were a white man involved, there would be some pangs of consciences felt against the indecency. Must we malign the dead, for the sake of public order? Is there no decency within us about the dead?

On August 2, 1965, Mr. Koota wrote to me as follows:

"As you stated, a further report by the Grand Jury will be submitted shortly. Your observation that the "law prohibits any kind of (non-indictment) presentments on criminal matters" expresses the law as it existed prior to July 1964. However, the law effective July 1964, Section 253-a of the Code of Criminal Procedure, expressly authorized submission of Grand Jury reports.

"If you can spare the time, I should like to discuss this matter with you personally."

I am shocked that after having the issue broach to him of the indecency of posthumously further condemning a dead man, Mr. Koota has no reaction but to cursorily and falsely allege as matter of law things which are not so, in declaration of further bad intent to malign the defenseless dead man further.

Section 253-a did not, in the slightest, change the law of this State in the subjected matter concerned. The Grand Jury is still utterly powerless to issue any kind of "Presentments" on non-indict-

ment matters accusing anyone of criminal wrongdoing. Sec. 253-a expresses authorizes solely, and authrotizes solely in respect to persons who are public employees, and authorizes solely in respect to public employees who are charged solely with torts, ie., or civil wrongs, and not criminal wrongs, that a report may be issued (a) presenting the tortious, civilly wrongful acts that done by any of them, or a simple, bare statement that the Grand Jury has investigated a claim of a public employee's civil or tortious wrongfulness, and found the evidence did not sustain the charge. The bare conclusory statement of civil wrongdoing alone was allowable, and no "exoneration" of criminal charge was provided. Section 253-a does not in the slightest allow the kind of indecency Koota led the Grand Jury into doing, of criminally accusing a dead man whom they could not allow to have a fair hearing, a fair hearing in open court by a jury of his peers or equals.

I next wish to specify the course of conduct which I Petition the Governer to take.

One. That an order be made superseding the Kings County prosecutor in the Liebowitz Erby matter.

Two. That the Attorney General be empowered to proceed de nov in the matter for prosecution in regular court.

Three. That the Attorney General be instructed to furthwith, without any unnecessary dealy, to apply to the Supreme Court, Kings County, for an order impanelling a Special Grand Jury to hear the prosecution case available for indictment of Patrolman Sheldon Liebowitz for murder in first degree of Nelson Erby, and duly proceed with such prosecution as ordered.

I move thewe matters in the interests of justice, law and order. No expediency can justify the resort to the oppressive way of Star Chamber proceedings, founded upon pretense of powdr to go on "fishing expeditions". If a District Attorney is suffered to "whitewash" one type of case, who can say where this mischief will lead us.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ JOHN M. LAWRENCE

John M. Lawrence
Office and P.O. Address
174 Prince St.
New York 12, N. Y.

Northeast Regional Office
48 West 125th Street
New York, N..Y.. EN 9-0100

Dear Chapter Chairman:

The enclosed information sheets are from Springfield, Mass. CORE. As you can readily see, they need help.

Boston CORE and Rhode Island CORE have been in the area and are giving all the help they possibly can. However, your chapters help is desperately needed..

There is a demonstration being planned for Saturday, Aug. 21, 1965, in Springfield, Mass.

THE DEMONSTRATION: MARCH FOR AN END TO POLICE BEATINGS

Saturday, Aug. 21, 1965

11:00 A..M.. Sharp!
Springfield CORE
22 Hancock Street (Near State Street)
Attendance of Every Interested Party is
an absolute Necessity.

LET'S ALL PLEDGE TO SHOW THE CITY OF SPRINGFIELD THAT WE IN THE NORTHEAST ARE SICK AND TIRED OF BLACK PEOPLE BEING BEATEN JUST BECAUSE THEY ARE BLACK IN COLOR.

J O I N T H E M A R C H I N M A S S T H I S

S A T U R D A Y A U G. 21st AT 11:00A..M..

LEND YOUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN SPRINGFIELD A

HELPING HAND

THEY NEED LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE, SO BRING YOUR ENTIRE MEMBERSHIP AND ALL THEIR FRIENDS AND RELATIVES. COME BY BUS, CAR, TRAIN OR PLANE.....B U T C O M E

P L E A S E

Police brutal? ERBY

CORE CHALLENGES GRAND JURY FINDING

New York, N.Y., August 30, 1965 -- The finding of the Grand Jury investigation into the death of Nelson Erby, shot by Patrolman Sheldon Liebowitz, was challenged by CORE in an amicus curiae brief filed before the state Supreme Court, (Kings County). CORE counsel George Schiffer contended that since Erby did not commit disorderly conduct, Patrolman Liebowitz's actions were unjustified. Further, that as the arrest for disorderly conduct was unlawful, Erby had by law a right to resist it with reasonable force, and that even if Erby had been guilty of disorderly conduct, Liebowitz was not justified in the killing.

Because of its belief that the Grand Jury's report was not supported by the weight of the evidence, CORE has urged the Court not to accept the report. CORE counsel Schiffer has requested that the Court either return the matter to the Grand Jury for further investigation, or have the report sealed and not be granted the dignity and status of a public record.

Rather than supporting the exoneration of Liebowitz, the CORE brief states that the evidence presented before the Grand Jury warranted an indictment of Liebowitz. In filing the brief, Schiffer issued the following statement:

> "1. The Grand Jury based its finding of a lawful arrest on a "disorderly conduct" charge against Nelson Erby for which there was no basis in law whatsoever. There was no finding of a breach of the peace without which there could not be disorderly conduct. Erby was kneeling and either praying or "acting strangely." The few observers were casual. Since there was no disorderly conduct, the arrest was wrongful.
>
> "2. Since the arrest was wrongful, Erby had a right to resist. A citizen has a right to use reasonable force to resist a wrongful arrest. Hence, the shooting was an aggravation of the attempted unlawful arrest.

MORE

"3. In any case, the Grand Jury's finding that Liebowitz was in imminent danger of grievous bodily harm was against the weight of the evidence which showed that Liebowitz had three assistants, at least one of whom had a club. Further, the Grand Jury's comments on the medical evidence showed that the Grand Jury was wholey confused as to its significance.

"The Grand Jury definitely stated that Erby was not prone; that is lying face downward, when the fatal shots were fired. Yet the uncontradicted medical evidence shows that one of the fatal bullets travelled upwards through his body, indicating that he was supine, that is lying on his back. CORE contends that it makes no legal difference whether he was prone or supine. The crucial point is that Erby was down, and the policeman was standing when at least one of the fatal shots was fired.

"Because Liebowitz had assistance, there was no reasonable basis for fearing imminent danger from the supine Nelson Erby, who, as the uncontradicted testimony shows, was unarmed at that point. That it was not fear of imminent danger which impelled Liebowitz to fire is indicated also by the fact that he fired <u>after</u> Erby as Erby was running away. The Grand Jury recognized that there was a wound in Erby's thigh which entered from the <u>rear</u>. They do not hypothecate another time at which the bullet could have been fired, and in fact, there was no other reasonable explanation. The Grand Jury failed to recognize the complete inconsistency of the motives which it attributed to Liebowitz, on the one hand, that he shot in self-defense, and on the other hand, that he shot to apprehend an escaping felon."

#####

"On the basis of the above, we find that the Grand Jury's report was against the weight of the credible and legally admissible evidence, and that its conclusions were based on a totally incorrect statement of the law. Further, the Grand Jury arrogated to itself the functions of a trial jury, depriving both Liebowitz and the public of the normal process of a public trial. Therefore, the Court should refuse to accept the report and should refer the matter back to the Grand Jury for new findings or, alternately, order that the report be sealed and not made a public record.

"Indeed, we believe that sufficient evidence was presented to the Grand Jury, which it found credible, to warrant the conviction of Patrolman Liebowitz by a petit jury, that being the legal standard for an indictment.

"The most shocking aspect of this case is that even if the Grand Jury were entirely correct, it would be placing its seal of approval on the killing of a man for the offense of disorderly conduct, normally punished by a small fine. We believe that there is serious legal question, whether this type of conduct, as distinguished from misdemeanors or felonies, supports the use of deadly force under any conditions. More important, as a moral and social question, we believe that no person should be killed for committing an alleged minor offense.

"Further, we have been greatly disturbed by the procedural aspects of this case. We believe that a police officer, who kills

MORE

someone, should be treated like any other citizen in similar circumstances; that is, he should be arrested and charged. He should also be suspended. We also believe that the case should not be investigated by fellow police officers, even police officers nominally transfered to the District Attorney's office, but by independent, qualified civilian investigators. The presentation to the Grand Jury should be objective and comparable to the presentation in other cases, with defense witnesses reserved to the trial. We believe that the public disposition of cases involving killings by policemen is essential to public confidence in its police department. Since the Erby killing, there have been at least seven additional killings by policemen of civilians, none of which, in our opinion, have received adequate investigation.

"The New York City Police Department has an abominable record in everything except the injury rate of its men. It is time that New York's public and New York's officials took an objective look at its so-called "finest" to find out whether we do not have too many of the wrong kind of police to do the job which the public deserves. We also know that it is time for a thorough house-cleaning of New York's District Attorney's office in Brooklyn and Manhattan where the bulk of the killings and the bulk of the forced confessions occur. We know of no punitive action which has been instituted against any policeman or any assistant district attorney who has participated in such a killing or forced confession. At the same time, we know that these District Attorney's offices have been completely remiss in enforcing the laws against racial discrimination and the laws against slumlords which directly affect at least 1½ million New York citizens. We are completely committed to law and order. We think that law and order must begin with officials sworn to uphold law and order."

# # # # # #

57TH FLOOR
1 CHASE MANHATTAN PLAZA
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10005

September 10, 1965

Gilligan v. Farmer
Gilligan v. King

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am forwarding to you herewith by hand the original of each of the two affidavits we discussed. Please read and then execute each on the last page and have them notarized and then return both to my messenger. I will then conform copies of the affidavits and send you a set, along with the other motion papers, for your files.

If you feel that the affidavits do not satisfactorily state your philosophy or beliefs in those portions devoted to expressions of opinion, please do not hesitate to change them and I will have the affidavits retyped.

Should it not be possible for you to sign the affidavits when my messenger delivers them, just ask him to return at a more convenient time. I would, however, appreciate their return sometime today.

Sincerely yours,

Denison Ray

Denison Ray

James Farmer, Esq.,
CORE-Congress of Racial Equality,
38 Park Row,
New York, N. Y.

Encls.

45

BY HAND

DEMONSTRATIONS OR POLICE BRUTALITY?

A STATEMENT BY THE COUNCIL OF ORGANIZATIONS FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

22 HANCOCK STREET, Springfield. 734-0545 (phone)

THE PEOPLE OF SPRINGFIELD ARE NOT BEING GIVEN THE TRUTH CONCERNING POLICE BRUTALITY IN OUR COMMUNITY. THIS IS WHAT REALLY HAPPENED SINCE JULY 17th.

JULY 17th. At the Octagon Lounge 18 persons were brutally beaten, abused, mistreated, and arrested. 17 of the 18 persons who were arrested were Negroes; the other was a white girl who was called a "nigger-lover" by the arresting officers.

JULY 19th. The Council or Organizations for Civil Rights (COCR) met with Mayor Ryan with the following demands of an outraged and aroused black community.

(1) Suspend or reassign the identified officers who were responsible for the brutalities committed at Octagon Lounge.

(2) Six months training in Human Relations for all members of the Springfield Police Department.

(3) Reassignment of Negro officers to emphasize that they were being used in all branches of the Department.

(4) Name plates to be worn by all members of the Department at all times with their badges -- so that officers may easily be identified.

(5) A Civilian Review Board -- to be appointed by the Springfield Human Relations Commission -- to hear and review all complaints concerning police brutality.

Simultaneously with the presentation of these demands to Mayor Ryan, demonstrations under the leadership of COCR began.

JULY 22nd — In response to the demonstrations on the steps of City Hall, which began the night before, Mayor Ryan promosed to reassign officers (demand #1) and also to recommend to the Police Commission action on all other demands. On the basis of Mayor Ryan's promise, demonstrations were halted.

JULY 26th — Mayor Ryan broke his promise, and thus, INSULTED THE LEADERSHIP OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY!!

AUG. 9th — COCR requested a meeting with Mayor Ryan and the Police Commission. The meeting was refused.

AUG. 10th — COCR began a continuous vigil at City Hall until the Mayor meets the demands.

AUG. 13th — After a continuous peaceful demonstration-vigil for four days (with the approval of the Police Dept.) 24 people were arrested, beaten, and hurt. AGAIN The same police brutality as was witnessed at the Octagon was repeated.

AUG. 14th — 600 aroused citizens met at a mass meeting at Winchester Square to protest the horrible brutalities of the previous day. 200 people peacefully marched down to Court square to demonstrate their witness to this continuous inhuman treatment. At the Square the people who were assembled were intimadated and harassed by policemen -- many of whom were not wearing badges.

At 2:00 A. M., Sunday morning -- after many demonstrators had gone home and after all reporters had withdrawn -- the 44 remaining people were set upon like dogs. They had been given no notification by the Police that they were violating any law . They were clubbed, kicked, hit with fists, and packed like animals into two police vans.

THE MOST INHUMAN AND BARBARIC ACT OF THE POLICE CONCERNS BETTY BELTON.

Miss Belton is a physically handicapped woman. Police officers grabbed her and threw her cane away. She was then pulled, twisted, and dragged; and then thrown into a police van. The Van door

file
Civ Revies Board

STRUCTURES OF CIVILIAN COMPLAINT REVIEW BOARDS
NEW YORK CITY WEISS BILL AND OTHER MODELS

Provisions of the Weiss Bill..... p. 1
Philadelphia Police Advisory Board..... p. 3
Rochester, N.Y. Police Advisory Board..... p. 4
York, Pa. Police Advisory Board (inactive)..... p. 5
Washington, D.C.: Outline of Proposed Citizen Police
Review Board (National Capital Area Civil Liberties Union) p. 6

Prepared by: Marjorie M. Friedlander, Chairman
Civil Liberties Commission of Social Action Committee
THE COMMUNITY CHURCH OF NEW YORK
40 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y.

Date of Preparation: October, 1964

PROVISIONS OF THE WEISS BILL
TO CREATE A CIVILIAN COMPLAINT REVIEW BOARD (NYC)

Introduced By: Honorable Theodore S. Weiss Date Introduced: April 7, 1964

Referred To: Committee on City Affairs

Date of Hearing by Committee on City Affairs: June 16, 1964

PURPOSES OF BOARD	1. To determine disposition of complaints of civilians alleging excessive or unnecessary physical force by police officers 2. To recommend to Mayor and Police Commissioner the disposition of excessive-use-of-force complaints 3. To stimulate general improvements in law enforcement policy and procedures related to legitimate use-of-force
ALLEGED POLICE MISCONDUCT AGAINST CIVILIANS WITHIN BOARD'S JURISDICTION	Excessive or unnecessary physical force
POLICE PERSONNEL AFFECTED BY BOARD	All police personnel operating in New York City City Police Department Police personnel of other City agencies such as Transit Authority State police personnel operating in New York City
BOARD MEMBERSHIP	
Number	9
Appointed by	Mayor. Chairman designated by Mayor
Tenure	3-year overlapping terms
Qualifications/Restrictions	No active law enforcement officers
Compensation	None
SALARIED STAFF	
Executive Director Appointed By	Board(
Other Appointed By	(within budgetary limitations Board(
WHO FILES COMPLAINT	1. Civilian alleging personal physical injury by police 2. Person on behalf of the aggrieved civilian 3. Governmental or private group on behalf of the aggrieved civilian (including the Board)

BOARD'S POWERS

1. Investigatory (within budgetary limitations)
2. Advisory (not judicial or disciplinary)
3. Exercising of subpoena (to produce evidence or witnesses so as to expose the truth)
4. Exercising of oath administration (to discourage perjury by complainant or accused police officer)

RELATED CRIMINAL OR CIVIL PROCEEDINGS

Board, at its discretion, may proceed with a complaint, when criminal or civil action, arising from the same incident, is pending against either the complainant or the accused police officer

BOARD'S FUNCTIONS

A. TO PROCESS CIVILIAN COMPLAINTS ALLEGING EXCESSIVE OR UNNECESSARY PHYSICAL FORCE BY POLICE

1. To receive complaints
2. To refer each complaint to Police Commissioner (or equivalent supervisor) for Investigation and Report
3. To independently investigate complaints, at its discretion, at any stage of the proceedings (within budgetary limitations)
4. To conduct public hearings
5. To make findings-of-fact
6. To make recommendations to Mayor and Police Commissioner concerning disposition of complaint

B. TO CONSULT WITH AND ADVISE MAYOR, OTHER CITY OFFICIALS, AND POLICE COMMISSIONER CONCERNING WAYS AND MEANS OF DEVELOPING EFFECTIVE CITY POLICY AGAINST POLICE BRUTALITY

C. TO RECOMMEND TO MAYOR AND CITY COUNCIL LEGISLATION CONCERNING LEGITIMATE USE-OF-FORCE

D. TO SEEK TO OBTAIN SUFFICIENT PUBLICITY TO INCREASE CITIZENS' AWARENESS OF BOARD'S WORK

E. TO PUBLISH PERIODIC REPORTS OF ACCOMPLISHMENTS

RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING DISPOSITION OF COMPLAINT WHICH BOARD MAY MAKE

1. Exoneration of accused police officer
2. Letter of apology to complainant from violating police officer or the Police Department
3. Departmental reprimand
4. Loss of pay
5. Suspension with loss of pay
6. Dismissal of violating police officer
7. Change in Police Departmental policy and/or procedures

DUE PROCESS GUARANTEES FOR COMPLAINANTS AND ACCUSED POLICE OFFICERS

1. Right to PUBLIC hearing, at Board's discretion, or upon insistence of complainant or accused police officer
2. Right to representation by counsel
3. Right to offer testimony in person or by witnesses
4. Right to cross-examine

PROVISIONS FOR POLICE INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Board must refer all excessive-use-of-force complaints to Police Commissioner (or equivalent supervisor) for Investigation
2. Police Commissioner (or equivalent supervisor) must expeditiously submit to Board Investigation Report, containing findings-of-fact, within specified time limitations
3. Board independently determines findings-of-fact whenever it independently conducts Investigation and/or public hearing

PHILADELPHIA POLICE ADVISORY BOARD (ACTIVE)

ESTABLISHED OCTOBER 1, 1958

ESTABLISHED	By Executive Order of Mayor
ALLEGED POLICE MISCONDUCT AGAINST CIVILIANS WITHIN BOARD'S JURISDICTION	Violation of any Federal or State constitutional right: for example, false arrest; false imprisonment; illegal search and seizure; unlawful confiscation or destruction of property; coerced confession; excessive-use-of-force; abusive language; discrimination because of race, religion, or national origin
BOARD MEMBERSHIP	
Number	8
Appointed By	Mayor
Tenure	Mayor's discretion
Qualifications/Restrictions	None
Compensation	None
SALARIED STAFF	
Full-Time Executive Secretary	
Appointed By	Mayor
Compensation	$7,500 per annum (salary) 4,500 per annum (full-time office secretary office expenses) $12,000, per annum
Full-Time Office Secretary	(see above)
INVESTIGATION	1. Police Department investigates accused police officer. 2. Board investigates complainant 3. BOARD HAS REQUESTED BUDGET FOR INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATIVE SERVICE, WHICH IT SAYS IS A MAJOR NEED TO IMPROVE ITS EFFECTIVENESS
VOLUNTARY LEGAL SERVICE	Board furnishes voluntary attorney to represent indigent complainant at hearing
DUE PROCESS GUARANTEES FOR COMPLAINANTS AND ACCUSED POLICE OFFICERS	1. Right to PUBLIC hearing at Board's discretion, or upon insistence of complainant 2. Right to representation by counsel 3. Right to cross-examine any witness
AREAS OF BOARD'S RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING GENERAL POLICE DEPARTMENTAL PROCEDURES	1. Proper use of handcuffs 2. Legitimate use-of-force 3. Restraint in making arrest solely because of interracial nature of couple or gathering 4. Accountability of police officer who fails to prevent colleague from committing an infraction against a civilian, or to arrest him for committing an illegality against the civilian

ROCHESTER, N.Y. POLICE ADVISORY BOARD (ACTIVE)

ESTABLISHED MARCH 26, 1963

HOW ESTABLISHED	By Ordinance
ALLEGED POLICE MISCONDUCT AGAINST CIVILIANS WITHIN BOARD'S JURISDICTION	"OFFICIAL COMPLAINTS": Excessive or unnecessary physical force "UNOFFICIAL COMPLAINTS": Board receives, summarizes, and forwards to Police Chief, for processing, such other types of alleged police misconduct as failure to prevent suicide of prisoner; denial of access to medical treatment; false arrest; harrassment; indignities, refusal of permission for suspect to telephone lawyer or family; loss or destruction of personal property. Board has no jurisdiction over Investigation or the making of recommendations concerning these complaints.
BOARD MEMBERSHIP	
Number	9
Appointed By	City Manager
Tenure	3-year overlapping terms
Qualifications/Restrictions	Residence in City of Rochester not required No active law enforcement officers
Compensation	None
SALARIED STAFF	
Part-Time Executive Director & Legal Counsel	
Appointed By	Board
Compensation	$400 monthly fee (includes salary and expenses)
INVESTIGATION	Ordinance requires that Police Bureau investigate each properly submitted excessive-use-of-force complaint, referred to it by the Board. Upon receipt of Police Chief's Investigation Report, Board at its discretion, may conduct supplementary Investigation (within budgetary limitations). Regarding the other types of complaints, termed "Unofficial Complaints", Police Chief has promised that his Internal Inspection Office will conduct an Investigation, upon referral of the complaints to him by the Board.
LEGAL SERVICES	Free legal service is furnished indigent complainant by Monroe County Bar Association
DUE PROCESS GUARANTEES FOR COMPLAINANTS AND ACCUSED POLICE OFFICERS	Complainant can insist on a hearing. (hearings are closed to public, a departure from the public hearings of existing and proposed Boards)
BOARD'S DISCRETIONARY NOTIFICATION TO PUBLIC OF ITS RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING SPECIFIC COMPLAINT	In addition to preparing a public report about its general activities, Board, at its discretion, may notify public of its recommendations concerning disposition of a specific case, whether or not the Police Chief and City Administration agree with these recommendations

A:I:77

YORK, PA. POLICE ADVISORY BOARD (INACTIVE)

ESTABLISHED JANUARY 15, 1960: EXPIRED DECEMBER 31, 1961

HOW ESTABLISHED	Ordinance, January 15, 1960 Confirmed in Charter Ordinance, February 2, 1962
EXPIRATION	Although Board has not been statutorily abolished, Board became dormant, December 31, 1961, because the Mayor has failed to appoint members to it.
ALLEGED POLICE MISCONDUCT AGAINST CIVILIANS WITHIN BOARD'S JURISDICTION	Includes, but is not limited to, "mistreatment, abusive language, false arrest, unreasonable or unwarranted use of force, unreasonable search and seizures, denial of civil rights or discrimination because of race or religion or national origin."
BOARD MEMBERSHIP	
Number	5
Appointed By	Mayor
Tenure	Mayor's discretion
Qualifications/Restrictions	Residents of City of York
Compensation	None. Board members to be reimbursed for expenses
SALARIED STAFF	None
INVESTIGATION	BOARD IS TO PLAY PRIMARY ROLE IN INVESTIGATION. It has option of requesting police to investigate (Philadelphia, Rochester, and Weiss Bill Boards must refer to Police Department for Investigation. However, these same Boards have option of conducting supplementary Investigation, within budgetary limitations).
DUE PROCESS GUARANTEES FOR COMPLAINANTS AND ACCUSED POLICE OFFICERS	1. Right to PUBLIC hearing, at Board's discretion, or upon insistence of complainant 2. Right to counsel 3. Right to offer testimony in person or by witnesses 4. Right to cross-examine
PROVISION FOR BOARD'S NOTIFICATION TO PUBLIC OF ALL ITS DECISIONS CONCERNING SPECIFIC COMPLAINTS	ANY INTERESTED CITIZEN HAS ACCESS TO BOARD'S DECISIONS, WHICH ARE TO BE KEPT ON FILE AT CITY CLERK'S OFFICE

WASHINGTON, D.C.: OUTLINE OF PROPOSED CITIZEN POLICE REVIEW BOARD

Proposed By: NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, JUNE 12, 1964

ALLEGED POLICE MISCONDUCT AGAINST CIVILIANS WITHIN BOARD'S JURISDICTION	Any type of police misconduct, such as prolonged detention; coerced confession; illegal search and seizure; excessive-use-of-force
PROVISIONS FOR TRANSMITTAL TO BOARD OF EVIDENCE OF POLICE MISCONDUCT EXPOSED AT JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS	To be referred to Board by defense attorneys, or upon the D.C. Commissioner's request, by Corporation Counsel, U.S. Attorney or the courts
BOARD MEMBERSHIP	
Number	9
Appointed By	D.C. Commissioners
Tenure	3-year overlapping terms
Qualifications/Restrictions	District residency required; at least 4 practicing attorneys required; no District employees (police or otherwise)
Compensation	None
SALARIED STAFF	FULL-TIME INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATOR
INVESTIGATION	COMPLETELY INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATION WITHIN EXCLUSIVE JURISDICTION OF BOARD
LEGAL SERVICES	Board is to endeavor to furnish counsel for impecunious complainant and accused police officer alike
DUE PROCESS GUARANTEES FOR COMPLAINANTS AND ACCUSED POLICE OFFICERS	1. Right to PUBLIC hearing, at Board's discretion, or upon insistence of complainant 2. Right to present witnesses and introduce documentary and other tangible evidence 3. Right to ask Board to invoke subpoena to compel production of evidence and witness
PROVISION FOR DISCLOSURE TO PUBLIC OF PROCEEDINGS OF SPECIFIC HEARING	A stenographic record of all hearings shall be kept and all other evidence SHALL BE MATTERS OF PUBLIC RECORD
PROVISION TO PROTECT COMPLAINANTS FROM CRIMINAL PROSECUTION FOR "FALSE COMPLAINT" ARISING FROM BOARD'S PROCEEDINGS	NCACLU Proposal extends to complainants, unable to prove their allegations against the police, IMMUNITY FROM CRIMINAL PROSECUTION for filing "false complaints" with the Board (according to NCACLU, Washington, D.C. Police Department, in 1962, had initiated criminal prosecution of 39% of its civilian complainants of police misconduct, on charge of filing "false report"). Subsequently to the presentation of its Proposal to District authorities and Police Chief, NCACLU has agreed, that prosecution liability should operate against those complainants who maliciously file accusations against the police with the Board.

A:I:77

Jim - Here is statement of AFSC supporting review board and basic charges that caused riots. - Bob Vogel

TO: All New York City Newspapers

FOR RELEASE: JULY 23, 1964

JUL 24 1964

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
New York Metropolitan Region
Room 220, 2 West 20th Street, New York, 10011
PHONE: OR 5 - 4200
July 23, 1964

RELEASED BY: Dr. George Rubin, Chairman
Executive Committee of the American Friends
Service Committee's New York Metropolitan Region

STATEMENT Regarding New York City Riots

At its Executive Committee meeting today the American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker organization, supported an independent civilian review board to investigate citizens' complaints of police excesses, encouraged a policy of open occupancy in housing practices and supported President Johnson's anti-poverty program. The current riots and civil unrest, it stated, were symptoms of the problems of racial discrimination and poverty, inadequate education, poor jobs or no jobs, and poor housing.

The Statement follows:

The American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker organization, is dedicated to helping create the conditions under which social problems can be resolved by peaceful rather than violent means.

It recognizes that the recent riots and civil unrest in New York City are symptoms of deeper problems that have afflicted the city for many years. They are problems of racial discrimination and poverty, inadequate education, poor jobs or no jobs, and poor housing.

M O R E

All citizens are to blame for a century of inhuman treatment which white America has visited upon the Negro. Every employer who has rejected a job applicant because of his race or religion; every landlord who has tolerated overcrowding and excessive rent; every landowner or real estate operator who has ever denied the Negro an equal opportunity to buy or rent a house in the city or suburb; every person who has called for violence as a solution; and every citizen who has remained silent in the face of these injustices -- all have helped to create the riots in New York.

The Committee recognizes the general high quality of the police department. But it knows from its experience in East Harlem that many residents feel that police use excessive force. As an important step in easing tension, the Committee favors the appointment of an independent civilian review board to investigate citizen complaints.

Civil rights, fair housing and fair employment laws have been passed. Their enforcement depends not only on their vigorous support by officials, but on voluntary compliance by each citizen of the letter and spirit of the law. The Committee's experience in the fair housing field shows the need to make substantial progress in achieving an open occupancy pattern of living on a metropolitan wide basis.

It s experience with the poor in East Harlem over the past seven years leads it to support greater community-wide efforts to deal with the problems of education, jobs and housing. The Committee approves efforts such as Mobilization for Youth and HARYOU-ACT. A member of a National Board of the AFSC recently testified in support of the President's anti-poverty program - The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

M O R E

The Committee's goal is to work toward a truly free and integrated society where the individual has the widest option, where differences, individual and group, are welcomed, and where all these freedoms are undergirded by a sound basis of equal rights and opportunity.

30 30 30

JUL 28 1964

680 West End Avenue
New York, N.Y.
July 25, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I sent today to Mayor Wagner, on the subject of the need for a civilian review board to investigated cases of alleged police brutality.

I send this because I want CORE to know that there are still some members of the white middle class community who feel the way I do.

Sincerely yours,

James Finkelstein M.D.

C O P Y

July 25, 1964

Hon. Robert Wagner
Office of the Mayor
City Hall
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mayor Wagner:

The purpose of this letter is to add one more voice to the growing group of citizens of the city who believe that an independent civilian review board should be set up immediately to investigate cases of alleged police brutality.

The events of this past week have reinforced my belief, based on personal experience as well as testimony of many persons, that the police do indeed give differential treatment to Negroes and Puerto Ricans. Anyone who knows the city at all well knows that this is so, and denials on the part of police and other city officials must be widely recognized as either sadly uninformed or deliberately dishonest.

I have worked with New York City police and I respect them for the fact that they face danger daily to protect us from crime and violence. I know that police are no more nor less honest, no more nor less subject to racial prejudiced attitudes, than the rest of us. I do not intend to criticize individual policemen when I write that racial attitudes against Negroes influence their treatment of them. It does seem to me to be your responsibility to see that these attitudes are controlled and improved, so that no New Yorker will have any real reason to fear the police because of his race or membership in any lawful group.

The board should be composed of persons expert in law enforcement and civil rights, who have no connection with the police. One such name which comes to my mind is Mr. Shad Polier. Another suggestion is Mr. Charles King, executive director of the Wiltwyck School for Boys and an outstanding Negro authority in the field of delinquency. There are literally hundreds of other qualified and interested citizens whose honesty would be beyond question.

I cannot agree with the argument that such a board would be bad for police morale. It seems to me that morale in any organization is high when there is group pressure for high standards of performance. A civilian review board would mean to the average policeman that the city authorities expect him to do his job well. On the other hand, when the top echelons of the police department oppose the establishment of such a review board, this means to the average policeman that the top authorities recognize and condone his deviations from good quality work. Nothing could be worse for morale.

I also cannot agree that the establishment of a review board would appear to be weakness on the part of the city administration in giving in to the demands of the mob. Hundreds of

thousands of New Yorkers know, from having personally observed, that the riots of last week represented not only a loss of control by the Negro community, but a loss of control by the police as well. While the establishment of adequate police services in Negro sections of the city is essential to protect the citizens of these neighborhoods from loss of control by some of their number, the establishment of controls over police behavior is equally essential, and seems to be a completely rational response to the events of last week.

Thank you for your courtesy in reading this letter.

Very truly yours,

(signed) James Finkelstein M.D.

Copy to: James Farmer
National Director of CORE

Lovell W. Sutherland
Box 461
Montclair, New Jersey

JUL 29 1964

27 July 1964

Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer,

To paraphrase a recent statement—
The lack of law enforcement has been the
Negro's worst friend.

Need I enumerate:

1. Various Payoffs
2. Gambling & Bootlegging
3. Prostitution
4. Narcotics (which the N.Y. Police Commissioner says is unsolvable)

In many of our Negro communities the respect for law and order is negated in the above. Maybe it is time that we get to the heart of the biggest problem.

Ask any police where he would prefer to do duty in any city USA — you'll find that it is in the Negro Community where the "living is good!"

L. W. Sutherland

CW. Review Board

September 18, 196[illegible]

Mr. Stanely M. Schiffman
Staff Representative
Lenox Hill Neighborhood Association
331 East 70th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Schiffman:

Belatedly, I would like to thank you for your endorsement of the Independent Civilian Review Board. The fight to have an independent review of police activity is continuing and your support is much needed.

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the National Director

GRC/em

JUL 27 1964

July 24, 1964

Mr. James Farmer, President
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

The staff of the Lenox Hill Neighborhood Association, a Settlement House serving the Yorkville community, wish to go on record as follows:

We recommend the immediate establishment of a permanent, independent Civilian Review Board to review all civil complaints relating to improper police action.

We believe the present racial tensions are a result of social conditions which have existed, and still exist, in New York City. We are deeply concerned and deplore these conditions which, if steps are not immediately taken to begin to correct them, can only lead to future incidents of this nature.

Stanley Schiffman

Stanley M. Schiffman
Staff Representative
Lenox Hill Neighborhood Association
331 East 70th Street
New York, New York

SS:ih

Civ. Review Bd.

2 October 1964

Mr. William T. Rintala
2214 Channing Way
Berkeley, California 94704

Dear Mr. Rintala:

CORE does not have any great body of information regrading civilian review boards of police activity. Such boards are operative in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and in Rochester, New York. Boston, Massachusetts has also begun a similar review board quite recently.

Our general impression is that these boards have not made any great changes in police practices, but that they have been helpful. I suppose the fact that theypolice so violently oppose them is indicative that they must serve a purpose.

Even with our limited experience we strongly endorse civilian review of charges against the police and have made such demands here in New York City as well as elsewhere. We know of no case where these boards have inhibited effective police action, not withstanding the recent FBI reports to the contrary. Most minority group members in the ghetto regard the policeman as the enemy. We believe that the review board along with more adequate training of police personnel could be effective in alleviating this problem.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

Carey

SEP 28 1964

2214 Channing Way
Berkeley, California
94704

September 24, 1964

National Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Sir:

The Berkeley-Albany Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California, of which I am a member, is presently investigating the general problem of police-minority group relations. We hope to find areas in which an organization with our kind of expertise can make a contribution. As a part of our preliminary research, I have been directed to gather some information on the use of civilian review boards for evaluating charges of misconduct leveled at police officers. It has occurred to me that such boards might be one way of approaching the widespread and troublesome problem of more stringent enforcement of the law against members of minority groups.

Your regional office suggested that I contact you. I thought that the events this summer in New York, in particular, might have caused you to give the matter of civilian review boards some thought. Any information which you have available or any comments you would care to make would be greatly appreciated.

Thank you very much for your assistance.

Yours,

William T. Rintala

William T. Rintala

Civilian Review Board

COMMUNITY FORUM

SUNDAY
NOVEMBER 1, 1964
4 P.M.

OCT 15

THE PHILADELPHIA EXPERIENCE

WITH A

POLICE ADVISORY BOARD

SPEAKER: MARTIN S. BAROL, ESQ. FORMER EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
POLICE ADVISORY BOARD OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA.

MEMBER: Greater Philadelphia Branch, American Civil
Liberties Union Committee on Police Practices.
Philadelphia Fellowship Commission
Committee on Community Tensions
Former Ass't Att'y General Commonwealth of Penn.

MODERATOR: DONALD SZANTHO HARRINGTON, MINISTER
THE COMMUNITY CHURCH OF NEW YORK

SPONSORED BY: SOCIAL ACTION COMMITTEE
THE COMMUNITY CHURCH OF NEW YORK
40 EAST 35th St.
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

CORE SETS UP UNOFFICIAL REVIEW BOARD
ON POLICE BRUTALITY

New York, N.Y., May 28--Pending the outcome of a campaign by CORE and other civil rights groups for legislative establishment of a civilian board to review police brutality charges, CORE has set up an unofficial committee of ten prominent citizens for this purpose. Members of the committee include Roger Baldwin, veteran civil libertarian, former Judge Hubert Delaney and Rev. Donald Harrington.

"For months we have called upon the mayor and the police commissioner to deal effectively with this problem," said CORE National Director James Farmer on May 22nd in announcing formation of the unofficial committee. "I have talked to the mayor. I have talked to the commissioner, without tangible results. The time for talking is now past."

At its initial meeting on June 4th, the committee will hold hearings on four recent cases of police brutality involving Jesse Roberts, James Yates, Rosalee Brown and Kenneth Massey. Police precincts where brutality has occurred also will be picketed by CORE groups in the New York area.

Police Commissioner Michael Murphy and the policemen involved in the four incidents were invited to testify but Murphy, who has strongly opposed creation of a civilian review board, said" "No policemen will appear. We do not believe in kangaroo courts or public lynchings." A bill to establish a civilian review board will be introduced soon in the city council.

Protests Across The Country

Campaigns against police brutality are being conducted in an increasing number of cities by CORE groups across the country

More-More-More

A drive for the resignation of Police Chief William Parker of Los Angeles has received considerable publicity in the southern California press. The campaign, indorsed by 12 CORE groups in the area, will climax with street demonstrations. Incidents of brutality against Negroes and Mexicans are increasing under Parker's command, the CORE groups charge.

In Syracuse, New York, protesting police brutality has been the local CORE's main project in recent months. Several members of the group have been arrested for protest actions at police headquarters.

In Denver, Colorado, CORE recently reaffirmed its support of a city-wide campaign by civil rights groups against police brutality. In Ann Arbor, Michigan, CORE recently aired the issue in testimony before the City Council.

####

To Mr. James Farmer.

Hoping this
will aid you
in work toward
a Civilian
Review Board.

Sincerely,

Mindy Helmer

DON'T BE FOOLED

BY THE ANTI-SEMITIC AND RACIST ULTRA-RIGHT

THE CIVILIAN COMPLAINT REVIEW BOARD SERVES ALL NEW YORKERS

THE POLICEMEN'S BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION, supported by the ULTRA-RIGHT, claims that the Civilian Complaint Review Board was set up to intimidate the police and prevents them from protecting YOU against criminals.

THE DAILY FORWARD, a Yiddish daily newspaper, published an article by one of their writers, Mr. A. Menes, attacking the Review Board as a gimmick set up under pressure of "liberals" who want to "appease" the Negro and Puerto Rican population of our city.

THE TRUTH

THE REVIEW BOARD'S OCTOBER REPORT on its work since July, when it was established, showed that more complaints were received against police misconduct from middle-class, middle-income areas than from residents of Harlem and Bedford Stuyvesant.

Of the first 307 complaints filed, 140 came from whites; 113 from Negroes; 38 from Spanish speaking; 16 whose background was unindentified.

THE ANTI-SEMITIC, RACIST BIRCH SOCIETY claims 500 members in the New York police force. And the record shows that repeated physical attacks upon Jews on the East Side and in other neighborhoods, vandal attacks upon Jewish institutions and swastika smears, have rarely been followed up by police, to find the criminals.

THE DANGER

The double-edged danger of the law proposed by the PBA, listed as QUESTION NO. 1 on the ballot is: 1) A VICTORY FOR THE ULTRA-RIGHT not only in New York, but all over the country; 2) A "SLEEPER CLAUSE", NOT PUBLICIZED but included in the PBA law (Question No. 1 on the ballot), would place our city under the rule of policemen.

THE BAR ASSOCIATION says the PBA's proposal "could reduce the present powers of the Mayor, the City Council, the Commissioner of Investigation and the Commission on Human Rights to investigate civilian complaints against the police in areas ranging from lax enforcement of traffic regulations to bribery, graft and corruption."

THE REVIEW BOARD was set up to eliminate misconduct by policemen whose brutal actions add to the already unbearable conditions of life in the Negro and Puerto Rican ghettos. Thanks to the Negro freedom movement, we now have a Civilian Complaint Review Board that takes up the grievances of all New Yorkers who feel they have been mistreated by a policeman.

TO SAVE THE REVIEW BOARD

VOTE NO

ON QUESTION NO. 1

EMMA LAZARUS FEDERATION OF JEWISH WOMEN'S CLUBS
160 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010

Police Review Board file

THE PROTESTANT COUNCIL of the CITY of NEW YORK

475 Riverside Drive • Suite 456 • New York, N. Y. 10027 • RI 9-1214

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OFFICE OF EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
Christian Social Relations

May 19, 1965

MAY 20 1965

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y. 10038

Dear Mr. Farmer,

The following is the text of a telegram sent to the Mayor of New York City at 3:00 PM today.

"The Board of Directors of the Protestant Council of the City of New York today, May 19th adopted this resolution:

> Be it resolved that the Board of Directors of the Protestant Council of the City of New York recommends to the Mayor of this city that the principle of civilian administration of our Police Department be firmly established by the appointment as Police Commissioner of a skilled administrator whose experience and orientation includes fields which largely lie outside the field of police work, and who has a thorough understanding of law enforcement and community problems, especially those of the diverse ethnic groups who compose our population."

If you have any suggestions for ways in which the Council can be helpful, don't hesitate to let us know.

Sincerely,

Doris Todd

Doris Todd, for
The Rev. William S. Van Meter
Executive Secretary

NEW YORK YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUB
CITY AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON PROPOSED INDEPENDENT CIVILIAN COMPLAINT REVIEW BOARD

May 19, 1965

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction

I. Present Internal Police Department System for Handling Complaints by Civilians 2

II. Evaluation of Present Internal System

A. Completely Internal System 11

B. Lack of Public Confidence in the Present System 16

C. Maintenance of an Effective Police Department 18

III. Pending Proposals for Civilian Participation in the Police Review Process

A. The Weiss Bill--Independent Civilian Complaint Review Board 23

B. Corso Report 28

C. Aldrich Bill 31

IV. Proposals of the New York Young Democratic Club

A. Minimum Standards of Review Procedure .. 32

B. Establishment of Independent Civilian Complaint Review Board 35

C. "Beyond" the Review Board 38

INTRODUCTION

The City Affairs Committee of the New York Young Democratic Club has completed an extensive study of the system of handling complaints by civilians alleging police brutality. The committee discussed this problem with numerous interested groups and individuals including Councilman Theodore Weiss, the sponsor of a bill to set up an independent civilian complaint review board, Leonard E. Reisman, the newly designated chairman of the present police review board, representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Congress of Racial Equality and the National Association for the Protection of Puerto Rican Civil Rights, and the American Civil Liberties Union. Persistent efforts to arrange a meeting with representatives of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association were not successful. Deputy Mayor Cavanaugh informed the committee that he was not authorized at this time to discuss the operations of his temporary review committee. Members of the committee have attended panel discussions on this problem and have studied various articles in magazines and law reviews, the annual reports of the Police Advisory Board of the City of Philadelphia and the recent report of the New York County Lawyers Association.

I. Present Internal Police Department System for Handling Complaints by Civilians

A. Background of present system

Prior to 1953 there was no well-defined system for the handling of complaints by citizens alleging police brutality. These charges were usually investigated and determined by the precinct captain to which the accused police officer was assigned.

In 1953 the Police Department established certain rules to govern the handling of complaints. These rules proved ineffectual and in 1955 the Police Department set up a board called the "Civilian Complaint Review Board." The word "civilian" in the title of the board refers to the person who makes the complaint and not to the status of the person reviewing it. To avoid confusion with the proposed independent civilian complaint review board the present board will be referred to in this report as the "present internal review board". Under the present internal review board the complaint is received, investigated and reviewed by members of the Police Department. The rules and regulations governing the present method are contained in the Rules and Procedures of the New York City Police Department, Chapter 21.

B. Receipt and Processing of Complaint

Under the present system the internal review board has jurisdiction to hear complaints concerning "abuse of authority" or "unnecessary use of force" by a police officer. Other charges of police misconduct, e.g., graft, corruption, are handled through the office of the Chief Inspector of the Police Department. The Chief Inspector apparently also handles cases of abusive language and other "minor" offenses which may be an area of great concern to civilians. The procedures discussed in this report are unrelated to possible civil damage actions by the alleged victim of police brutality against a police officer. Also unrelated and not discussed are criminal charges, i.e. grand jury indictment, against a policeman.

A complaint of "abuse of authority" or "unnecessary use of force" may be made by the aggrieved person himself, his relatives or representatives or any interested person or organization. The complaint may be initiated in person, by telephone or by letter and may be made at any local precinct, Police Headquarters at 240 Centre Street, Manhattan, or the offices of the present internal board which are physically located in the Police Department headquarters. After the complaint

is received by a member of the Police Department copies of the complaint are sent to the investigating officer, to the offices of the present internal board, to the Chief Inspector, to the Bureau of Disciplinary Records and to the commanding officer of the Police Department in the reported borough.

C. Investigation of Complaint

The complaint is investigated by the Commanding Officer of the next higher command from that of the accused police officer. This ordinarily means that the Commanding Officer of a Division Command investigates a complaint against a member of a precinct under his jurisdiction. The investigating officer is required to file a report on his investigation within ten days, subject to extensions of time. The report of the investigating officer must contain findings of fact concerning the incident, recommendations and a summary of further action contemplated by the investigating officer. This report is then sent to the Civilian Complaint Supervisor, a post now occupied by Inspector Arthur Savatt.

D. Hearing

There is no requirement under the present system that a hearing be held. It is within the complete discretion of the investigating officer or the chairman of the internal review board as to whether a hearing should be held. A citizen's complaint can therefore be dismissed without a hearing.

In the event a hearing is held the investigating officer and the Civilian Complaint Supervisor conduct the hearing. The accused police officer and the complainant and their respective attorneys may be present. Both the complainant and the accused officer and any witnesses to the incident are questioned by the investigating officer and the Civilian Complaint Supervisor. Witnesses, however, cannot be compelled to attend the hearing since the present board does not have subpoena power. There is no absolute right of cross-examination by the complainant, the accused officer or their lawyers. The investigating officer, however, is authorized to adopt suggested questions, "if pertinent", from the participants or their lawyers.

There is no requirement that this hearing be public and, in practice only the complainant, the accused officer, their attorneys and witnesses to the incident are permitted to attend.

E. Initial Decisions by Investigating Officer and Civilian Complaint Supervisor

If a hearing is held the investigating officer will send a transcript of the hearing and his final report together with his recommendations to the members of the review board. If the investigating officer believes that departmental charges should be preferred against the police officer he will send a specification of these charges with his report to the board.

Under ¶ 11.3 of Chapter 21 of the Rules and Procedures of the Police Department the Civilian Complaint Supervisor is required to review the report of the investigating officer, make his own recommendations concerning the incident and send both reports to the chairman of the review board. Despite this apparent requirement a recent Police Department handout on this procedure states that the Civilian Complaint Supervisor "spot checks" cases before submitting his

recommendations. This would appear to be in contravention of ¶ 11.3 which states that the Civilian Complaint Supervisor "shall review" the report of the investigating officer in every case.

F. Review of Initial Decisions by Present Review Board

The present three man internal review board is composed of Leonard E. Reisman, Deputy Commissioner in charge of legal matters and newly appointed chairman of the review board, Edward J. McCabe, a Deputy Commissioner in the Police Department of Licenses and Joseph Martin, newly appointed Deputy Commissioner for Community Relations. The review board operates under the general jurisdiction of the Department of Community Relations headed by Mr. Martin. All three of these persons are Deputy Commissioners in the Police Department.

The rule and procedures of the present internal review board have no specific requirements as to the nature of the "review" by the board of the reports of the investigating officer and the Civilian Complaint Supervisor. In practice, each of the three board members individually reviews the written reports

of the investigating officer and the Civilian Complaint Supervisor. Ordinarily, the three-man board does not meet as a group to discuss and evaluate the reports in order to arrive at their decision.

If the report of the investigating officer and the Civilian Complaint Supervisor have recommended a dismissal of the complaint against the police officer, and the board affirms that decision, the matter is closed. If the investigating officer and the Civilian Complaint Supervisor recommend the filing of charges against the police officer and the board affirms these decisions (or if the board overrules the investigating officer and the Civilian Complaint Supervisor and decides that charges should be preferred) the board orders the investigating officer to prefer charges.

The Police Department claims that the present review board acts as a "grand jury in deciding whether an 'indictment' should be returned." This statement is inaccurate in several respects. The departmental trial is merely a disciplinary proceeding and is not a criminal prosecution. In addition, it should be pointed out that the present

review board, unlike a grand jury, does not hear and observe testimony of witnesses nor can it cross-examine these witnesses. The present board relies solely on the written material transmitted to them. Furthermore, one of the underlying purposes of the grand jury is that it is composed of private citizens.

G. Departmental Trial and Decision of the Police Commissioner

At this point the responsibilities of the review board are concluded. If the board determines that the complaint is not justified it is "filed". There is no requirement that the complainant be notified of this decision. If departmental charges are preferred against the police officer the case is prosecuted by the Police Department trial counsel before the Deputy Police Commissioner in charge of trials. In the public departmental trial the accused police officer is entitled to counsel and has the right to cross-examine witnesses.

The decision of the trial examiner, and any recommendations he may make, are then forwarded to the Police Commissioner. After receipt of the Trial

Examiner's report the Police Commissioner renders his final decision on the guilt or innocence of the accused police officer and imposes punishment. The punishment may involve a reprimand, loss of pay, demotion, dismissal from the Department or other disciplinary action. As stated above, no criminal penalties can be imposed.

H. Statistics of Internal Board Operations

The present internal review board does not publish reports concerning their activities. The board, however, has recently released the following figures concerning the ten year history of the board:

YEAR	TOTAL	CHARGES PREFERRED	CONVICTIONS	ACQUITTALS	CHARGES PENDING
1955	196	21	12	9	-
1956	166	22	9	11	(1 resigned) (1 retired)
1957	142	6	4	2	-
1958	126	9	7	2	-
1959	106	8	6	1	(1 resigned)
1960	186	20	8	8	(2 resigned) (2 retired)
1961	198	12	10	2	-
1962	209	13	9	4	-
1963	171*	9	5	3	1
1964	147	5	1	-	4

* Includes 1 Pending investigation.
** Includes 87 Pending investigations.

This ten year comparison indicates that an average of 165 complaints have been filed annually; 12 of these cases result in departmental charges preferred against the police officer; 7 of these trials result in convictions.

II. Evaluation of the Present Internal Review System

A. Completely Internal System

Under the present procedure, complaints by citizens are handled completely within the Police Department. Under the regulations the complainant must initiate the complaint at the Police Department, either at the local precinct or headquarters. It is probable that many civilians are reluctant to file complaints at the local station house (See, "I Don't Think The Cop Is My Friend," The New York Times Magazine, March 29, 1964, at page 30). The civilian can also file his complaint at Police Headquarters. A recent report by the Committee on Civil Rights of the New York County Lawyers Association, commenting on the filing of complaints at Police Headquarters stated (page 14):

> "Even the most courageous of civilians can be awed by the hurdles involved in getting inside this establishment. A uniformed officer demands proper identification and a statement of one's business from every visitor entering the building before it is even possible to reach the office door."

It is quite natural for police officers not to encourage the filing of complaints by citizens. For example, it has been reported by the Washington, D.C. chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union that police officers there have warned prospective complainants that they may be subject to prosecution for filing a "false report" if the complaint against the police officer is dismissed. The Washington ACLU reports an "abnormally high" percentage of subsequent prosecutions of such complainants for filing "false reports." (Washington Post, 4/1/65, p. A1; Report of the Subcommittee of Due Process Committee).

It is, of course, difficult to measure the degree of unreported citizen complaints. On July 27, 1964 the New York Times published the results of a survey taken among minority groups in New York City to determine the prevalence of police brutality. The survey reported that 12% of those interviewed thought that there was a "lot" of police brutality.

Thus, based on a population of these minority groups of 1,000,000, there were about 120,000 persons in New York in 1964 who thought there was a "lot" of police brutality. If only 1% of these persons felt that they had been the direct victims of police brutality there should have been 1,200 citizen complaints filed with Police Department. Yet, in 1964 there were only 147 such complaints filed with the present internal board.

The reluctance of citizens to file complaints against a police officer with his fellow officers is substantiated by the experience of the present independent review board in Philadelphia. In a letter dated March 11, 1964 from the board to the Mayor of Philadelphia it is stated that "the basis for the existence of the Board is the belief that many potential complaints might not be filed in a strictly internal or departmental review system."

The Philadelphia Board also stated in this report that it has been effective as a "safety valve" in Philadelphia:

> "The Board has indeed acted as a safety valve in the community. No longer is it necessary for a citizen, who has felt himself wronged by police actions, to harbor resentment within himself, or to spread his hostile feelings throughout the community."

Although the Police Department claims that publicity has been given to the present system, there is some evidence to the contrary. For example, during the operations of this Young Democratic Club inquiry one of the members of the Committee went to the offices of the Civilian Complaint Review Board at Police Headquarters. He stated that the purpose of his visit was to obtain a copy of the rules and regulations governing the review board. He was told, however, that these rules and regulations were for "internal department use only." If that kind of cooperation is given at the highest level of the police unit reviewing these complaints it is not hard to imagine the kind of cooperation and information that is meted out at the precinct level.

The investigation of the present internal review procedures by the New York County Lawyers Association led them to the same conclusion about the lack of public information:

> "Because of the inadequacy of public information on the processing of individual complaints, it is impossible to assess the effectiveness or lack of effectiveness of present procedures in investigating and acting upon particular complaints. It is possible, however, to see that the over-all procedure for handling civilian complaints has failed to earn full public confidence, and that the result is damaging to the effectiveness of the Police Department and its work."

But the heart of the problem with respect to the present internal review system — all racial minority group leaders agree — is the intimidation of the complainant. This factor, say those leaders whom the Committee has interviewed, prevents many prospective complainants from reporting an incident of excessive force or abuse of authority. The intimidation is caused by the apprehension of what the police investigative staff and other policemen might do to the complainant. Will a uniformed police officer make repeated visits to the complainant's home at late hours? Will there be questions asked of employers of both complainants and witnesses? Will there be calls to the complainant's home suggesting that he "think the matter over?" Will there be unusual surveilance of the complainant's home with the notion of pressing charges for some suspected wrongdoing?

These occurrences, say the civil rights leaders, are the major problem presented by a completely internal review system. The fear that these harassing tactics might take place, however infrequently, is the intimidation that has kept potential complainants away from the precinct house.

The fear of harassment, the complete absence of any element of independent civilian representation, the lack of any public hearings prior to the rare departmental trial, the absence of any requirement for the holding of even a non-public hearing, the lack of a right to cross-examine witnesses (in the event the Police Department representatives decide in their discretion to hold a non-public hearing), are some of the factors which prevent the fair and impartial handling of civilian complaints. A civilian complaint system dominated from beginning to end by members of the Police Department, regardless of the efforts of these persons to be unbiased while receiving, processing, investigating and deciding complaints against members of the department, has serious shortcomings which must be corrected.

B. Lack of Public Confidence in the Present System

One of the stated functions of the present internal review boards is "to assure the public of quick and effective action against policemen who abuse their authority or use unnecessary force." This function was paraphrased at a forum held on March 16, 1965 at the Association of the Bar of the City of

New York, where it was agreed by all participants, including Leonard E. Reisman, present chairman of the internal review board, and Vincent Broderick, newly appointed Police Commissioner, that a procedure for handling civilian complaints must not only "be fair" but also "seem fair."

It is clear that the present internal review board has not fulfilled the function of "seeming" fair to a sizeable percentage of the people of New York City. The leaders of the Negro and Puerto Rican communities, representing more than 1,750,000 residents, are unanimous in their demands for an independent civilian review board. The opposition of this large group of citizens cannot be summarily dismissed as merely a "small and vocal segment of the community" as claimed by the Police Department.

It should also be emphasized that it is not the Negro and Puerto Rican communities alone which advocate changes in the present board. Councilman Weiss has listed some of the groups which have supported the principle of civilian review:

> Committee on Civil Rights of The New York County Lawyers Association; City Club of New York; New York Civil Liberties Union; American Jewish Council; the Catholic

Interracial Council; Episcopal Diocese of New York; the Citizens Union; and the Executive Committee of the New York County Democratic Organization.

The recent unanimous action of the subcommittee of the City Affairs Committee of the City Council recommending some sort of civilian group to check on the activities of the present internal board appears to support the apparent lack of public confidence in the operations of the present internal review board. It is, therefore, our opinion that improvements in the present method of handling civilian complaints should be made in order to improve public confidence in the right of every citizen to obtain fair and impartial consideration of a complaint against a police officer.

C. Maintenance of an Effective Police Department

It is essential that any procedure of reviewing civilian complaints does not decrease the effectiveness of the Police Department. When the present internal board was established to correct existing abuses it was predicted that the internal board would have the effect of decreasing the efficiency of the Police Department and lowering the morale of the individual policeman. These predictions have not proved accurate during the ten years of the internal board's existence.

In order to evaluate the effect of a civilian review board, the Young Democratic Club sought answers to several specific questions with regard to the experience of Philadelphia, a city which has had a completely independent civilian review board since 1958. We wrote to the Police Advisory Board (the independent civilian board), the Philadelphia Chief of Police and the Fraternal Order of Police of Philadelphia asking the following questions:

> 1. Has there been a lowering of the morale of policemen as a result of the establishment of the civilian review board?
>
> 2. Has there been a lessening of the discipline and authority exercised by the Police Commissioner over policemen as a result of the establishment and operation of the civilian review board?
>
> 3. Has there been any reluctance on the part of policemen to engage in bodily contact in furtherance of their duties as a result of the establishment and operation of the civilian review board?

The Police Advisory Board's response to question 1 (concurred in by the Police Chief and former Mayor Dilworth in articles and statements) was that there was no "evidence whatsoever of a lowering of morale." The President of the Fraternal Order of Police stated, however, that "it has done more to hurt the morale of the policemen than anything else

in my 25 years as a policeman."

Both the Board and the F.O.P. agreed, however, that there had not been any lessening in the discipline and authority exercised by the Police Commissioner over members of the department. It would appear that agreement on this question is highly significant in view of the fact that the independent civilian review board has been severely criticized for its possible adverse effect on department discipline.

Both the Board and the F.O.P. also agreed on question "3". Each cited the summer riots in Philadelphia as evidence of an increased amount of caution used by policemen. They disagreed, however, on the effects of this more cautious police attitude. The F.O.P. claimed that the Board has "handcuffed the policemen" and "is one of the reasons for the crime increase in Philadelphia." On the other hand the Acting Chairman of the civilian advisory board was pleased with the increased caution of policemen:

> "I view this as a healthy sign, and I do not think that there is any evidence that it has decreased the effectiveness of the police. On the contrary, I think that it has enhanced the respect which the public holds for policemen."

The New York Young Democratic Club believes that the privilege of public employment is subject to reasonable terms established by proper authorities. We believe that the excessive criticism and opposition of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association to any form of civilian participation in the review process to be unjustified, particularly in view of the Philadelphia experience.

It might also be noted that a bill pending before the New York State legislature may have some effect on this problem. This bill, commonly known as the "no sock" bill, would amend the New York State Code of Criminal Procedure to prohibit the use of force by a private citizen in resisting an illegal arrest by a policeman. Under the present law a citizen has a right to resist an arrest by a police officer if he believes that arrest to be unlawful. Under the proposed change the citizen cannot resist the policeman even if the arrest is unlawful. Regardless of the merits of this proposal, which is strongly supported by all police and law enforcement agencies, it clearly eliminates one avenue of instinctive civilian protest to the unlawful actions of a policeman and further demonstrates the need for fair and impartial grievance machinery for the processing of civilian complaints.

It is also important to examine the problem of civilian grievances against public officials from a larger viewpoint. Cities and nations all over the world are becoming more aware of the importance of protecting the rights of their citizens in their constant contact with governmental representatives. In Sweden, for example, there exists a system known as the "Ombudsman" which is charged with the responsibility of investigating civilian grievances against the actions of government officials. This system has worked successfully for over 150 years in Sweden and has been introduced in other countries.

It is interesting to note that England, a country with which we share many common traditions particularly with regard to our legal system, has been increasingly concerned with this problem. A report was recently issued on this problem in England entitled "The Citizen and the Administration- The Redress of Grievances." In a preface to this report Lord Shawcross stated the problem of citizen grievances very clearly:

> ".... with the existence of a great bureaucracy there are inevitably occasions, not insignificant in number, when through error or in-

difference, injustice is done-or appears to be done. The man of substance can deal with these situations. He is near to the establishment; he enjoys the status or posseses the influence which will ensure him the ear of those in authority. He can afford to pursue such legal remedies as may be available. He knows his way around. But too often the little man, the ordinary humble citizen,is incapable of asserting himself.... The little man has become too used to being pushed around: it rarely occurs to him that there is any appeal from what "they" have decided. And as this Report shows, too often in fact there is not." (emphasis added)

III. Pending Proposals for Civilian Participation in the Police Review Process

A. The Weiss Bill- Independent Civilian Complaint Review Board

1. Background of the Weiss Bill

In April, 1964 Councilman Theodore Weiss submitted a bill to the City Council to establish an independent Civilian Review Board modeled generally on the Philadelphia Advisory Board. Thereafter, a subcommittee of the City Affairs Committee of the City Council was appointed to study and report on this proposal. The subcommittee held public

hearings and visited several cities, including Philadelphia and Rochester, to study the effectiveness of their procedures.

On May 18, 1965 the subcommittee unanimously recommended that some changes should be made in the present internal review board. The majority report of the subcommittee, headed by Councilman Corso, however, rejected the Weiss Bill as unnecessary. Councilman Richard Aldrich, a member of the subcommittee, proposed his own bill on May 13, 1965 that would set up as a permanent institution the present special review board headed by Deputy Mayor Cavanaugh. This group, composed of five attorneys from the office of the Corporation Counsel, is studying selected cases reviewed by the present internal review board. Both the Corso proposal and the Aldrich bill will be discussed later in this report.

2. <u>Powers of Independent Review Board</u>

Under the Weiss Bill the independent civilian complaint review board would have jurisdiction of "charges of alleged excessive or unnecessary physical force against private citizens" by police officers. The Board would be authorized to consult with and advise

the mayor and Police Commissioner concerning "ways and means of developing effective city policy against police brutality" and to seek sufficient publicity to increase citizen awareness of the Board's work. The powers of the Board are limited to those of "an investigative and advisory nature."

3. Composition of the Review Board

The proposed review board would be composed of nine unpaid members appointed by the Mayor each serving a term of three years. Active law enforcement officers are not permitted to serve as members. The board will also have on its staff a full time salaried Executive Director who will administer the operations of the board. In Philadelphia it has been reported that the Executive Director of the civilian review board amicably settles three-fourths of the citizen complaints before a hearing is held.

4. Receipt and Processing of Complaint

The complaint, under the Weiss Bill, must be made to the office of the independent civilian board within ninety days of the date of the incident. Apparently complaints cannot be made at any office of the Police Department as under the present procedure.

5. Investigation of Complaint

After the complaint is received by the Board, the executive director of the Board forwards the complaint to the Police Commissioner who is responsible for the investigation. This is similar to the present internal review procedure.

Unlike the present proceeding, however, the Board would have the power and right to undertake "whatever additional investigation it may deem proper or necessary to resolve or clarify the issues involved." Thus, if the Board were not satisfied by the scope of the investigation performed by Police Department personnel, it could supplement that investigation through an investigation by members of its own staff. It would appear, however, that in order to make this investigative provision effective adequate funds would have to be provided for a staff of investigators. The lack of an adequate staff is one of the major operating problems faced by the Philadelphia Police Advisory Board.

6. Hearing

After the Police Commissioner forwards the report of the investigating officer to the Board, the

Board reviews this report to determine whether the complaint "justifies a public hearing." If there is not sufficient justification the Board notifies both the complainant and the police officer involved. Both the complainant and the police officer, if either of them so desires, have an absolute right to a public hearing despite a determination by the Board that a public hearing is not justified.

At the hearing both parties may be represented by counsel and have the right to cross-examine without first submitting questions to the Board members or members holding the hearing. The hearing is conducted by a member or members of the Board rather than by the investigating police officer. The board may compel the attendance of witnesses by the issuance of subpoenas.

7. Decision of Independent Civilian Board

The member or members of the Board conducting the hearings then submit findings of fact to the full nine man Board (or three-member panels thereof). The full board (or a three member panel thereof) reviews the findings of fact of the single hearing member or members before submitting recommendations to the mayor and the police commissioner. A majority vote

of the Board or panel thereof is necessary to approve these recommendations.

The powers and duties of the independent board include the power to issue findings or recommendations to the Mayor and Police Commissioner that the complaint was unjustified or finding that the complaint was justified and advising loss of pay, departmental reprimands, suspensions with loss of pay or letter of apology written by the department for the officer involved to the aggrieved complainant.

8. Recommendations Sent to Police Commissioner

Since the function of the Board is purely advisory the police commissioner would be under no obligation to accept the Board's advice as to guilt or innocence and punishment in a particular case. Imposition of disciplinary penalties would be within the sole discretion of the Police Commissioner.

B. Corso Report

Councilman Dominick Corso, joined by Councilmen Boyers and Fastenberg of the Subcommittee of the City Affairs Committee of the City Council, has rejected the Weiss Bill. The Corso Report is devoted primarily to a review and analysis of the extent of

reported police brutality in New York City. It devotes substantial space to the riots which occurred last summer in New York and other northeastern cities. It points out that riots occurred in Philadelphia and Rochester despite the existence of independent civilian complaint review boards. The Corso Report unfortunately does not devote an adequate amount of discussion to the main problem — the analysis of the existing and proposed review systems.

The Corso Report nevertheless recommends certain changes in the present procedures of the internal review board. These recommended changes are:

(a) Every complainant will be given a numbered receipt of his complaint when he lodges it at the local precinct house or police headquarters;

(b) Complaints will not be accepted over the telephone and police officers must advise persons that they must appear at a police precinct or headquarters in person to file a complaint;

(c) If an investigative hearing is held, attorneys for the complainant and the

police officer will have the right of cross-examination;

(d) Stenographic minutes of the investigative hearings will be taken (a present requirement) and made available to the parties at the sole expense of each party.

(e) Legislation "should be" introduced permitting subpoenas to be issued by both parties to compel the attendance of witnesses at a hearing;

The Corso report also urges the establishment of a Permanent Committee on Police Affairs of the City Council, composed of City Councilmen. This group will "spot check" the activities of the present internal police review board. The Permanent Committee is authorized to spot check to determine whether complaints are being recorded, processed and "equitably disposed of." The Corso Report recommends that data processing equipment should be used in the process of deciding on what cases to "spot check."

The Permanent Committee on Police Affairs will also be authorized to "review Police Department administrative findings in respect to allegations of brutality" upon the request of a complainant or a police officer or

or on its own initiative. The committee is authorized to conduct investigations and hearings. The Corso report raises more questions than it answers regarding the operation of this review "committee." Apparently the committee will act more or less as an appellate court from the machinery of the present internal board. Councilman Weiss has written a strong dissenting report from the Corso Report and continues to advocate the passage of his bill.

C. Aldrich Bill

Under the proposal of Councilman Richard Aldrich the existing temporary special review committee, headed by Deputy Mayor Edward Cavanaugh, would be made a permanent body. This special review committee, set up recently to analyze selected decisions of the internal police review board, is presently composed of five attorneys from the office of the Corporation Counsel of New York City. The Aldrich bill apparently would not make any changes in the present internal police review system. It would, however, enlarge the jurisdiction of this review board beyond police brutality to include other cases of police impropriety.

IV. Proposals of the New York Young Democratic Club

A. Minimum Standards of Review Procedure

The New York Young Democratic Club strongly believes that the present method of handling civilian complaints of police brutality must be revised. It further believes that the following minimum standards are essential to the protection of the rights of citizens and policemen in any civilian review board:

1. Adequate publicity should be undertaken so that citizens are made aware of their right to file complaints against members of the Police Department for alleged police brutality.

2. Additional locations, physically unconnected in any way with the Police Department, must be established for the receipt of complaints. For example, each Borough President's office could be authorized to accept written complaints.

3. Regardless of the location of the filing of the complaint, the citizen should be given a copy of his written complaint containing an identifying number which can be referred to in future inquiries.

4. The complainant must be kept informed as to the status and disposition of his complaint.

5. All hearings in which the complainant appears should be held in a hearing room not physically located in a Police Department facility.

6. All hearings with regard to a complaint must be open to the public.

7. Right to counsel must be guaranteed at all stages of any proceeding.

8. Full rights of cross-examination must be afforded in any hearing.

9. Power to subpoena witnesses must be granted to all parties.

10. There must be some element of effective civilian participation in any review system.

11. This civilian participation should not be by any publicly elected official.

12. To insure a completely impartial investigation and remove any possibility of intimidation, the civilian review board should have its own investigative staff to conduct all investigations. As an absolute minimum, any civilian board must

have the power to request that the Police Commissioner reinvestigate complaints or conduct additional investigations of its own, if necessary. All investigations, by whomever made, must be free of intimidations of complainants and witnesses.

13. The powers of any civilian board must be limited to those of an advisory and investigative nature so that the authority and discipline of the Police Commissioner over members of the Department is not diluted.

14. The civilian board should not have power to recommend specific punishment of a police officer in a given case. Their report and recommendations to the Police Commissioner should be limited to that of finding the complaint justified or unjustified and characterizing a justified complaint as to the degree of seriousness, such as "grave", "serious" or "minor". If the Police Commissioner concurs in the judgment of the civilian board he will then be responsible for the imposition of the proper penalty.

15. The final report and decision of any civiliar complaint review board should be placed on file accessible to the public.

16. The civilian review board should be authorized to analyze complaints received to determine what policies can be established to reduce the possibility of the recurrence of such incidents.

17. Adequate funds must be appropriated to carry out the functions of any review board.

B. Establishment of Independent Civilian Complaint Review Board

Based on the minimum standards listed above, the New York Young Democratic Club recommends the establishment of an independent Civilian Review Board similar to that now operating in the City of Philadelphia and as proposed by the Weiss Bill. We believe that the safeguards contained in the Weiss Bill, with minor modifications, will protect the rights of both the citizen and the policeman. It will restore the confidence of the public that they can obtain a fair and impartial hearing of any complaint made against a

police officer. The activities of the independent Board, together with other efforts by the Police Department and city administration, will also help to increase mutual understanding between the individual policeman and the citizen. An increase in public confidence in the activities of this independent Board should result in the further benefit of increased respect by the public of the Police Department generally.

The office of the Executive Director of the independent Board will, of course, as in Philadelphia, be an important factor in the successful operation of any independent Board. The New York Young Democratic Club therefore recommends that adequate funds be made available for this position so that a person of outstanding qualifications can be secured. Most of the civilian complaints made to the independent Civilian Board in the City of Philadelphia in its six years of operations have been settled informally by the Executive Director. For this reason, it is essential that an Executive Director of outstanding qualifications, who commands the respect of both the Police Department and the public, be selected.

We reject the proposal in the Corso report for a review board composed of City Councilmen. Any

elected public official is, by the very nature of his activities, subjected to constant political pressures from various groups. Any civilian board must be permitted to function as an independent group free from political pressures that can be brought to bear on an elected public official. In addition, as pointed out by Councilman Aldrich, City Councilmen serve only on a part time basis. They already bear a heavy burden of time consuming committee assignments which would not permit adequate attention to be given to a civilian complaint system.

Furthermore, the New York Young Democratic Club believes that the presence of civilian participation in any review procedure must be exerted at an early point in the complaint system. The appellate type proposal recommended by the Corso report is therefore objectionable on this ground. As previously indicated the receipt and investigation of the complaint present serious problems of potential intimidation.

The Aldrich proposal, while making the constructive suggestion of expanding the jurisdiction of any board to include other acts of police impropriety less than complaints of "brutality", does

not meet the minimum standards established by the New York Young Democratic Club. Due to the complete lack of information as to the functioning of the Cavanaugh committee it is difficult to determine whether this proposal should be explored. It is clear, however, that the Aldrich proposal fails to set up any effective machinery to alleviate the problem of complete domination by the Police Department of the review procedure.

C. "Beyond" the Review Board

It is obvious that the establishment of a civilian review board, whatever the form, will not solve all the problems of the relationship of citizens and policemen in New York City. Hopefully such a board will reduce the possibility of the build-up of tensions, particularly among minority groups, who now feel they cannot obtain a fair hearing of a complaint they may have against a police officer. It would be unrealistic to assume, however, that even the existence of a civilian review board will eliminate the smoldering resentment of many members of minority groups or eliminate the possibility of sporadic flare-ups such as was experienced in several northeastern

cities in the summer of 1964. It is the opinion of the New York Young Democratic Club, however, that the establishment of an independent civilian review board will serve the purpose of channeling some of these frustrations and resentments into fair and impartial grievance machinery. In addition to the establishment of the independent civilian review board, New York City must expand its efforts in the fields of housing, education and employment to insure that the roots of the problem of citizen unrest can be alleviated. Only by conquering these problems can New York City meet the permanent needs of all its citizens.

In addition, the New York Young Democratic Club believes that the past efforts of the city administration and the police department to improve the efficiency of the members of the department should be continued. In that connection, the activities of the Police Academy should be expanded in order to insure adequate training for all police officers. This training must not cease on graduation from the police academy and entrance on the force. This continual training becomes particularly important in view of the rapid changes in the law with regard to confessions,

searches and seizures, the admissability of illegally seized evidence and the right to counsel. In view of several recently publicized involuntary confessions e.g. the Whitmore "confession", it is clear that substantial improvements must be made in this field.

Respectfully submitted,

The New York Young Democratic Club
City Affairs Committee

George H. MacLean, Chairman
Walter N. Frank, Jr.
Henry Lowet
Clayton Sinclair
Elizabeth Wheeler
Theodore Wynne

file Police Review Board

THE NEW YORK YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUB, INC.
233 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N.Y.
MURRAY HILL 5-2100

May 24, 1965

FOUNDED 1915

Mr. James Farmer

The enclosed Report and Recommendations on the establishment of an independent Civilian Complaint Review Board to review complaints by citizens of alleged police brutality was prepared by our City Affairs Committee and represents the position of The New York Young Democratic Club.

We strongly support the establishment of an independent Civilian Complaint Review Board as proposed by Councilman Theodore Weiss in a bill introduced by him in the City Council and presently pending before the Council. We believe that such an independent review board will result in improved handling of citizen complaints and will restore the confidence of the public in the complaint procedure without impairing the effectiveness of the Police Department.

The New York Young Democratic Club believes that the present system of handling complaints has serious flaws which must be corrected. The present system in which a complaint by a citizen against a police officer is received, processed, investigated and decided by police officers does not lend itself to a disinterested treatment of these complaints. The potentialities for abuse in this internal system are substantial, particularly at the lower levels of receipt, processing, and investigation of the complaint.

This report should not be construed in any way as a personal criticism of the members of the present internal review board, the Police Department itself or any members of the Department. The Committee studying this problem has not assumed that there is an extensive amount of police "brutality" existing in New York City. All persons, however, including the Police Department itself, concede that in a police force of over 26,000 men there is bound to be some police "brutality". This report, therefore, deals solely with an analysis of the present and proposed systems for the handling of citizen complaints.

Finally, The New York Young Democratic Club urges that full and complete public discussion and consideration be given to all the proposals for changing the present system.

Very truly yours,

John S. Samuels

John S. Samuels, President

George file Civilian review Board

REMARKS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
CONFERENCE ON POLICE BRUTALITY

Wednesday, May 26, 1965

Brotherhood-In-Action Building

The opposition expressed by people in the police department to a Civilian Review Board, underscores the need for such a Board. For this opposition can only arise out of a miseducation of the police, who have not fully understood that they must be subordinate to civilian authority, that they are servants of the people. They are not -- and, in a democracy, never can be -- an autonomous, self-enclosed and self-regulating agency. If rank-and-file policemen are mis-educated on this fundamental point, dangerous conseque nces will ensue. There can be neither justice nor safety in the street.

The assertion of community control over police authority is thus essential in clarifying the function of police power. And this, I am convinced, will lead in the long run to an improvement of police morale. More specifically, a Review Board would not be one-sided in its benefits. It would clear the names of policemen unjustly accused of brutality or discriminatory behavior. Under the current rules, for example, if a policefan is accused of brutality and suspended frcm the force, he receives a permanent mark on his record. Once suspended he is permanently guilty and does not have the right to a hearing or appeal. The notation remains on his record even if he is cleared later on.

Therefore, I am in favor of an Independent Civilian Review Board for two reasons:

(1) It is a protection for citizens who may be mistreated.

(2) It would provide an impartial hearing for policemen accused of brutality.

i i

To be effective, a Civilian Review Board would, I believe, have to be based on several principles:

First, it must be representative of the total New York community, including minority groups. Without such representation the Board could not hope to win the respect and confidence of those who most depply feel the need for redress of improper police behavior.

Secondly, such a Board must be impartial. It cannot be controlled by any organized pressure group. And, I want to emphasize, it must be independent of the city administration. This means, among other things, that its members should serve without pay.

Thirdly, in order to guarantee the representative and democratic character of the Board, its members sould be appointed by the Mayor in consultation with broad segments of the community -- ethnic, religious, labor, business, civic, and civil rights groups. As a corollalry to this principle, the Board should be required to issue full, frequent, and regular reports, not only to the Mayor and the police department,. but to the general public. Only in this way can the performance of the Board be kept open to public scrutiny and evaluation.

i i i

In suggesting these guiding principles, I am not so naive as to contend that the establishdment of a Civilian Review Board will immediately eliminate all the tensions that have existed betweend the police and the community. For we do not argue that these tensions result merely from the absence of a review board. They are rooted in fundamental social and economic problems which beset our city and other cities around the country. They are rooted in the mushrooming of slums and ghettos, unemployment and the deterioration of urban life. So long as these problems persit, it is doubtful that any civilian review board will be totally successful, as the experience of several other cities indicates.

But we do not seem to making very great progress toward solvi ng these fundamental social and economic problems. In the absence of such progress, we cannot ask outraged and injured citizens to wait indefinitely, to forego the minimal protections of the rights that a review board might afford. In short, my friends, we are not proposing alternate solutions. We propose a step toward greater justice.

Civilian Review Board

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

REPLY OF JAMES FARMER, NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF CORE TO STATEMENT OF POLICE COMMISSIONER BRODERICK

"COMMISIONER BRODERICK'S UNFORTUNATE REPLY TO MY REQUEST THIS MORNING THAT POLICE PICKETS NOT CARRY THEIR SERVICE REVOLVER, REFLECTS VIRTUALLY NO UNDERSTANDING OF THE QUESTIONS RAISED IN MY TELEGRAM. WE REQUESTED ONLY THAT THOSE OFF-DUTY POLICEMEN PARTICIPATING IN A DEMONSTRATION BE DISARMED DURING THAT DEMONSTRATION. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THERE WILL BE SUFFICIENTLY ARMED POLICEMEN ON DUTY TO PROTECT DEMONSTRATORS-WITHOUT THE ADDITIONAL PROVOCATION OF ARMED PICKETS. IT IS, IN MY JUDGEMENT, BEYOND REASON TO ALLOW PICKETING DEMONSTRATORS TO CARRY GUNS. CORE'S BASICALLY BELIEES THAT ARMED OFF-DUTY POLICEMEN ARE A TOTAL MISTAKE. BUT THIS MORNING'S REQUEST INCLUDED NO SUCH DEMAND. THE PRINCIPLE OF PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATIONS ARE BEINGS FLAGRANTLY VIOLATED BY THE POLICEMEN THEMSELVES. ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ believe that CORE pickets according to CORE rules for non-violent action and will not provoke or participate in any violence."

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
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SSG044 NBD308 VU-NC256
PD WUX NEW YORK NY 28 235P EDT

1963 JUN 28 PM 1 57

JAMES FARMER, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 PARK ROW NYK

DEAR MR FARMER YOUR REQUEST FOR SUSPENSION OF POLICE DEPARTMENT REGULATIONS WHICH REQUIRE OFF-DUTY POLICE TO CARRY SERVICE REVOLVES HAS BEEN GIVEN MOST CAREFUL CONSIDERATION.

SUFFICIENT NUMBERS OF POLICE OFFICERS WILL DE ASSIGNED AT CITY HALL TOMORROW TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF ALL CITIZENS PRESENT PEACEFULLY TO ASSEMBLE AND PETITION. WE HAVE NO REASON TO ANTICIPATE VIOLENCE FROM ANY SOURCE, NOR TO ANTICIPATE INTERFERENCE BY ANYONE WITH THE RIGHTS OF ALL CITIZENS PRESENT. THE REGULATION WILL THEREFORE REMAIN IN EFFECT. SINCERELY YOURS

VICENT L BRODERICK POLICE COMMISSIONER
(36).

file - press

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE
38 PARK ROW
NYC, CO 7 6270
ATTN: Vol Coleman

Following telegram sent this AM (Monday) to Commissioner Vincent Broderick, NY City Police Dept from James Farmer, Natl. Director, CORE:

"I URGENTLY REQUEST THAT POLICE DEPT. REGULATION REQUIRING OFF-DUTY POLICE TO CARRY SERVICE REVOLVERS BE SUSPENDED FOR THOSE OFFICERS PARTICIPATING IN TOMMOROW'S PLANNED DEMONSTRATION BY PBA AT CITY HALL. ALSO REQUEST POLICE PICKETS BE ORDERED NOT TO CARRY WEAPONS OF ANY DESCRIPTION. PICKETS WITH GUNS VIOLATE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATIONS AND CAUSE SERIOUS POTENTIAL FOR VIOLENCE. CORE PICKETS, WILL AS ALWAYS, CONDUCT THEMSELVES ACCORING TO CORE RULES FOR NON-VIOLENT ACTION AND WILL HAVE NO WEAPONS. I CONSIDER THIS MATTER HIGHEST URGENCY FOR PEACE IN CITY.
JAMES FARMER, NATL. DIRECTOR, CORE."

Monday, June 28, 1965.....

556 1491

Commissioner Brodericks plan in no way deals effectively or sensitively with the problems of police behavior and public trust. The Broderik plan is no more than a beefed-up internal police review and misses the essential element of outside adjudication of police behavior by civilians. No military organization in this nation is allowed to function without civilian review -- Why then in the NY Police Force, a paramilitary organization of 27,000 armed men exempt from this procedure so essential to a democratic society.

June 29, 1965

Mr. E. Washington Rhodes
The Philadelphia Tribune
520 South Sixteenth St.
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19146

Dear Mr. Rhodes:

Thank you very much for your kind remarks concerning my speech at the National Home and Public Labors Convention in Louisville.

You are, of course, right that without equality ~~[illegible]~~ meaning.

Very truly yours,

JB/rmp

James Farmer
National Director

civ review bd.

July 1, 1965

Mr. James R. Shirley
1480 Washington Avenue
Bronx 56, New York

Dear Mr. Shirley:

Your letter of June 28th, addressed to Mr. Farmer, has been referred to me for reply.

We were, of course, glad to hear that you are sympathetic to the work that CORE and other civil rights organizations are doing, but we do regret that you feel that the civiliam review board is not necessary. Even if racial prejudice and discrimination were eliminated tomorrow, we feel that there would still be a need for an independent civilan police review board. The New York City Police Force consists of 28,000 armed men who last year killed 95 people. This "army" of men is the only army in our country that is not ultimately disciplined by civiliam control.

An independent civilian review board would not only be protection for citizens who may be mistreated, it would also provide an impartial hearing for policemen accused of brutality.

At the same time that we are working to get a review board, we are also working to eliminate the conditions that cause the high crime rate; unemployment, slum housing, segregated housing, and all forms of racial discrimination.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

6/28/65

JUL 1 1965

Mr Farmer-

In that I am a "Negro" (so called) you might know I am entirely sympathetic with our Civil Rights crusade. My sympathy has been implemented by contributions to a number of organizations so oriented and also on a personal basis as regards my conduct in the four states in which I've lived.

You of course know of the tremendous ground swells generated by the action of our top organizations - Core among them. Continue with steady hand and tactics calculated to maintain public opinion in support of our fight.

Now for a look at the other side of the picture.

That element among us which cares nothing about civil rights - human dignity et cetera, discredits all of us who do care.

Your public exhortation directed to them would mean nothing - so lets not hamper our police with review boards and cries of brutality.

Continuous police saturation of indicated troublesome neighborhoods cannot be maintained so I suggest we take the handcuffs off our police.

Once the word was given - within thirty days you would see a decided change. Insist on our courts backing them in their fight against the vicious element among us who disgrace us.

This from one of thirty-seven years residence in New York and father of six children - no delinquents.

Yours - for continued progress,
James R. Shirley - 1480 Washington Ave Bronx 56

file civilian review Bd.

July 7, 1965

Miss Joyce Ware
NorthEast Regional Office
CORE
00 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Joyce:

This is to confirm our conversation this morning regarding your appearance on the "City Close-Up" show-to be taped on Wed. July 14th at 9:30 A.M. in Studio A of the 25th Floor, the Municipal Building.

This taping is in response to our request to WNYC-TV (Channal 31) that we have an oppertunity to present our view regarding the creation of anindependent police civilian review board in New York City. Commissioner Broderick had presented his views late last week. The show will be played on Thursday Night at 10:00 P.M.- July 15th.

Your contact is Mr. Bruce Book at Chabbal 31. The interviewer will be a Mr. Siegel.

Warmest Regards,

Val Coleman
Public Relations

cc: Alan Gartner
George Wiley
George Schiffer

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

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"UJ" 15 A NEW YORK

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PD 6 EXTRA NEW YORK NY 15 638P EDT

JAMES FARMER, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 PARK ROW NYK

IN REPLY TO YOUR WIRE SUBJECT WAS MATTER OF FULL INVESTIGATION AND HAS BEEN TURNED OVER TH THE KINGS COUNTY DISTRICT ATTORNEYS OFFICE WHICH IS CONTINUING INVESTIGATION AND WILL PRESENT TO GRAND JURY

JOSEPH G MARTIN DEPUTY COMMISSIONER FOR COMMUNITY RELATIONS

BY DET CIRELLO

(56).

JUL 16 1965

CORE
38 Park Row
NYC, CO 7 6270
Attn: Val Coleman

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

675-6879

THE FOLLOWING WIRE WAS SENT THIS AFTERNOON (THURSDAY) TO NY POLICE COMMISSIONER VINCENT BRODERICK FROM JAMES FARMER, NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF CORE

"DEMAND IMMEDIATE INVESTIGATION SHOOTING AND KILLING OF NEGRO MAN ~~L~~CORNER NOSTRAND AND FULTON AVENUES THIS AFTERNOON BY POLICEMAN. OUR PRELIMINARY INFORMATION INDICATES SERIOUS POSSIBILITY POLICE CULPABILITY. JAMES FARMER, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, CORE."

##########

P
240 Centre St.

ask for suspension
Whig

Kootz
Aaron ~~Reed~~ Bridges
D A ~~Whig~~

Police Rev. Bd
Erby

JUL 19 1965

1430 Amsterdam Avenue - Apt. 17E
New York, New York 10027
July 16, 1 9 6 5

Sir:

I protest your action in the shooting of Nelson Erby, alias Nelson Brown, by Patrolman Sheldon Leibowitz.

I am a parent living in Harlem with my wife and four children. I take a certain amount of pride in being a New Yorker and a Harlemite. I have worked, and will continue to work, for all in my community in spite of the fact that your actions of late are hindering rather than helping us.

I am not at all surprised that there are so few Negro CORE members and supporters. You know that you do not really speak for all of us.

I have worked with the police in our community for some years and know that very often your charges are unfair, unjust and, far worse, harmful.

Very sincerely yours,

Fred Garel, Jr.

Mr. James Farmer
National Director, CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10028

July 21, 1965

Mr. Jack Eliezer
88-50 179th Street
Jamaica, New York 11432

Dear Mr. Eliezer:

I am in receipt of your letter of July 19th and am grateful for the kind things you said, but most concerned with your analysis of the Brooklyn killing. I am aware that most of the information that you have has been necessarily garnered from the newspaper acoounts, many of which were totally inaccurate.

In point of fact, the original police reports about the shooting were totally erroneous, suggesting that there had been a robbery taking place and that there was an exchange of gunfire; neither is in fact the case. I enclose a copy of a UPI dispatch released at 12:34 P.M., about an hour and a half after the killing, which contains a completely erroneous set of facts.

To date we have taken the depositions of eleven witnesses to the killing and all eleven, to a man, disagree with the current police version in two important respects: 1) all eleven say that the gun was in Patrolman Liebowitz' hand when it discharged accidentally, shooting him in the left forearm, and 2) there was no knife involved at all. The only questions I have raised publicly have been the suggestion of the possibility of police culpability and a demand for a thorough investigation. I am satisfied that an investigation, both by the Brooklyn District Attorney and by our own staff is going forward, and that a proper adjudication will be achieved.

I would like to comment on one further point that you mentioned, and that is in regard to Nelson Erby's police record and "despicable character". I do not think that these factors are relevant, if indeed it proves true that Erby was shot and killed unnecessarily by an inexperienced young patrolman. I totally agree with your

feeling that facts in all of these cases should be placed in an objective perspective. This is the theoretical basis for an objective, independent civilian police review board.

I hope that this letter will mitigate your fears in some degree, and would appreciate a further response.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:mm

JACK ELIEZER
88-50 179 St.
Jamaica, N. Y. 11432

JUL 21 1965

July 19, 1965

Mr. J. Farmer, CORE
38 Prak Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Reference is made to the shooting of a Negro man by a policeman in Brooklyn a few days ago and your reaction to it.

As a supporter and contributor to your movement may I say that I have been highly gratified by your intellectual capabilities and moral courage since this is the only kind of Negro leadership that will crown the movement with success. It therefore came as a rude jolt, and one that gave me second thoughts about the caliber of this leadership, to read that you considered the incident one of police brutality. If this kind of attitude is dictated to you by the necessity of winning automatic Negro support you surely cannot be oblivious to the certainty of losing even more influential, politically, economically, and socially white adherents so that the final balance may indeed be negative.

For Mr. Farmer, the central fact of the case, the one that overshadows, overpowers, effectively cancels all others is simply the sequence of events. The shooting of the policeman by his own gun, PRECEEDED that of the despicable character. (It is my contention that anyone who shoots at a policeman is such) What made America great, and incidentally Mr. M.L. King too, was the realization that disputes should not besettled by guns because the winner can get shot too as indeed happened in Brooklyn. The poor policeman's life was saved only by initially poor aim and subsequently a brave bystander. Come now Mr. Farmer, have you the moral courage to admit (may be just to yourself) what would you have done in the policeman's place?

If you don't see things that way then I am sure that I will be just one of many persons with whom your movement could no longer communicate, to its own detriment, until it places facts in their proper perspective.

Yours truly,
Jack Eliezer

cc: Mr. R. Wilkins, Secretary
NAACP 20 West 40th St.
New York, N.Y.

CW RW Bd - Erby

JUL 2 8 1965

July 27, 1965

Mr. James Farmer, Director
C.O.R.E.
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Thank you for your kind and patient letter answering my analysis of the recent Brooklyn killing. It has largely restoredmy confidence in your political integrity .

I readily condede the press being my only source of information but, let me add, aware of its limitations I carefully scanned many papers whose versions conformed but for inconsequential details. I thought it unlikely that all of them were incorrect as it now appears. The UPI dispatch that you sent me was new to me and it shook my confidence in its hasty, unverified way of reporting. Perhaps the UPI ought to engrave above its door: "Uninformed is better than misinformed" lest it forget it.

The fundamental question in my mind is still whether the policeman was shot at. If the 11 depositions are trustworthy(and I hope they include that of the intervening one) then I am ready to apologize, reinforced by your assurance that you did not automatically call "Police brutality" but merely demanded an investigation into an eventual police culpability.

I beg to disagree that I raised a point about the man's record. Past wrong is no indication of future guilt and I am always ready to assume that a man has reformed or will do so given a chance. But I still maintain that anyone shooting at a policeman, the last vestige of law and order, is less than despicable and should be shot at in turn. It is my conviction that if the citizenry did not shoot at its law officers the latter will reciprocate the courtesy as indeed gunless London Bobbies do.

If the hapless policeman shot himself and in his anger (understandable but not excusable) shot Erby in turn then there is little doubt to dispute his culpability. But I am still not convinced that a Review Board, considering the negative impact it will have on police morale, is justifiable now in view of the rising crime rate and the indisputable fact that 57 policemen were killed last year. I have seen your impeccable deportment in your encounters with the police and I am sure you do not fear their brutality anymore that they fear yours. The point is, if all citizens were like you (and we know they are not) the police might as well close all departments but the traffick one.

Yours as before,

Jack Eliezer

88-50 179 St.
Jamaica, NY 11432

Civilian police review board

What Do We Want from Our Policemen?

The public wants to be protected not only from criminal actions but from abuses by police. Where should our courts draw the line? Fourth article in a continuing series on Crime in America. By Samuel Grafton

The fight against crime has often been called a war. It is not a war in the ordinary sense of the word. In a war, few holds are barred. You move in with shot and shell and blast the enemy where you find him. But in our country a man has certain inalienable rights, even though he may also have a switchblade in his pocket. The police are not allowed to move against him as one moves against a wartime enemy. They may not even stop him and search him unless they are arresting him. They may not look through his house without a warrant describing in advance what they expect to find in it. They may not listen in on his telephone and repeat what he says to a jury. If they do arrest him, they have to see to it he has a lawyer, not only at his trial but even (according to recent court decisions) as soon as serious questioning sets in at the station house.

There is room here for pride. Though crime is growing five times as fast as our population, we have not yet panicked into giving up our privacy or our liberties. Almost incredibly, in this period of pressure, we have actually been extending them. The Supreme Court requirement that a suspected person is entitled to the help of a lawyer, even during questioning at the time of his first arrest, wipes out the lengthy private interrogation in the back room of the station house that was one of the oldest of police privileges, as cherished as the blue suit and the chrome badge. About all a policeman can do nowadays with a confession obtained from a prisoner without the presence of a lawyer is to light his pipe with it; it is highly unlikely it would survive a trip through the courts.

Another favored police practice has long been to plant a stool pigeon with a suspect, either in a cell or at large, to see what information can be picked up from him under conditions of confidence and intimacy. This, too, seems dead. In a case decided by the Supreme Court last year, a merchant seaman, under indictment on a charge of smuggling dope, sat one day in a parked car with a friend, also under indictment. Unknown to the seaman, his friend was helping the government; there was a hidden microphone in the car. But the court ruled that the seaman's statements, though incriminating, could not be used in evidence, since they had been obtained in the absence of a lawyer. The seaman's conviction was reversed.

Police have in the past been known to stop people on the street carrying suspicious-looking packages, especially late at night, in order to do a bit of investigating. They do less of it these days; the courts take a poor view of the practice, as an invasion of privacy.

Such concern for individual rights is admirable. But we do have a crime problem. A good many Americans are afraid to go out on the streets at night. The police have the frustrated feeling that they are fighting crime with their hands tied, at a time when the public and its newspapers are screaming at them to go in and clean up the criminals. Says Virgil W. Peterson, an ex-FBI agent who is now operating director of the Chicago Crime Commission: "The constant rise in crime goes right along with the increasing rights given to persons accused of crime. Logic tells you that you can't continue to pick up criminals and turn them loose on technicalities without getting an increase in crime."

At a round-table conference on the problem, arranged by McCALL'S with staff officers of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, in Washington, even harsher words were heard. "I can't think of anything in the history of legal procedure in the last ten years that has benefited law enforcement" was the verdict of Emmet L. Jones, supervisor of the International Association's police training unit. "When a case is thrown out on a technicality," he added, "it makes a terrific impression on a young officer who knows the man's guilty and knows somebody suffered from his crime." The idea that the public needs protection against the police was bitterly resented. "Police are human and make errors," conceded Col. David D. Pomerleau, a police management consultant for the association. "But repressive techniques are not widely used. The police as symbols of authority are merely being used as the whipping boys for social change."

Similar complaints from police officials were heard all over the country. Many were particularly vexed by court decisions that prevent interrogation of a prisoner without the presence of his lawyer. "This deprives the investigator of the help of the one who knows most about the crime —the one who did it," said Captain R. F. Rock, spokesman for the Los Angeles Police Department.

But this kind of "help," if it means anything, can only mean a confession made without legal advice. On this point, both pro-civil-liberties lawyers and the courts have strong feelings. In throwing out one confession last year, because it had been made in the absence of the prisoner's lawyer, the Supreme Court remarked: "We have learned the lesson of history, ancient and modern, that a system of criminal law enforcement which comes to depend on the 'confession' will, in the long run, be less reliable and more subject to abuses than a system which depends on extrinsic evidence independently secured through skillful investigation." What, the court wondered, is the police objection to having the defense lawyer present? Is it fear that the defendant will be told of his rights? "No system of criminal justice can, or should, survive," said the court, "if it comes to depend for its continued effectiveness on the citizens' abdication through unawareness of their constitutional rights."

A prominent Chicago lawyer commented: "The police try to make confessions take the place of thorough investigation. If these practices of questioning people in secret were wiped out, the police would be forced to develop better means of investigation. Trying to get confessions by threats or other means is a shortcut. Maybe it does get more convictions, but it still is unfair. You'd get even more convictions if you didn't let people have lawyers in court, either, as well as during interrogations. But you'd send a lot of innocent people to jail, too. I don't see how anyone can have confidence in the police if they are allowed to question people in private. In effect, they're conducting a secret trial."

Both sides have "favorite" cases, readily

cited. Among policemen, there is frequent mention of the Killough case, in which a defendant who had confessed three times to strangling his wife and had led police to her buried body, walked out of United States District Court in Washington, D.C., a free man, because he had been questioned by the police in private and at length (27 hours) instead of being taken promptly before a U. S. Commissioner, as federal rules require. After being taken before a commissioner, he twice repeated his confession, but without seeing a lawyer and without knowing that the first confession was invalid. The court threw out all three confessions.

Against this could be set the Whitmore case, in New York City. George Whitmore, Jr., a 20-year-old drifter, confessed to the murder of two girls—after being questioned in private by the police. He obligingly signed his name to six pages of intimate detail about the crime. No policeman could ask for more "help" than that. Only it turned out later, when another man was charged with the same murders, that Whitmore apparently knew nothing about the affair, and a scandalized New York began an investigation into the so-called confession.

Big-city reporters have the feeling that prisoners of no fixed addresses and low orders of mentality sometimes confess whole strings of crimes, in order to please the police and induce them to go easy on them. "The suspects know it makes the cops happy to get so many crimes off the books at once," says a Midwestern newspaperman. So long as police can question suspects in private, the public can never know whether such charges are justified—another of the evils of the system, since it creates doubt about police rectitude.

The police insist that the public outcry against crime tempts them to try shortcuts but that the same public, through its courts, sharply limits what policemen can do. There is little effort on the part of either side to understand the other. A typical recent comment (by an assistant United States attorney) on Supreme Court decisions limiting the right of the police to question suspects in private was: "Like it or not, the fact is recent opinions have set the scene for the perfect crime."

Only occasionally is there the touch of understanding. "I agree that avoiding unconstitutional shortcuts is harder work for the police," says John de J. Pemberton, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union, which has played a major role in fighting for the new rulings. "But there are reasons for not taking the shortcuts. The whole question turns on how important you consider your constitutional guarantees to be." Pemberton points out that there is nothing new in the prohibition of unreasonable search and seizure; that is in the Fourth Amendment, which goes back to 1791 and was based on memories of how British soldiers used to take whatever they found in a colonial's house. It was always law; all that is new is that the courts have begun to enforce it. The same is true of the right to "the assistance of counsel," which is in the Sixth Amendment and always has been.

But why have the courts begun to enforce these venerable clauses as vigorously as they have; and why have they gone so far in interpreting them? In looking for the answer to those questions, one comes to realize it is not only a few court decisions that have changed the conditions under which the policeman works. Actually, his entire world has been profoundly altered in recent years.

A comparatively short time ago, the policeman spent his days sauntering through a world that was pleasantly familiar to him, where people understood him and approved of what he was doing. The criminals he sought to arrest were marginal people, second-story men and occasional pickpockets, outcasts of one kind or another. When he laid his hand on the shoulder of one of these, all society approved and backed him up.

Today, in most of our big cities and many small ones, the policeman walks through neighborhoods filled with people who have moved in since the war and to whom he is a stranger, regarded with indifference or even with hostility. Many belong to the minority groups; they are Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, or rural whites—who have crowded into such Midwest cities as Chicago and Saint Louis. The policeman finds himself dealing not with the occasional outcast, but with entire segments of the population—school dropouts, drug addicts, the unemployed, the discontented, and the bitter. "It has become a wholly new situation for the police," says Dean Joseph H. Lohman, of the University of California's School of Criminology. "It is one part of society against another. The police are really being called on to handle social problems that they can't handle."

In this setting, questions of civil liberties cease to be academic. They become life-and-death matters, about which disorders, fights, and riots can revolve. For generations, the policeman used to stop the nighttime pedestrian with the suspicious package; now, suddenly, the same gesture has racial overtones. A police lieutenant in New York fires at and kills a Negro boy. He pleads self-defense; but riots break out in Harlem, in Rochester, Philadelphia, and other cities.

For many years, in many cities, at least some policemen have habitually used rough tactics, with implied public consent. The beating up of "bad actors" on the way to the station and the use of the third degree in the station have been far from uncommon. The police have traditionally been allowed to take actions which are constitutionally unacceptable, but which, in a simpler social climate, may have been tolerable—such as dragging a drunk off the street, tossing him into a cell to dry out, then releasing him again, without the formality of arrest or hearing. The use of search warrants before entering a house was, until recently, a rarity in many jurisdictions: A Minneapolis newspaper, conducting an investigation in 1961, could find records of only two search warrants issued in that city since 1929—though the Bill of Rights has always required them! A New York police officer, when examined during a trial a few years ago, testified that he had "never" used a search warrant and had, in fact, never seen one, though he had raided many buildings.

Even police manners were different in the old, easy days that are now ended. "Police are apt to be discourteous, sarcastic, and rude when arresting persons of lower social-economic classes, but courteous and lenient when dealing with persons of high social status," say Professor Edwin H. Sutherland and Professor Donald R. Cressey in their standard work, *Principles of Criminology* (Lippincott, sixth edition, 1960). The authors go on to remark that "courtesy was first emphasized in police departments" when the police began to come into contact with automobile drivers—"who were not ordinarily of the lower classes"!

These older police methods have collided with history. The police now have to deal with conflict among cultural groups. Three of these are defined by Dean Lohman as "the Negro against the white," the "poor against the comfortable," and "youth against maturity." In the slums or on the edges of them, these conflicts form the sullen atmosphere in which the policeman today must work, among people who are sometimes ready to throw bricks at him from tenement roofs, to attack him and take his prisoners away from him, and to claim violations of their rights. It is partly because of these pressures that the courts have been attempting to draw the line where police authority and civilian rights meet.

Another effort to draw such a line takes the form of the creation of "civilian police review boards." These are boards of laymen, empowered to hear complaints from the public about mistreatment by the police, to hold hearings, and to order punishment of policemen found to have gone too far. Such boards now function in Philadelphia and in Rochester, N.Y., and there are strong local campaigns to set up the system in Washington, New York, and other cities.

The idea behind such boards is to ease tensions between police and the public by giving public protests against specific police misconduct an arena in which to be heard. (Some police officials consider that a certain amount of steam has been taken out

of the pressure for civilian review boards by the fact that riots occurred last summer in Negro areas of Philadelphia and Rochester, which have civilian review boards, as well as in New York, which does not.) Basically, the thought is that the public itself has to judge police conduct—that it is not enough to have policemen judging other policemen. The argument is that this is something like civilian control over the military.

Nothing makes policemen angrier than the civilian-review-board idea. They view such proposals as attacks on their "professionalism." Doctors and lawyers, they point out, establish and enforce their own standards of conduct in their own fields; why not policemen? Why should "outsiders," they ask, come in and judge them?

But by raising this question of "professionalism," police spokesmen open a large area for controversy. What, precisely, does professionalism consist of—at a time when we hear policemen angrily demand the right to search people's possessions without specific warrants or to question them for long periods in the back rooms of station houses without informing them of their rights or letting them see their lawyers? "It is frightening," says John de J. Pemberton, "to hear the police say they can't solve crimes unless they can take a prisoner into a closed room and interrogate him for an indefinite period." A Washington civil-liberties worker adds: "Most of us have a healthy respect for the police. But I think it could be demonstrated that they are capable of carrying out the work of detection at a much higher efficiency than they themselves claim." The police hurt their own claim to professionalism by demanding the right to be relatively rough, rather than concentrating on improving their technical skill.

"In most cities, professional police work is barely tolerated or nonexistent," says Dean Lohman. "The value of what training officers do get is dubious. Mostly it consists of sleep-inducing lectures on ordinances or the mechanics of routine procedures. Then each recruit is assigned to a veteran to be 'broken in.' Customarily, the old-timer says, 'Forget what they told you in school, boy. I'll show you how it works.' " Often, Dean Lohman adds, a young policeman is advised to get himself an influential politician as a protector.

There are glimmers of an emerging professionalism, on a higher level, at least in some cities. San Francisco police won praise last year for showing special skill in handling civil-rights demonstrations, with many arrests but practically no injuries. The city's police receive in-service training in civil rights and racial problems; perhaps not all officers are influenced, but many are. Milwaukee's police have developed an extraordinarily cooperative atmosphere with the people of the city. "People aren't afraid to come in and give us information about crimes," says a local police official. "They don't regard themselves as finks but as citizens doing their duty." More work by police along these lines could give substance to claims of professionalism.

Meanwhile, there is much to be done, along such lines as these:

1. An effort should be made to cool off the current debate and reduce its heat. Nothing is gained when police officers picture judges as men who have lost their minds or who are in league with criminals. This is nonsense, just as it is nonsense to picture the majority of policemen as anything but sensible, worried men, trying to do a hard job. Both the bench and the police are caught up in social change. Most of the new restrictions will remain—to send police into the poorer districts of our cities today without curbs on their actions would be to ask for social disorder on a gigantic scale. Perhaps when the debate cools off, it will then become possible to see whether any of the recent rulings go too far. Perhaps, as both sides begin to respect each other's motives (and problems), finer lines can be drawn between what is allowable and what is not.

2. The police job at the moment is probably too big to be handled. The man on the beat finds himself trying to deal with problems that are really economic (unemployment and its results) or medical (dope addiction); he feels swamped. Any program that reduces the policeman's load of work, such as a sound medical plan for treating drug addicts, will make it less necessary for him to look for shortcuts in crime solving.

3. The average citizen should, at this juncture, ask himself a few questions, some of which may be embarrassing. Does he habitually report to the police any signs of lawbreaking he comes across? Does he pass along information about organized gambling, vice, bribery? If police powers against the citizens are to be restricted, then maximum cooperation between citizens and police will be necessary to get the job done.

4. We need better policemen, better paid and better trained. We need men who can use skill instead of muscle in solving crimes, science instead of pressure. This will cost money. Are we prepared to spend it? The new court decisions really call for a new approach to police work, the outlines of which we can only begin to see.

5. Most important would be for the police themselves to become our leading experts on civil liberties, prepared to tell any man what his rights are. The Los Angeles police have made efforts in this direction. And though there is deep antagonism in that city's police force to the new court rulings, a spokesman for the department concedes: "It takes more work, but we are getting the same proportion of convictions." Along this road lies the building of that true professionalism which, in the end, may persuade the public that it can safely leave significant areas of action to its policemen.

THE END

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July, 1965

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cw rev Bd -
Erby

August 6, 1965

Mr. Lou Bassin
229 Weequahee Avenue
Newark, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Bassin:

I am concerned that you were troubled by my statements in regard to the shhoting of Nelson Erby. Let me make clear my position. Of course CORE does not believe that anyone, black or white, is exempt from the law, and of course we do believe that everyone, black or white, is entitled to fair and decent treatment from the officers of the law.

The initial reports on the Erby case were contradictory and, in fact, the present police position is at odds with these initial reports. It is also the case that the first depositions of the eye witnesses (at least eleven) disagree with the final police version in two important respects: 1) all say that the gun was in Patrolman Liebowitz' hand when it discharged accidentally, shooting him in the left forearm, and 2) there was no knife involved at all. The only questions that I raised publicly were the suggestion of the possibility of police culpability and the demand for a thorough investigation.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:nm

HOTEL ROYAL
VIA PARTENOPE, 38
NAPOLI

JUL 2 3 1965

July - 17, 1965

Mr. Farmer

I am sitting here in Naples reading the July 17 issue of the N.Y. Herald Tribune article about the slaying of a Negro offender by a New York Policeman. Can so much misunderstanding and misguided attitude toward the situation that I have put up with so long interrupted my vacation to let you know so —

I am not a bigot. I belong to several Negro movement groups but I have not what you attitude. Here a man was attacked and the law duly defended himself - you are calling for investigation.

I sense you are saying that

Telef. 236040 (10 linee) - Telegr. ROYALHOTEL - Napoli

Negroes can ignore violate the laws & say I'm Negro - This is what you want, to get One for white & one for black? You are doing more harm than good for the Negro Freedom Movement. Not only white but Negroes also feel your militant attitude is not justified as all Negroes must be made a part of a community - here you wish to set them aside by saying that laws do not apply to them. Gray - wrong - white, black & yellow. Protest & Defendy law & order against disobeying & ignoring the structure of our society. You are becoming a marauder & vigilante instead of a champion of a cause

Yours
229 Algonquin Ave
Newark 12, N.J.

PS Excuse typewriter & in a hurry —

Police Brutal
Civ. Rev bd - Erb

August 6, 1965

Mrs. W. L. Hammersten
W2211809 6th Bn. 10th Arty.
APO N.Y. 09139

Dear Mrs. Hammersten:

Thank you for your concerned letter of July 30th. CORE believes that all persons, black or white, rich or poor, are entitled to fair and decent treatment from the police. The fact that a person has a previous record (a fact, of course, which is usually unknown to the police officer at the time of the incident) should not affect his right to such decent treatment from the police.

I am aware that most of the information that you have on the killing has necessarily been garnered from the newspaper accounts, many of which were totally inaccurate. In point of fact, the original police reports about the shooting were totally erroneous, suggesting that there had been a robbery taking place and that there was an exchange of gunfire; neither is in fact the case. It is the case, however, that the first depositions of the eye witnesses disagree with the final police version in two important respects: 1) all say that the gun was in Patrolman Liebowitz' hand when it discharged accidentally, shooting him in the left forearm, and 2) there was no knife involved at all. The only questions that I raised publicly were the suggestion of the possibility of police culpability and the demand for a thorough investigation.

I agree with you that the areas of housing and schools require concentrated and immediate attention. But at the same time we must not fail to assure that public officials, including the police, treat all citizens fairly.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:nm

CWO W.L.Hammersten
W2211809 6thBn.10th Arty.
APO N.Y. 09139
July 30,1965

AUG 4 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer;

I suppose you have heard this before many times but "I Am Not Prejudiced" However, I felt I must write and comment on recent events in New York. In coffee gatherings etc. it has been brought up that CORE is hurting the Negro cause in their strong stands whenever a White policeman is in a scuffle with a Negro whether he is a hoodlum or not. In the most recent case, I am sure that had the races been reversed CORE would not have jumped in. The policeman had a right to defend himself no matter what race the attacker was. The Negro had a record, he was resisting arrest, he did Grab the officer's gun and Shoot the officer with it. It does nothing for your cause to picket and make rash statements when it is simply a case of self-defense! We do so little for our policemen, at least they should be able to defend themselves without being subjected to pickets etc. just because there was a negro involved.

My husband and I are for Civil Rights, we feel housing should be the first step. Better homes and better schools lead to people who are qualified to hold any job they seek. We feel that is often the real problem in many areas. Negroes who are not qualified for the jobs they seek through poor schools and so on. Please believe me, We are not the kind of people who say "We are not prejudice, we just think they should stay in their place." We are for you! and we do have friends who are welcome in our home at any time. I could give you names and addresses if you wish. Maybe this will help convince you, I am sincere! I was recently asked what would I do if my daughter came home with a Negro husband and a baby. My answer was only "she is my daughter no matter what and the baby would be my grandbaby" I think intermarriage is hard on the children but that is the way I would feel if one of my girls married a Negro. My girls are only 6-8-9 so it is awhile yet. The errors come from the five children running in and out. I did want you to know though that these unfair stands are probably doing more harm than good.

Very truly yours,
Frances L. Hammersten
Mrs. W.L.Hammersten

police review

AUG 2 5 1965

The Suspect Confesses— But Who Believes Him?

By SIDNEY E. ZION

AT 7:30 A.M. on April 24, 1964, George Whitmore Jr., a slow-witted 19-year-old Negro drifter with no previous arrest record, was ushered into the back room of a Brooklyn police station. Within 22 hours, he had confessed to one attempted rape and three murders—that of Mrs. Minnie Edmonds, a Brooklyn charwoman, and the double killing of career girls Janice Wylie and Emily Hoffert, New York's most sensational crime in recent years.

Now, after two trials, a reversed conviction (in the attempted-rape case), a hung jury (in the Edmonds murder) and, most recently, a dismissed indictment (in the Wylie-Hoffert case), the Whitmore affair has become a *cause célèbre*.

Already it has seriously undermined the credibility of the New York Police Department and stained the reputations of the Manhattan and Brooklyn District Attorneys' offices. And for the future it promises to have an important impact on the revolution in criminal law now being forged by the Supreme Court of the United States.

That revolution reached its present high point last June--two months after Whitmore's arrest—when the Court issued a devastating, if limited, attack on the use of the confession, which has been the backbone of law enforcement in the United States.

SIDNEY E. ZION, formerly an Assistant U. S. Attorney for the State of New Jersey, is a staff reporter for The Times specializing in legal news.

The Justices were concerned with a Chicagoan named Danny Escobedo, who had been convicted in 1960 of murdering his brother-in-law. They reversed the conviction on the grounds that his confession, while voluntary, had been made after he had been denied permission to see his lawyer.

The ruling sent shock waves through the nation's prosecutors. From public platforms and in private interviews, they charged that the Court was "coddling the criminal element" and "swinging the pendulum too far" in favor of defendants' rights as against the public's safety. And then George Whitmore Jr. came along and rained on their parade.

In a long harangue directed at a reporter, one of the top assistants of Manhattan District Attorney Frank S. Hogan explained the connection between the Escobedo and Whitmore cases. "Let me give you the perfect example of the importance of confessions in law enforcement," he said, leaning across his desk. "This, more than anything else, will prove how unrealistic and naive the Court is."

His finger punched the air. "Whitmore! The Whitmore case. Do you know that we had every top detective in town working on the Wylie-Hoffert murders and they couldn't find a clue. Not a clue!

"I tell you, if that kid hadn't confessed, we never would have caught the killer!"

Yet, last January, six months after this passionate statement, District Attorney Hogan dropped the charges against Whitmore for the Wylie-Hoffert murders (though the indictment was not quashed until May). In an affidavit filed in State Supreme Court he declared that Whitmore's confession had, upon investigation, been discredited. Shortly thereafter, another man, a drug addict named Richard Robles, was indicted for the murders. It will be a long time before the public can accept a confession without thinking of George Whitmore Jr.

• • •

THE Whitmore case began shortly after midnight on April 23, 1964. Frank Isola, a young patrolman, was walking his beat in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn, a neighborhood with a long history of criminal activity, when he heard a scream from an alleyway. The beam of his flashlight picked out a Negro who appeared to be molesting a heavy-set Spanish woman. He fired a shot, and the man ran.

After a fruitless four-block chase, Isola returned to interview the victim, Mrs. Elba Borrero. Isola has sworn that she gave him a detailed description of her assailant at that time.

Six hours later, Isola saw George Whitmore Jr. standing in the doorway of a laundromat. Whitmore asked what the shooting earlier had been about.

"Why?" asked Isola. "What do you know about it?"

"I heard the shots and then I saw a guy running down the street. He almost ran into me and he told me the cops were after him and could I hide him," Whitmore said.

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Isola took Whitmore's name and walked away.

Twenty-four hours later, Patrolman Isola and Detective Richard Aidala found Whitmore in front of the same laundromat, where he was in the habit of meeting his brother before going to look for work. Whitmore was unemployed at the time. The officers asked him to accompany them to headquarters "to answer a few questions" as a possible witness in the case.

Whitmore agreed. "I figured I had to go if they asked me," he said. But when they got to the station house there were no questions. Instead, Whitmore was searched and placed behind a peep-hole door, and Mrs. Borrero was brought in to identify him, which she did.

Here the first note of mystery enters. Isola testified in court that by the time he first saw Whitmore, six hours after the attack, he had obtained from Mrs. Borrero a detailed description of the assailant: a 5-foot 9-inch, 165-pound Negro with pock-marked face, wearing a tan raincoat with the lapel button missing (Mrs. Borrero had pulled it off), black pants and a green hat.

Patrolman Isola said that when he talked to Whitmore that night he noticed that he had a pock-marked face, was wearing a tan raincoat with the lapel button missing and had on a green hat and black pants. Then why did he not arrest Whitmore at the time?

Because, he said, "I didn't think he was the man."

There are three possible explanations for this. First, Isola may have been put off because Whitmore is shorter (5 feet 5 inches) and thinner (140 pounds) than the description. But the officer did not offer this explanation, perhaps because the prosecution was not anxious to stress the height and weight discrepancies.

Second, Isola may not have had the description he said he had. This seems most probable, since his own notes and the police reports do not reflect the details he testified to.

Finally, the patrolman may have been just incredibly negligent. This is the most logical explanation if we assume his testimony was truthful.

Regardless of which explanation one chooses to accept—with the possible exception of the last one—the fact that the arrest was not made the first night buttresses the defense contention that Whitmore was the victim of a frame-up.

IN any event, soon after Whitmore was identified by Mrs. Borrero—and it should be noted here that a peep-hole identification is notoriously suspect—he confessed, and in November, 1964, he was convicted of attempted rape. The evidence against him was powerful: his confession and the button that Mrs. Borrero had ripped from the coat of her attacker.

In his summation, Brooklyn Assistant District Attorney Sidney A. Lichtman thrust the button and Whitmore's coat before the jury and said: "We have nailed George Whitmore on the button, so to speak."

What Mr. Lichtman did not say was that he had an F.B.I. laboratory report which in no way connected the button to the coat Whitmore was wearing when arrested. While the report did not negate the possibility that the button could have come from the coat, it said that the remaining buttons were "different in size, design and construction" from the one Mrs. Borrero had pulled off the coat of her assailant. Moreover, Whitmore had maintained throughout that on the night Mrs. Borrero was attacked he was wearing his brother's raincoat, and not the one that he wore on the morning of his arrest.

Last February, the conviction was reversed with the consent of Brooklyn District Attorney Aaron E. Koota. In granting a new trial, the judge ruled that the prosecution had suppressed the F.B.I. report and that the jury was prejudiced. One juror testified that ugly racial slurs were made during deliberations and many jurors told the court that they had read about Whitmore's confessions to the three murders.

THE story of those confessions begins back at the Brooklyn police station on April 24, 1964, the day of Whitmore's arrest. By 10:30 that morning, he had confessed to the Borrero rape attempt. By noon, he had admitted the April 14 knife-slaying of Mrs. Edmonds. Then, at dusk, all the top brass of the New York City Police Department began to file into the 73rd Precinct in Brooklyn. The word

> had gone out: In this station house sat the perpetrator of one of the city's most sensational killings, the double murder of career-girls Janice Wylie and Emily Hoffert.
>
> That brutal crime had stunned a town thought to be shockproof. On the morning of Aug. 28, 1963, Janice Wylie, the 23-year-old daughter of advertising executive Max Wylie and niece of author Philip Wylie, and her schoolteacher-roommate, Emily Hoffert, were found slashed to death in their East 88th Street apartment in Manhattan. Parents whose daughters were living on their own in the city were abruptly reminded that no neighborhood, however fashionable, was immune to violence, and the case touched off an unusual, if understandable, amount of hysteria.

Now, after eight months in which police had questioned 1,000 people, George Whitmore Jr. had confessed to the murders. At 4 A.M. on April 25, Chief of Detectives (now Chief Inspector) Lawrence J. McKearney announced to the press: "We've got the right guy; no question about it."

But Philip Wylie, far off in Honolulu, said skeptically: "It sounds to me like a guy who got scared into a confession. . . ."

And at his arraignment, Whitmore recanted all three confessions and charged that they had resulted from police brutality.

"That's ridiculous!" said a deputy inspector. But it is a story that Whitmore has clung to ever since.

ACCORDING to Whitmore's account, as soon as Mrs. Borrero identified him as her attacker, Detective Aidala and Patrolman Isola took him into a room and beat him "until I told 'em anything to get 'em off my back." He claims that everything he said after the beating—which he says was not repeated—resulted from the beating and from the fear of further beatings.

Aidala and Isola have denied the brutality charge. No one will ever know the truth. Policemen never admit to beating a man. To do so would mean instant expulsion from the department. Yet on many occasions appeals courts have thrown out confessions on the ground that they resulted from physical brutality. (For reasons they alone know, trial judges seldom rule out confessions.)

Whether or not Whitmore was beaten, the detectives who questioned him fit the tradition of interrogators to a fare-thee-well. The cliché calls for a "heavy" and a "buddy." The heavy fills the suspect with fear and the buddy puts him at ease—indeed, "saves" him from the heavy.

Detective Aidala is a big, burly man with hamlike hands and a tendency to lose his tem-

per, as he occasionally did on the witness stand. Detective Joseph DiPrima, who entered the case at 8 A.M. on April 24, or, according to Whitmore, immediately after he was beaten, is calm, soft-spoken, fatherly. It was DiPrima who developed a "rapport" with Whitmore—and took all three confessions.

"The boy told me," DiPrima said during a hearing into the voluntariness of Whitmore's confession to the Edmonds murder, "that I was nicer to him than his father ever was." Detective Aidala never made that claim.

FROM the point of view of district attorneys in general, the Whitmore case could not have come at a worse time—hard on the heels of the Escobedo decision. Although the Supreme Court was careful to limit its ruling to the particular circumstances—Escobedo's lawyer was actually at the police station, asking to see him, at the time of his confession — Justice Arthur J. Goldberg, writing for a five-man majority, went on to launch a blistering attack against confessions in general.

"A law-enforcement system that depends on the confession," he wrote, "is in the long run less reliable and more subject to abuses than a system which depends on extrinsic evidence independently secured through skillful investigation."

Does this mean that in the future the Court may rule that *all* suspects have a right to see a lawyer before the police can talk to them, whether they request counsel or not, and whether they can afford one or not? No one can be sure but the question itself is enough to turn district attorneys gray. If that should ever happen, most lawyers agree, confessions would disappear, because any lawyer worth his salt would advise his client to remain silent.

"No system worth preserving," answered Justice Goldberg, "should have to *fear* that if an accused is permitted to consult with a lawyer he will become aware of, and exercise, his constitutional rights."

But, contend the prosecutors, 75 to 80 per cent of all crimes are solved because of confessions. In murder cases the percentage is even higher, they claim, because there are seldom any witnesses to murder. One district attorney told a reporter recently that if the Escobedo case is extended to provide counsel for all suspects, "we may as well close up our homicide bureau." Others have echoed this view.

But prosecutors have cried wolf so often in the past few years that it is sometimes difficult to take them seriously. In 1961, for example, when the Supreme Court ruled that all evidence seized illegally would be inadmissible in state court trials, district attorneys, almost to a man, predicted they would have to shut down their narcotics and gambling bureaus. At last glance, they were still doing business—in some cases more than ever.

The fact is that district attorneys have no statistics to back up their claim that most murderers and rapists would walk out of the police stations, thumb to nose, if confessions were banned. And while it is true that a great many cases today are based on confessions, this does not prove that convictions could not be obtained without them.

Recently, a New York State Supreme Court justice, who was a prosecutor for many years before ascending the bench and is not known for being "soft" on defendants, told a reporter that cases in which the only evidence is a confession and a dead body are "extraordinarily rare." In most cases, he said (and New York Police Department statistics for 1964 bear him out), murder occurs after an altercation between people who know each other. Such cases can usually be put together through good police work even if there are no eyewitnesses.

Whatever the validity of the prosecutors' contentions, the fact is that they panicked over the implications of the Escobedo decision and launched a counterattack to swing public opinion against it. Then, in the midst of their campaign, at the height of the rhetoric, came the case of George Whitmore Jr.

"HOW could it happen to Frank?"

There were 300 prosecutors at the recent meeting of the National District Attorneys' Association in Houston. Most of them asked this question, in one form or another, whenever the Whitmore case was mentioned—and the Whitmore case was mentioned as often as the Escobedo case, which means every five minutes.

To other district attorneys, Frank Hogan is a little like Pope Paul to a parish priest. He runs the showcase office in the country, full of career people, many of whom have been there all their professional lives. They are very competent.

There are, to be sure, a few embarrassments, such as overzealous aides (one former assistant apparently considered it his mission to save the city from Lenny Bruce; another top aide, still with Hogan, has been the scourge of local gypsies), but embarrassments can happen in any good family. The office is clearly above politics and is generally considered one of the best. As far as many district attorneys are concerned, the proof of Hogan's superiority lies in the fact that he has been in office since 1942. No one ever runs against him.

But now one of Frank Hogan's assistants had taken a 61-page confession—61 pages, which is really unheard-of—full of incredible details, intricate drawings and amazing nuances, and this confession, in one of the biggest cases to hit New York in years, had turned out to be a phony.

"Here we are, with Goldberg teeing off on us on Escobedo, saying that confessions are untrustworthy — here we are trying our best to fight what we know in our hearts is a rear-guard action," said one district attorney, "and then Hogan — of all people, Hogan, the best of all of us—has to come up with a stink bomb like this.

"Do you know what it's like? It's like you're defending Stalingrad and they take away the snow."

"The prosecutor thrust the coat and button before the jury and said: 'We have nailed George Whitmore on the button, so to speak.'"

WELL then, how did it happen to Frank? How could one of his experienced assistants take a confession for more than two hours and not realize that it had been spoonfed?

One of Mr. Hogan's former assistants cast some light on the mystery recently:

"You have to understand the way the system works," he said. "As far as I know, it works the same way in every borough in New York City. There's an assistant district attorney on duty 24 hours a day in the Homicide Bureau. When a murder suspect is picked up by the police, the assistant is notified. But he isn't asked to come into the station house until the police are 'ready' for him.

"Translated, this means he doesn't enter the picture until the accused has given a statement to the detectives — or worse, as in Whitmore's case, until the detectives have given a statement to *him*.

"In short, it's 'see no evil, hear no evil.' Which not only puts the suspect at the mercy of the police but inevitably puts the district attorney there with him. And so, on occasion, you must expect a Whitmore case.

"Now I don't know why the assistant who took Whitmore's Q. and A. didn't smell a rat. [A Q. and A. is the stenographic record of a suspect's answers to questions posed by the district attorney.] But look at it his way. The Wylie-Hoffert case is the hottest thing in years. All the police brass are involved. Everybody is looking for glory. Their ship is in. Under these conditions not many assistant district attorneys are going to look for trouble. They themselves want to believe it's true.

"And then again it is possible that the detectives had the kid so primed that you just couldn't know there was something wrong.

"But the point is that this policy of not moving in early lends itself to innuendo and heartache."

IT should be noted that many district attorneys do not move in at all during the interrogation stages. The first time they see a defendant is in court at the arraignment. At the other extreme, the Philadelphia District Attorney has a representative at the police station as soon as possible after a murder suspect is apprehended.

"It works very well," an assistant from that office said recently. "With us there, the cops don't dare mess a guy up. As a result, we have very few defendants attack a confession on the grounds of duress."

But if Mr. Hogan must share the blame with the police for the Wylie-Hoffert debacle, he deserves praise for running down and finally exposing the flaws in Whitmore's confession. It is rare for a prosecutor to investigate his own case once a confession has been obtained.

BUT this fine gesture was not without imperfections. When Mr. Hogan, last January, discredited the confession and charged another man with the Wylie-Hoffert murders, he did not at the same time move to dismiss the indictment against Whitmore. Instead, Whitmore was merely "discharged on his own recognizance."

This technicality was carefully exploited in Whitmore's trial in Brooklyn earlier this month for the Edmonds murder, when the prosecutor pointed out to the jury that Whitmore could still be tried for the Wylie-Hoffert slayings. One result was to confuse the jurors. After 34 hours of deliberation, they reported themselves deadlocked and the judge ordered a mistrial.

Three days later, the Wylie-Hoffert indictment against Whitmore was dismissed with the consent of Mr. Hogan's office. Why had it not been dismissed before the Edmonds trial? The New York Civil Liberties Union charged that Mr. Hogan had delayed the dismissal in order to help his Brooklyn colleague win a conviction.

Mr. Hogan's office denied the charge and said Whitmore could have had the dismissal earlier if he had requested it. Whitmore's chief counsel, Stanley J. Reiben, in turn, implied that the Hogan office had told him it would oppose a dismissal motion before the Edmonds trial—and the publicity surrounding such opposition could only have damaged Whitmore's cause.

It is a mystery that will probably never be solved, but a minor one compared to some others: Did Whitmore commit *any* crime? Was he intentionally framed in the Wylie-Hoffert case?

Someday a jury will likely answer the first. Whitmore may be tried again for the Edmonds murder and will surely be retried on the Borrero charge. Whatever the verdict, doubts will remain in many minds. In fact, the police officers who took the Wylie-Hoffert confession still believe, almost to a man, that Whitmore is guilty, as do many people in the Brooklyn District Attorney's office.

In a way, this answers the second question. How can anyone say there was an intentional frame-up when those involved believe they have done no wrong? That, more than anything else in this strange case, is what puts a chill in the bones.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

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Police Brutality

John M. Lawrence
174 Prince Street
New York 12, N. Y.
September 25, 1964

Mr. Major Owens
Brooklyn C.O.R.E.
440 Nostrand Avenue
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Re: People v. Liebowitz
(Erby)

Dear Sir:

From what now appears, it seems certain that C.O.R.E.'s venture into the case of the murder of Halsem Erby, by policeman Liebowitz, shall be rested as one more grand fiasco. You mentioned the financial difficulties of your chapter. The Natl. C.O.R.E. seems also to have the same problem. I judge that these matters occur because nothing fails like failure, as, likewise, nothing succeeds like success.

I have noted before the disastrous consequence to the local movement for civil rights, in the wake of the disaster of Brooklyn C.O.R.E.'s "Stall In" venture of 1964. The inept manner in which C.O.R.E. has proceeded in the Erby murder shall have a similar disastrous effect on the campaign to root out police oppression.

In my own case, I detached myself from C.O.R.E. shortly after the "Stall In" fiasco, not because of the mere failure, but because of the reasons for that failure. These are the vain dilletantishness of those who are key officers of C.O.R.E., and the belligerent ignorance of Attorneys that C.O.R.E. relies on, to slipshodly handle legal aspects of matters undertaken. I find C.O.R.E., as a membership group, to have all the defects of the ordinary "civic society"; an internal politicking organization of conceited "do-gooders", who thrive on their feelings of self-nobility for prating high sounding general principles, but who know little of hard work, skilled research and planning, and selfless subordination of pride to the task. It is an organization of ready chiefs and generals, and damn few privates or footmen. I have been glad I disassisted myself from C.O.R.E. as I saw it decide to change from being a "Cause movement" into a "political club", for by that leap it sold its heart to the principle of expediency and accomodationism. As for the lawyers, they run helter skelter to find "case on point" for causes that have never been favorably decided. I have yet to see one of the C.O.R.E. lawyer crew locally that shows awareness of need of sustained research. Unlike Hayden Covington, who brought so much civil rights reform during his tenure as counsel for the Jehovah's Witnesses, by putting his back for literally thousands of hours into the law books, until he mastered every fine point of every issue encountered, so that he was able to swing the Supreme Court in case after case into accepting the Egalitarian application of the law, the C.O.R.E. lawyers are a motley crew of soothsayers and illiterate know-it-alls, who primary aim is conserve hegenemy over C.O.R.E. activities by calculated politicking.

One thing I've observed about C.O.R.E. and its lawyers. Both agree that the lawyers must say what the law is. Now, you are in a Civil Rights organization. And saying this it is clear you don't even understand what you are saying.

What is meant by "civil rights"? What is a "right"? Obviously, the "civil" rights are those rights which exist in the civilian population. They are rights broader than those of mere the "citizen". But what is a "right"?

A "right" is a "thing" that a person "possesses"; it is something one is "entitled to"; that is, it is "some thing" that the "law of the land" specifies is his. But what is a "right". We speak of the "right of freedom of speech" or "right of petition", or "right to life", or "right to property". Obviously, then it is none of these specifics, such as "freedom of speech" or power to "petition" or "life" or a piece of "property" per se, nor even a person's actual possession of his life, property, or any other such thing, or his ability to speak or to petition. A "right" is something else. If we're going to talk about "rights" we ought to know what the hell we're talking about, or shut up about them.

Having noted what a "right" is not, let me then state what it it is. A "right" is a "demand ticket" upon the government whose laws acknowledge or declare the "right" in the possessor, to compel government officers to protect the possessor in his doing of certain things he is by his own powers able to do, against the interference of other persons. As Judge Holmes badly phrased it, "A legal right is nothing but a permission to exercise (one's) natural powers, and upon certain conditions to obtain protection restitution or compensation by the aid of public force," or again, a right exists whereby the government shall "constrain (one's neighbors".

It may seem to you that this exegesis is tortuous, but I have labored the point, because if this is a "civil rights" movement, it inherently must be an movement of people asserting demands the government "must do" this or that because citizens, or inhabitants of the realm show they are being interfered with by other persons in doing things they naturally can do. Thus, a "civil rights" movement inherently must be a "law claiming" body. When it relegates to the lawyers a suzerainty over knowledge of the law, then it abandon knowledge on the heart of its own program. It admits "we speak for things wherefor we are in ignorance".

You noted to me that C.O.R.E. is poor, and it is difficult to obtain lawyers to help. If this be so, and you cannot get legal assistance, and you admit legal knowledge is in the lawyers, then you people really ought to quit, and go out of business -- unless your just a political movement, and not really a "civil rights" movement. If you think your task is to politic for non-existent "rights", then to call yourselves a "civil rights" movement, to say you are demanding "your rights" is a farce.

I have said these things by way of attempting to show the fundamental reason of the ineptness of C.O.R.E. work. It boils down to this: its members are overwhelmingly a self-indulgent group, who delight in voicing high and noble ends, but who neglect acquiring the "know how" indispensable to effecting them. And this state of affairs will exist as long as you and other C.O.R.E. people stay on your "politics" kick, instead of going on a proper journey into learning the law, and developing means to enforce "rights" (already existent.)

As an organization C.O.R.E. abjectly avoids the due course of being a conscientious, hard-working group of students,

learning what your "rights" are, and how to collect on them. As long as C.O.R.E. theorizes and believes that "only the lawyers" can know the niceties of law, and collect for people on their "rights", then you neighbor know what you are entitled to, nor shall have means to secure them. And forever, with the high cost of legal work by lawyers, you will never raise ample funds to "secure these rights."

What shows is that C.O.R.E. membership is not a dedicated "working" group, but a "tea party" of "civic socialites". Your meetings are not devoted to the standard of attainment of precise and comprehensive knowledge on particular subjects, but to rag-tag palaver of illiterate or half-baked opinions. Not one single business in this nation could survive under such a modus operandi. The members don't come to C.O.R.E. meetings in humility, and willingness to roll up their shirt sleeves, and muck through facts, to form hard theories, but to sponge off their notions, and arrive at a consensus of opinion dominated by the median mob ignorance. Most people come to these meetings ill-informed, prejudiced and attuned to solve problems according to more passions or emotions. Is it any wonder failure is on the way.

A good example is the kind of planning on the "Stall In". Here, an organization was going in to challenge a Billion-Dollar venture, with a tough general at the head who could command a battalion of high-powered lawyers, and the engines of the government. When O'Connor came down with his Injunction, for days thereafter, no one, lawyers of C.O.R.E. seem alike in the leadership, had the slightest inkling of checking into the validity of the Injunction. The C.O.R.E. lawyers preached to the C.O.R.E. to "run and hide" from the service of the Injunction. It was a cheesy and a sleazy kind of advice, for an alleged "Gandian Gideon's Army".

Equally, is the conduct in the Raby case. Was the entry of C.O.R.E. more impromptu? If so, what kind of an organization goes into battle against the Police Department of New York City, knowing its long practice of throwing the army of City Lawyers! to aid its own, without taking into account the need for counterbalancing action. Gallender could go about blithely threatening the Police "if they don't change their story", but he only had more hot air like that to beak up the threat. Then, in this game, the C.O.R.E. lawyers, apparently enamored of the new found prestige accorded them by Keeta in his office, go on to put full trust in the regular "cooperater" with the police. And now, they wait for Judge Barshay to overrule himself, and do things their way!

All of this shows abysmal nonsense. And it is the kind of thing that will continue as long as C.O.R.E. operates as it does operate.

If you are a "civil rights" organization, then you must point your labor to developing the means for the enforcement of "rights". As the history of the Reconstruction era shows, you can pass all the laws creating all the specific "rights", but unless there is legal power created to walk through the judicial machinery, you cannot secure the rights. I have little sympathy for those in "civil rights" organizations who want to be adulated for bungling effort. I sense that they hoodwink the people; by pretending to seek for them things that they fail to develop means for them to be obtained.

I have watched hundreds of clients come to lawyers, with matters of "contract" or ordinary "torts", and learn their specific rights, and spend hundred of hours going through the proceedings, a great expenses to secure these rights. But you, who hold yourself out to the Negro peoples as persons on an endeavor to secure them their rights, never take the arduous tasks of learning what are these specific rights, and doing the tasks of securing them. You shout rights to the peoples, and claim about specific wrongs done, but never master the facts of cases, nor develop the legal machinery wherewithal to secure the rights. On the fly you engage some slipshod lawyers for the titanic cases, whose work would be a farcical amount for an order piece of private litigation.

In the Erby case, I noticed the sloppy fact approach used. Erby was a "moron", you said. But, according to whom? the police, or a bystander who knew him casually. Certainly, not from his family, or those who knew him well. So ready were you people to run into newsprint, that you had little time to work to check and dig out hard facts. Right away, the need was for a "march" to the police building. For what? I guess it was so that Callendar's threat could be shored up. What were you doing? Hoping for a mob to intimidate? Was this in pursuance of "rights"?

Your theory, then, would have to be that rights are obtainable when mass power is demonstrated. It is much like your theory that if the right people are elected, then the Negro peoples will get their rights. This kind of theory is just bunkum. The determination of "rights" is in the courtroom, where almost no press reporting is meaningful. What is essential, to secure rights, is to develop engines to supply the legal power inside the courtroom in the myriad of cases. This requires two sets of conditions. (1) Clients (or suiters) who can dredge out the facts essential to demonstrate the applicability of the rights, and (2) advocates, whether the client himself, or some lawyer, to allege the fact claims, and legal propositions in a court proceeding for the vindication of the rights. Thus, eduction of the mass is essential in the specifics of rights, so they can know what facts they must show, and develop resources to amass the facts, and education of the mass and lawyers into understanding the typicals of cases.

I see no reason why, when one takes into account the prevalency of popular education activities of churches, schools, trade organizations, clubs and the rest, why it is impossible for genuine civil rights education to come about. Of course, it cannot come about as long as people are misled into thinking so-called "civil rights" groups are what they claim to be. It seems to me that in the long run a "civil rights" organization that imposes study demands on its members, that requires its members to discipline themselves, and to take on hard work, is more likely to succeed and grow than one that sells a cheap "gab fest" approach. If one buys cheap in this world, he has only a cheap thing to show for it, and nobody is really proud of what he thus haves.

I said to you, in ending our conversation, as you noted your "rent payment" problem, that "maybe there's a reason for it." This is what I meant. As long as C.O.R.E. goes off half-cocked and unprepared on "big" projects, in which it must fail, because it has a cheap idea of "politicking" its way to victory, then it will not only specifically fail, but lose public interest.

On the other hand, if its program is a hard one; its members are required to acquire specialized knowledge or know-how, it will not only not quixotically embark on ventures, but when it does venture it shall succeed.

The task of "securing civil rights" is one of developing machinery to accomplish litigation. C.O.R.E. does not do this. It is not, honestly, a "civil rights" organization. The chagrin of its members and un-enrolled supporters, at defeats is inevitable as long as it engages in its false posing. The N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund shall continue, as at present, the only prestigious "civil rights" organization, because it alone is doing that necessary, in part, to secure rights.

Having said the foregoing, it is apparent to me that C.O.R.E. has no business, at present, in posturing in the Kirby matter. As long as C.O.R.E. maintains its present assessment of its functions, it shall frivolously tryst with this case, and only to the end of burlesquing the death of this boy at the hands of a murderer. The tragedy in this is that the hopes of another were raised.

I do not subscribe to the thesis that because C.O.R.E. tried, it ought be commended. History shows to well that ineptness is just as strong a mobilizer of injustice progressive as outright corruption. As the old saying goes, one may protect himself from his enemies but not his friends. A review of recent movements in the civil rights field shows that this country is steadily abandoning the precepts of Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights. I might cite the "Stop and Frisk" and "No Knock" laws, the "Criminal Solicitation" law, the 48-hour police interrogation rule pushed in the District of Columbia by Katzenbach, and in Congress, as evidences of this growing police-state thing. The present "civil rights" movement is not so much for "rights" as for "welfare"; for "intergregation" and not individual independence. Perhaps this is why politics so much appeals to its leaders, since the goal of the organization is status in a hierarchy or establishment of things.

The sum of this is that I do hope C.O.R.E. discontinues its activities in the Kirby matter. I see no indication that it shall ever come anywhere near to grips with the nature of the problem. And I do hope it stays out of future grandstand plays in affairs of police murders. For by its ineptness it only heightens tensions without developing any means for relief.

Sincerely yours,

John M. Lawrence

cc.: Mr. James Farmer

copy to James Farmer

Civ Review Bd

OCT 18 1965

315 West 103
New York, NY
10025
Oct. 14, 1965

Norman Frank, President
Policemen's Benevolent Association
New York, NY

Dear Mr. Frank,

I listened to the panel discussion you were on last Friday night with a great deal of sincere interest and concern. You are to be commended for doing a wonderful job of defending your department. Your fast judgements and evaluations and your clear, concise to-the-point- statements could be the envy of any lawyer. However, may I implore you to extend your sympathy and loyalty to include all men?

Although I agree with you that a civilian review board would not be a practical answer, I think you owe it to your conscience as well as to the bereaved members of the families of martyred victims to acknowledge the fact of the injustices which brought about their misfortunes. Then, I think you should go a step further and encourage those policemen who harbor bigotry to do some soul searching and cleanse themselves of this disease. Such action, taken voluntarily would go a long way in improving the present image of the police. Greater confidence would be gained if the effort was made to detect attitudes and delusions before they become malignant symptoms and lead to bizarre behaviour.

One of these symptoms is projection. During the slave period it was the white men who were raping the Negro women because the Negro women were giving birth to light-skinned babies; white women were certainly not giving birth to dark-skinned babies. Yet, the Negro was always being labeled as the rapist threat. Statistics show that today, white men rape white women and Negro men rape Negro women - rapists appear to be segregationists yet, the misconception still hangs on that the Negro man is a threat to the chastity of the white woman. As a matter of fact, most sane and sober Negro men are reluctant to speak to white women -in the south because they do not want to be lynched and in the north because they want to keep their jobs if they have any worth keeping.

It is unfortunate that the whole police force should be held responsible for the errant actions of a few, when there are thousands of wonderful and conscientious policemen keeping our city one of the safest. Many children become prejudiced against policemen because of one unfortunate experience. Once, while sketching a scene in Central Park, I noticed that a policeman walking through the park took it upon himself to chase some little Puerto Rican boys out of the park for no reason at all. Then, he beamed at me proudly as though he expected my approval and said, "I know how to keep them in their place". The children ran out of the park frightened, bewildered and embittered. Will they eve believe that a policeman can be their friend after that?

Bigotry is a danger to all of us because it nurtures adverse mental attitudes which can lead to delusions and errant actions. When a person becomes prejudiced against a group of people he takes the attitude that thye are less than human and therefore he feels justified in taking a punitive attitude. He feels that he is "on God's side" and becomes very bold because of his identification with omnipotence. I remember vividly an experience I had in 1943. A little blonde haired boy asked me why I looked so sad. I said I was sad because of all the people that Hitler was killing. He paused for as second. Then, with a satisfied smile that lit his face, he reassured me, "You shouldn't feel sad". He is not really killing people - only Jews."

This example illustrates well what has been brought out by scientific investigation; that people do not think of those that they are prejudiced against as people but as some sort of animal and therefore they do not feel any more guilt in killing them than if they were to kill a dog or a cow. This is where the danger lies. Bigotry breeds arrogance, arrogance breeds violence and violence breeds revenge which in turn breeds more violence. You may remember that the Harlem riots of 1964 were triggered off by a provocative incident in Yorkville.

The cost of preserving the obsolete boundary lines between peoples of different colors and beliefs is becoming more and more exhorbitant. We must heed the message of Pee Paul VI now or we will be faced with annihilation. We cann ot deplete the cream of our youth in an effort to police the world nor should we derange their mentalities throughthe act of needless murder. To live with the memory of having killed is harder to take than to be killed.- witness the book, "Burning Conscience" written by the pilot who dropped the atom bomb on Hiroshima.

The concept of white supremacy interferes with international good will. An example of the type of insult it produces is a statement I heard on a pharmaceutically sponsored film to the effect that, "Although this tranquilizer, (dried roots of Rauwolfia Serpentina) has been used in India for centuries for the treatment of mental illnesses it has only recently become known to the medical world." It seems the whoever wrote that script was under the impression that in order to qualify for membership in the "medical world" you must have white skin and a degree from Columbia University. (Hippocrates learned about surgery from a visit to India.)

The world has shrunk to the size of one house. To set fire to one side is to burn the whole house down. To inflict depersonalization and dehumanization onto one people is to become, in time, a victim of the same. The junkyards by the roadsides symbolize well our state of justice in Haynesville, Alabama. Let us not leave our children with a legacy of shame - instead, let us leave them with a legacy of a new vision of the universality of the architecture of the soul of man- to guide them towards the dissolution of the unnatural boundaries which have plagued man's progress towards the achievement of Christian brotherhood.

Sincerely yours,

Joan Cavrell

GUIDELINE TO POLITICAL ACTION

Prepared By:
James T. McCain
Assistant To National Director
In Political Action

Distrubted By:
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUILITY

One area of the new thrust by CORE adopted by the 1965 National CORE Convention, was that of political action and voter education. We are urging all chapters to make a concerted effort in this direction, and start immediately in trying to implement this thrust.

It has long been recognized that one of our basic responsibilities has been to educate ourselves and of fellow citizens about political issues which affect our lives and our welfare... To meet this challenge, effective political activity has of necessity become a vital part of each community, state and Nation. The job of good citizenship and political education must be done in each community.

There is no one perfect way to, carry on a voter registration campaign, but there are certain basic rules that should be followed. These should be divided into three catigories; namely, ORGANIZATION, REGISTRATION AND EDUCATION.

1. ORGANIZATION
   a. Select a political action committee in your chapter
   b. Find out the facts on voting and requirements on voting in your community
   c. Inform your chapter and member of the community of the facts that pertain to political activity.
   d. Keep in touch with other organizations who have a similar interest in political activity in your community.
   e. Appoint a registration Director for your chapter
   f. Use your local chapter office as headquarters if possible for registration drive.
   g. Recruit volunteers to carry out varied assignments if possible (Church groups, etc.)
   h. Have definite work schedule for all workers
   i. Get voting list if possible
   j. Street index, telephone and city directory
   k. Maps of wards and precincts of the Negro areas
   l. Transportation
   m. Plan for a financial drive by forming committee for same
   n. Careful planning is essential, Don't rush: pick the right time
   o. Try to get local registration officials to extend time for registration

REGISTRATION
   a. Get information out though the news media and other channels on the time, place and hour of registration
   b. Use the door-to-door method of canvassing for new voters
   c. Contact churches, civic leaders to encourage non voters to register
   d. Neighborhood registration days
   e. Window displays in business on registration
   f. Use the telephones
   g. Use all literature on registration you can get
   h. Get names of those who register so they may be contacted later
   i. Use high school and college students to help with canvassing
   j. Ask other organizations to assist in helping you with your registration drive
   k. Urge registration boards to open on evenings and Saturdays to aid working people.
   l. Know the precinct you are working
   m. Keep up-to-date card file on each resident.
   n. Keep in touch with precinct leaders
   o. Registration is a job for 365 days a year
   p. Canvassers should know the election laws

q. Have meeting with your block leaders before canvassing
r. Don't take on more than you can handle.
s. Have your registration file with you. Check it before you approach a house to, be sure the right persons lives there
t. Always identify yourself and state your purpose
u. Be prepared to answer questions
v. Always leave literature if available
w. Don't ever argue with people
z. Don't get angry with anyone
y. Don't ask people right off about their political convictions

EDUCATION

a. Hold precinct meetings for this purpose
b. Acquaint people with the voting procedure in your community
c. Use sample ballots for experimentation if ballots are used.
d. If voting machines are used, try and borrow one to train people in the use of it
e. Call your percinct meeting to discuss the candidates and their platform
f. Invite candidates to speak to the voters. Have question and answer period
g. Let people know that one of the best ways of helping themselves is through taking an active role in political activity in their community, state and nation
h. Teach voters to, vote their own convictions, rather than being told who to or not to vote for
i. Educate Negroes to run and vote for their own candidates (~~those~~ who are qualified)

HE HAS HALF THE DEED DONE, WHO HAS MADE A BEGINNING. "Horace, Roman poet, 65-8B.C..

1. How to get started
   a. A year Round Job
   b. First Get a Small Group Together
   c. The function Of CORE: To get people registered and teach them the value
   d. of the vote
   d. Voter registration: Finding the facts on the requirements of registration, how many people vote in the community, etc.
   e. Informing members and the community of these facts
   f. Keep in touch with others; Organizations and politicians, etc. (farmers)
   g. Family participation

   TO SUM UP
   1. Register people so that they can vote
   2. Learn the facts about local and national issue which affect the welfare of those in the community and their families
   3. Inform the people about vital issues so that they can vote wisely
   4. Get out the vote on election day
   5. Raise funds for CORE activities
   6. Keep in close and continuing touch with public officials and like-minded groups
   7. Secure the co-operation of other interested families
   8. All these jobs require skill and good leadership

2. HOW TO PLAN YOUR MEETINGS:

   a. Careful planning is essential. Don't rush::Pick the right time

b. Know your audience
c. Pick the right place
d. How to get people to come (good publicity, personal invitation, personal letter, etc.
e. Ways to tell your story: Speaker or speakers; film and filmstrips etc.
f. Tell them what to do; make assignments; appoint chairmans, etc.
g. Entertain them: coffee hour, etc.
h. Mass meetings

3. HOW TO CONDUCT A FINANCIAL DRIVE:

DO'S AND DON'TS OF YOUR FINANCIAL DRIVE *****

a. Do plan all steps of your drive carefully in advance
Don't get started before you have appointed collectors in every section of your community with all information, literature, etc.

b. Do train your collectors so that they are prepared to answer all questions about the campaign and CORE
Don't embarass your collectors and lose contributions because he isn't quite sure how the money will be used

c. Do approach people positively, appealing simply and directly to them as good citizens
Don't give people an easy way out by asking them half-heartedly or by annoying them with high pressure sales tactics

d. Do continue your drive until you are satisfied every member is well informed about CORE and the drive and has been personally asked for his contribution

Don't announce the end of the drive before your collectors and your publicity committee has a chance to do their very best

e. Do time your drive so it doesn't compete with other appeals for funds

Don't launch your fund drive on the heels of another drain on the pocketbooks of your members

f. Don't just send off your collectors with a peptalk and then leave them to shift for themselves

4. HOW TO KNOW AND BE ACTIVE IN YOUR COMMUNITY: Know the Law

a. Learn how your local government works; (visit city hall; sit in on your city or community council, etc.

b. Where to get your community's vital statistics; (get a map, mark off precincts, where to get the facts, State capitol or Washington)

c. Political party organization: (Precinct meetings, where delegates are elected to the County Convention to the State Convention to the ational Convention

5. HOW TO ORGANIZE A PRECINCT:

a. A precint is a small district or portion of a city or county

b. Organize your membership file (information, as age, death, those who have moved in or out. File membership cards

c. Start with some personal visits: get a handful of people; talk registration appeal to the womanpower in the community, etc.

d. Tips for Blockworkers:
   1. Be cheerful and friendly
   2. Time your blockwork in the precinct for the same days or days
   3. Have a meeting of all blockworkers before canvassing
   4. Go out in teams of two. Man a wife or man and a women
   5. Don't take on more than you can handled
   6. Plan your work ahead of time
   7. Be neatly dressed
   8. Go out when you are most likely to meet the whole family
   9. Take a flashlight
   10. Before you approach a door take out your file and be sure the right person lives there
   11. Always identify yourself
   12. Alway state your purpose
   13. Be perpared to answer questions
   14. Always leave literature if available
   15. Don't ever, ever argue with people
   16. Don't get angry with anyone
   17. Don't ask people right off about their political convictions

e. What to mark on cards:
   1. Names of all persons of voting age; registered or not
   2. Telephone number
   3. Attitude
   4. Help needed to register or vote (babysitter; transportation, etc.)
   5. Don't talk over business of a cup or tea, etc.

6. HOW TO REGISTER VOTERS:
   a. Every Vote Counts
   b. Get the Registration Facts (County Courthouse)
   c. Use your precinct organization
   d. Use your filing cards
   e. Ring doorbells
   f. Radio and T.V.
   g. Newspapers and weeklies
   h. Business, advertising agencies
   i. Put out Posters
   j. Theaters
   k. Clergy (church)
   l. Organizations
   m. Handbills
   n. Buttons
   o. Porch light campaign
   p. Door Knob Hangers
   q. Sound truck
   r. Sample Ballots
   s. Bumper tags and stickers

7. AN INTERVIEW WITH A POTENTIAL REGISTRANT:WITH A SMILE

a. "Good evening, Mrs. Stucky
"Yes
"Mrs. Stucky, my name is James McCain of CORE registration team in this community working on voter registration"
"Oh, I'm already registered".
"Yes, I know you are, Mrs. Stucky. Your name is on the precinct record, so is Mr. Stucky. I was wondering if there might be anyone in your household eligible to register.
"Eligible
"I mean twenty-one years of age or older, a citizen, etc.
"Oh, I nearly forgot--my son or daughter just turned twenty-one. They can vote now, can't they?
"They certainly can--that is, if they register. Do you know where to go down town.

This gives you an opportunity to give explicit information and offer other services that you and your group can give.

POLITICAL ACTION ON THE COMMUNITY LEVEL: Part 1

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038

Community Relations Department

This paper is to serve for discussion purposes and as an initial guide for chapter use. Your chapter may already be experienced in political action, but this is to serve those chapters who would like some concrete ideas before going into their community. Of course, there are variables but most locales will find the following applies to them. This paper should be used in conjunction with other material which the National Office has regarding community organization.

Why political action? An organized community is the most effective pressure group that can be created at the local level; it can form a lobby for legislation, can break a corrupt political machine, can improve community conditions through political pressure and through self-help programs, and can set up cooperative community projects.

What is political action? The definition of political that would fit our context would be "of or pertaining to the organization or action of individuals, parties, or interests that seek to control the appointment or action of those who manage the affairs of a state." Therefore, when a CORE chapter pickets to seek redress and change, it is taking political action. When we ask that laws be changed or existing laws be enforced, we are taking political action.

As your community organization program develops, there are some things which always must be kept in mind. CORE is working to develop leadership within the community. This means that whenever you go to the Traffic Commissioner to negotiate for a stoplight on an intersection, you should be accompanied by mothers who will stress the need for their children'safety and tell the commissioner about the accidents which have occurred due to the lack of a traffic light. When you go to the mayor or housing commissioner to negotiate demands for better housing, you should be accompanied by the leaders of tenants councils which you have helped to organize. You should not attempt to negotiate on such a level until you have organized the tenants councils. Always try to let the members of the communitydo the talking. You will benefit by an acting out of the situation before the appointment with members of CORE acting as the civil authorities and the members of the community acting as the negotiators. Then discuss weaknesses in the negotiation before going to your meeting. You will have to speak at some points in the discussion to point up or underline pertinent issues. Never underestimate the power of this method of negotiation. When officials see CORE with community leadership behind the organization, they are more likely to be impressed than with CORE negotiating alone.

When choosing your first targets, pick areas of prime vulnerability. Choose those areas that indicate obvious discriminatory practice. When you go to the Sanitation Commissioner to protest that areas of your community do not have garbage collected from one to two weeks at a time, have the figures that show the white community gets garbage collection more often. The street lighting may be better in the white neighborhoods, etc. If you receive no satisfaction in negotiations and finally have to go into direct action, the issue will be a clear one when you present it to the press. Also, if the community is involved in your demonstration, the issue will be pointed up even more. It is often better to stage your demonstration directly in the

community, where you have a chance for greater numbers, more unity and authenticity, rather than inside your city hall. This, of course, depends on your local conditions.

We also must never make the mistake of using the community to back up demands which are largely our own. We are there to back up the community. There will be national projects where we will present the case to the community for their support and CORE will provide the direction for other projects, but we need the community just as much as the community needs us. In fact, we have more to lose without it--a ghetto area has nothing to lose, so they will be skeptical and large portions of it will be unmoving at your first attempts. Only by thorough and repeated follow-up will you begin to gain their confidence. Don't expect the name of CORE to make vast inroads...you'll have a head start and they'll open doors for you that they wouldn't for others, but it won't be easy.

When working with the community, sooner or later appeals and demands must be addressed directly to legislators and the chapter then becomes involved in the legislative process. The widening of the scope of CORE's voter registration programs has necessarily brought involvement in political education. Voter registration must be directed towards an end. CORE's end has been the full involvement of the Negro community in the structure which governs; only through this involvement can our goals be achieved.

The "how to's" of any chapter's program will vary with the locale of the chapter: urban, suburban, rural, North, South, etc. A few basics to follow as you begin your program are:

A. Study of local election laws: Members of the chapter should be educated in these laws; workshops could be conducted and inquiries made as to how members of CORE might serve as poll-watchers at registration and elections. Those long lines, which usually occur in the minority communities, are almost always due to stalling on the part of those working the election boards to support an incumbent machine or inefficiency and lack of knowledge concerning procedures or both. The Board of Elections is chosen through patronage of the machine in power, so a hostile beauracracy is faced when attempting a breakthrough. A little patience has to be exercised when dealing with situations which result when beauracracy proves most frustrating, but if you know your facts, you can usually spot errors and abuses. When your group is confident of what it's doing, alert the press. Report all abuses and inaccuracies to the Board of Elections, the police officers at your polling place (get badge number) and report the results of your investigation and complaints to the press (and to the Department of Justice where appropriate). Always have copies of the local election and registration procedures with you and check for slip-ups before making your complaint. (Simplified copies of these procedures are given to members of most local boards before they serve and they should be available at your Municipal Board of Elections.) If you can, get assistance from reputable attorneys.

Corrupt political machines always benefit by low registration and a low percentage of voting. Higher percentages mean the community is becoming informed and wants change and action.

B. Study the precincts in the minority community. See which precincts the state senators and representatives come from. Find out which precincts the U. S. Senators and Representatives come from. (Each precinct will be dependent on the other for support and endorsement, etc.) Do those holding office represent the community's needs? How does the system of patronage work in the community? Who controls the patronage? In the courts? In the housing boards, etc.? What is the racial make-up of the precincts? Which areas are the most depressed?

C. Study the local political clubs. Often you will find two clubs of one party in the same precinct---one white and one Negro. Or you will find that Negroes are discouraged from joining the club---annual membership is prohibitive, etc. Does the club have a constitution? Is it a good one? Does the community ever use the club? The local political club is supposed to serve the community in which it's situated.

In the process of finding out some of the things listed above, you will find that many ideas will occur to you. Some of them will be unprintable and some you could go to jail for, but remain non-violent. You may be discouraged and remain steadfast in your belief that "all politicians are alike." But they aren't. Every now and then, you'll find a man of principle trying to keep his head above water. It's very difficult for him to do so without support, which brings up our next point...

D. Study legislation in municipal and state bodies that fall in line with your chapter's program and then discuss the relevant legislation with knowledgeable members of your community---perhaps in a forum. The discussion will raise new ideas and from all of the above, you will find those members of the community who will evidence capabilities of potential leadership. Find the authors of the legislation that fall in line with your chapter's program---after investigating their past records, you can determine if this is the type of representative that you can contact in the future for assistance. You will also probably want to contact him to support other legislation which will benefit the needs of the community. In the process, you can learn further details of the political situation in your locale from a reliable source.

Some chapters have already become involved in local elections; some have supported candidates for office. But if your chapter ventures into this area, some basics must be kept in mind. The most important is that the candidate you support must stay clear of ties with the leadership of corrupt political machines...the problem of political patronage has too many pitfalls. Many "reform" movements have come full circle back to the old corrupt practices in such rapid order, that a few local political clubs in the major cities have found it necessary that all those in leadership positions take pledges of accepting no patronage positions whatsoever while serving in office, due to the conflict which arises.

Chapters should not run candidates until their programs have been underway for some time and are smoothly functioning--this does not mean that you can't support a candidate if a top-notch one comes along. But there should be full discussion within the chapter before doing so.

The problem of patronage is an area of politics filled with quicksand; the novice can go under because he is not aware of what he's getting into. Patronage is defined as "the right or control of nomination to political office;" also "the offices, contracts, honors, etc. which an official may bestow by favor."

One type of patronage is commonly called "no-show" jobs. This is the type of job whereby a politician will put someone on his payroll, but the person doesn't have to report for work. A corrupt machine will use this method to buy loyalty.

Another type of patronage is that which is that which is legitimate appointment to a public office. The problem which arises in this area is that when a good leaders, who is principled, is appointed to public office conflicts will arise if he continues to serve on his post in the local club or local organization. Perhaps the organization doesn't support a city program or will want alterations to be made on the city program, and the leader of the group is in conflict---if he represents his group's position, he is subject to pressure from the city administration. It might be necessary for him to resign his post in the local group when taking the city job so that he can represent an independent viewpoint and the group can function more independently.

Under the system of "no-show" jobs, the public is bilked of money. Our answer should be found in our programming, which demands public work projects to take up the slack in employment. This can even be carried on in the community, such as rehabilitation of housing. We are there to serve community needs, and the community is not served by getting jobs for one or two individuals while others could be served by the building of more and better schools, public housing, playgrounds and recreation centers. We should press for these postive measures along with an effective and responsive police department, a meaningful helth program including nutrition and family planning.

If your chapter has no strong community organization program going on very steady legs, messing in the local political set-up will produce major setbacks, trouble and sometimes, disaster. Just approach with caution, examine thoroughly before you act, and your chapter can become a vital force in the community.

######

[redacted] 9 1965

February 8, 1965

OPEN LETTER TO JAMES FARMER

[redacted] 9 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Nobody doubts that a drive for increased registration of Negro voters is a good thing, or that it is as necessary here in New York as in Alabama. But just getting Negroes to vote is not enough. Their votes must count for something. And they don't. Even another 100,000 Negro votes in New York City would not be worth a tinker's damn - and for two very good reasons. First, the organization of the city government is stacked against them. Second, they have never used their power to vote decisively by voting as a solid group on a crucial issue.

The organization of the municipal government is extremely important. One of the biggest reasons the city authorities are so unresponsive to Negro needs and problems is that there are not enough Negroes in elective office to make themselves heard and seen. Most of the few who are there owe their political lives to the white man. And nobody takes Adam Clayton Powell seriously - for good reason. But let's let the numbers speak for themselves. For years there was only one Negro on the City Council - one vote out of 25. Now there are two - BUT with the addition of the councilmen-at-large it is only two votes out of 35. Not much better. A Negro Borough President has only two votes on the Board of Estimate out of 22. This leaves Negroes in New York City with a total legislative voice of 4 votes out of 57 - just 7% and well buried. But with the return of the municipal government to a truly democratic legislative system, Negroes and Puerto Ricans would have a representation roughly equal to their proportion of the population, or about 14 out of 57 (9 Negro and 5 Puerto Rican). This is the legislative voice that is so badly needed if they are to make any kind of satisfactory progress.

The cause of this evil is, oddly enough, La Guardia and his reformers. In his pell mell haste to get rid of the corrupt old Board of Aldermen, Mayor La Guardia put in its place a strongly centralized system which, in the hands of the political bosses, is the most effective weapon <u>against</u> reform that this city has ever seen.

To launch any kind of reform now takes an entire citywide campaign. It is extremely difficult to get any neighborhood reform group off the ground because it is next to impossible for them to knock over a whole 3-assembly-district set up. And even so, the council has almost no power and the mayor and his two top men control the Board of Estimate. You could have 5 Negro Borough Presidents and still be voted down. But if the Board of Estimate were thrown out and the Council made into a truly democratic legislative body - perhaps based on assembly districts - Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and Reform Democrats could elect enough men to raise holy hell about slum housing, Gilliganism, schools, etc. And by the establishment of a full-time Council (one afternoon a week to administer a city of 8 million and a budget of billions is incredible!) our city legislators would have the time to study our city's problems, and the proposed solutions, with a great deal more care.

The fact that Negroes have never used their votes as a solid group is also of great importance. Their voting power is much talked about - but never taken too seriously. It is like a gun which is said to be loaded and dangerous, but which has never been fired. Soon people begin to wonder if it really is loaded, and eventually they pay it no mind at all. But once you fire that gun - use it to blow some high and mighty cracker right out of office - then and only then will white politicians begin to take you seriously. And this year is your chance. Are you really going to let Wagner get away with the Gilligan killing and then slapping you right in the face by putting Gilligan back on the force? Are you really going to accept that cheap political hack - that white man's errand boy, Ray Jones - in exchange for the life of James Powell? If you do, then you deserve whatever treatment they give you. But if you remember that a vote for Wagner is a vote for Gilligan the cop - and use that loaded gun to blow him right out of office - then things will start to move for you in this town.

I strongly advise you to adopt this change of emphasis, By these two moves you can help to solve most of the minority problems in this city. First, demand a fair reorganization of the city legislature, and second, spread the word far and wide that a vote for Wagner is a vote for Gilligan the cop. And you couldn't start

too soon.

Very truly yours,

Jefferson Chase

Jefferson Chase

247 East 32nd Street, New York 16.

encl:
Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborne, Inc
383 Madison
NY 17

Copies to: Amsterdam News
Courier
Times
Tribune
News
Telegram
Post
Journal-American
Village Voice

discrim. file

FEB 1 1 1965

Wiley

2/9/65

New York City

Dear Sir.

We would appreciate your interest on the proposed plan of the N.Y.C. Transit System to promote Approximaley 300 men from the title of Gang Fore to Foreman without a Civil Service Test (See enclosure) we think this very unfair, all of us studying for promotion; this plan will eliminate any test for the title for the next ten years. Civil Service being the only area we can compete on equal ground this opportunity too is being denied to Negroes

Please look into this . You will understand no name I work there and there could be adverse reaction

Transit Plans To Consolidate Foreman Titles

300 Gang Foremen To Be Made Foremen Without Exam

By MARVIN BOGNER

If all goes as planned, close to 300 employees with the New York City Transit Authority will be promoted to a higher title and salary without having to compete in a promotion examination. The Authority has requested that all Gang Foremen be elevated to Foremen and it is expected that the City Civil Service Commission will conduct a public hearing on the proposal within the next few weeks, THE CHIEF has learned.

It is understood that such action would be administratively more feasible since all employees in a specific field would be working in one title. This is what the Transit Authority hopes to accomplish by eliminating the Gang Foreman title. The Gang Foremen are employed in the Authority's Maintenance of Way Department and the cost to the Authority to advance them to Foremen would run close to $400,000. Gang Foreman salary is $7,336 to $7,547 and Foremen receive $7,499 to $8,319.

It is felt that such a mass upgrading would not have any adverse affect on any employee. Such upgradings have been administered in the past with the consent of the Civil Service Commission. In fact it would mean, in certain instances, that employees in lower titles than the title to be upgraded would only have to compete in one promotion test to get to a higher level instead of taking two tests. No jobs would be lost by such upgradings. Two titles merely will become one.

Gang Foremen Filing

Make file → New York City

~~Politics~~

FROM: DAVID W. BARRY
OR 4-3500

April 29, 1965

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Twenty civic, religious and social welfare leaders urged today that Mayor Wagner make public the city's anti-poverty proposal. The group also called upon the mayor to schedule a public hearing at City Hall, to enable community groups to react to present plans. Among those joining in this request to the Mayor, were:*

Alexander J. Allen, Executive Director, Urban League of Greater New York; Dr. David W. Barry, Executive Director, New York City Mission Society; Professor Kenneth B. Clark, Professor of Psychology and Director, Institute of Social Dynamics Research, The City College of the City of New York; Dr. Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. Secretary, The Russell Sage Foundation; Rev. Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, Chairman, Department of Sociology, Fordham University; Dr. Jack R. Goldberg, Executive Director, Wel-Met Camps; Dr. Edler G. Hawkins, Pastor, St. Augustine Presbyterian Church, Bronx, Moderator, United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.; David Hunter, Executive Director, Edgar Stern Family Fund; Reverend William James, President, Ministers' Interfaith Association of Harlem, Minister, Metropolitan Community Methodist Church, Manhattan; Rev. William A. Jones, Pastor, Bethany Baptist Church, Brooklyn; David Livingston, President, District 65, Retail, Wholesale, Department Store Union, AFL-CIO; Carl M. Loeb, Jr. Chairman, New York State Council on Crime and Delinquency, Former Board Chairman, Community Council of Greater New York; Rev. Graydon E. McClellan, General Presbyter, Presbytery of New York City; Allan M. Morrison, New York Editor, Ebony Magazine; Dr. Alex Rosen, Dean, Graduate School of Social Work, New York University; Dr. Francisco Trilla, Chairman, Puerto Rican Forum; Rt. Rev. J. Stuart Wetmore, Suffragan Bishop, Protestant Episcopal Diocese of New York; William Kirk, Headworker, Union Settlement Association; Dr. Gardner C. Taylor, Minister, Concord Baptist Church, Brooklyn, New York; Anthony Dapolito, President of Greenwich Village Association.

* Affiliations listed for identification only

- more -

The text of the telegram follows:

Considerable controversy has been generated in recent weeks both in New York and in Washington over the character of the community action program of the national attack on poverty. In New York, local groups in Bedford-Stuyvesant, the Lower East Side, East Harlem, Central Harlem and the South Bronx are disturbed over the city's proposals for governmentally run community progress centers. But the city's position is not completely clear. Though there have been public statements by you and Mr. Paul Screvane, the city's detailed proposals reportedly submitted to Washington weeks ago, have never been made public. It has come to our attention that many bona fide group representatives have been denied the right to see the proposal. This despite the fact that federal requirements indicate: "Applicants for community action program grants shall make a copy of their application available for public inspection at reasonable times."

In the face of this official secrecy the general public is confused over what the issues are. What should be a major community effort involving all segments of the community is being hampered by the lack of facts and understanding of what the government of the city of New York proposes to do.

We, therefore, suggest the following two steps:

1. The city's application to Washington, even if a draft proposal, should be made public promptly in sufficient copies so that all interested parties will have an opportunity to review and study it.

2. Within two to three weeks after it is made publicly available you should hold a public hearing at City Hall at which individuals and groups will have an opportunity to react to your preliminary proposals and make suggestions.

In this way the community as a whole, including the poor and the disadvantaged, can have an opportunity to participate in shaping the city's poverty program.

David W. Barry
New York City Mission Society

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politics NYC

June 15, 1965

Elizabeth Most, D. S. W.
Chairman, Chelsea Committee for
Family Planning
345 Eighth Avenue
New York, New York 10001

Dear Miss Most:

In reply to your letter of May 30th, CORE has been actively concerned with the political situation in New York City. However, at this time we are taking no position in the endorsement of a candidate.

The CORE chapters are considering what steps to be taken but, until the situation in the Democratic Party is clarified, our position will be for no endorsement.

Yours truly,

James Farmer,
National Director

JF/cc

JUN 1 1965

345 Eighth Avenue
New York 10001, N.Y.

May 30, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

You have spoken out for political actions as well as for demonstrations to further the cause of equall rights, equal opportunity and more equitable distribution of wealth, resources and goods.

Could you consider and suggest to your organization to discuss the nomination of Bill Ryan, Congressman, for Mayor of New York City? I understand that the Liberal Party (apparently without thought of democratic process) has already shown signs of jumping on the Lindsey bandwagon.

How many times must we liberals or progressives or radicals be taken in by golden-tongued men like Stevenson, Humphrey, Rockefeller, who represent the "establishment" but champion a new era before being elected. All say that Bill Ryan has no chance as he has no money and no backing of the machine, but these very shortcomings may lay the basis for a splendid and salutary campaign.

This letter does not represent the committee below which I name only to identify myself.

Very sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Most

Elizabeth Most, D.S.W.
Chairman, Chelsea Committee
for Family Planning

Politics
NY

July 13, 1965

Mr. Louis A. Fuentes
Ideal Democratic Club
1137 Prospect Avenue
Bronx 59, New York

Dear Mr. Fuentes:

I appreciate your welcome to the political arena, and do indeed hope that our organizations can be of mutual assistance.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF/rp

Alan

IDEAL DEMOCRATIC CLUB
FORMERLY INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATS OF THE EAST BRONX
6TH A.D., BRONX COUNTY
1137 PROSPECT AVENUE
BRONX 59, N. Y.
—
DAYTON 3-8343

JUL 12 1965

July 10, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10038

Dear Mr. Farmer:

As a political organization long involved in the Civil Rights fight, we are extremely happy to have a Civil Rights organization become involved in politics.

We are fighting for minority representation, improved housing conditions, quality education, improved police protection, a civilian review board, equal employment opportunities, abolition of the literacy test, etc. Hence our aims aren't very different from yours,

However, it is our contention that one of the main methods of achieving equality is through thoughtful and constant demonstrations at the ballot box. In a city where there are so few bars to voting, the degree of voter apathy is appalling. There is a pressing need for the Negro to become aware of his potential political power and I feel that an organization like CORE will be extremely influential in helping us eradicate this apathy.

We welcome you to the political arena and hope that our organizations can be of mutual assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Alberta Banks
Acting President

Louis A. Fuentes
Candidate for the State Assembly, 86th A.D. Bronx County

LAF:ab

NY politics

July 15, 1965

Mr. Hal Koppersmith, Chairman
Peoples Progress Party
359 East 10th Street
New York, New York 10009

Dear Mr. Koppersmith:

Thank you for your letter of July 5th, which arrived while I was out of town. I agree with you that a Negro should have been nominated by the major parties for one of the three top city positions. However, I must decline to accept the nomination for City Controller with which you as chairman of the Peoples Progress Party have flattered me. Because of the press of CORE work I have decided not to be a candidate for any New York City office in this election.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:nm

JUL 6 1965

Monday, July 5, 1965

Mr. James Farmer, Chairman
National CORE
38 Park Row
New York City

Dera Mr. Farmer,

In view of Core 's decision to make political action its new concentration, I urge you to accept the place for City Controller on the Peoples Progress Party independent line which is supporting Congressman John V. Lindsay for Mayor.

The failure of both major parties and the Liberal Party to nominate a Negro for one of the 3 top City positions is just another insensitive insult to the legitimate demands of the Negro people of this City-the kind of insult which in other circumstances leads to riots and violence.

We in the PPP believe that the candidacy of a Negro of your calibre for one of the top 3 offices in New York will galvanize constructive political action on the part of Negro people throughout the country.

Very sincerely yours,

Hal Koppersmith

Hal Koppersmith, Chairman
Peoples Progress Party
359 East 10th St
New York, N.Y. 10009

254 8508 475 9502

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

1965 SEP 1 PM 10 54

NK827 (50)NB315

NL PD NEW YORK NY 1

NY Politics

JAMES FARMER

38 PARK ROW NYK

I GRATEFULLY ACCEPT YOUR ENDORSEMENT AND WILL CONTINUE THE EFFORT TO UNITE THE STRUGGLES OF THE TWO LARGEST DISADVANTAGED MINORITIES IN NEW YORK NEGROES AND PUERTO RICANS TO ACHIEVE THE RIGHTS OF FULL CITIZENSHIP AND EQUAL TREATMENT BY ALL GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES

GILBERTO GERENENA-VALENTIN.

Politics NYC

September 8, 1965

Mr. James F. McNamara, Manager
Novelty Hat Workers Union
Local 102
245 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Mr. McNamara:

Thank you for your letter of September 3rd. As you will note from the enclosed card, I am delighted to be on the Citizens Committee for James McNamara for City Council.

I am turning your letter and the Village Voice article over to our Northeast Regional Director, Miss Joyce Ware, with the recommendation for endorsement by the chapters in New York. I am sure you will be hearing from her when the chapters have made a decision.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:mm
Enclosure

UNITED HATTERS, CAP AND MILLINERY WORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
345 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016
Telephone, MUrray Hill 3-5280

ALEX ROSE, President

September 3, 1965

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I have a double purpose in writing you:

1. I would like to represent you, a resident of the Lower East Side, in the City Council and would be very grateful if you would consent to the placing of your name on the Citizens Committee for James McNamara for City Council.

2. I would be very proud to have the official endorsement of the CORE organization.

Enclosed you will please find a recent article from the Village Voice concerning my candidacy.

With all good wishes, I am

Fraternally yours,

James F. McNamara

James F. McNamara, Manager
Novelty Hat Workers Union
Local 102

Enc.
JFMcN:EG

file - Politics NYC

September 14, 1965

Dear Jim:

Thank you so very much for all the hours you spent using that wonderful voice of yours for the Ryan ticket. I am, of course, particularly grateful for the gracious things you had to say about me.

As soon as I have recovered from the cost of these days, I shall send you a small check for CORE. Please thank all of your workers who helped throughout the city.

Gratefully yours,

Anna

Anna Arnold Hedgeman

politics, NYC

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

MEMORANDUM FROM

JOHN V. LINDSAY
17TH DISTRICT, NEW YORK

SEP 17 1965

9/17/65

Dear Mr. Farmer

I have sent the attached telegram to the leaders of the House of Representatives.

John V. Lindsay

BOOK TELEGRAM TO THE FOLLOWING:

The Hon. John W. McCormack
House of Representatives
Washington 25, D.C.

The Hon. Omar Burleson
House of Representatives
Washington,25, D. C.

The Hon. Carl Albert
House of Representatives
Washington 25, D.C.

The Hon. Augustus F. Hawkins
House of Representatives
Washington,25, D. C.

The Hon. Gerald Ford
House of Representatives
Washington,25, D. C.

I AM SHOCKED AT THE BLANKET ACCEPTANCE BY THE COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATION OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MISSISSIPPI ELECTION PROCEDURES AND LACK OF INVESTIGATION OF CHARGES BROUGHT BY PEOPLE OF MISSISSIPPI. I HOPE YOU WILL URGE ALL MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES TO VOTE ON THE FLOOR OF THE HOUSE TOMORROW AGAINST DISMISSAL OF THE MISSISSIPPI CHALLENGE AND SUPPORT THE HAWKINS RESOLUTION FOR FULL AND OPEN HEARING.

JOHN V. LINDSAY, MEMBER OF CONGRES
17th DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

SEP 27 1965

THE CITY OF NEW YORK
PRESIDENT OF THE BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN
MUNICIPAL BUILDING, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY
PRESIDENT

WILLIAM T. ROSE
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

September 24, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
C O R E
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Farmer:

I thought you might be interested in reading the attachment which speaks for itself.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

William T. Rose

WILLIAM T. ROSE

Att.

politics NYC

Statement by Hon. Constance Baker Motley, Borough President of Manhattan, on Proposal before the Board of Estimate for an Industrial Park on the Brooklyn Flatlands Site. September 24, 1965.

The time has come for the City of New York to fullfill its ten year old commitment to implement the spirit of the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the School Desegregation Cases of 1954. A decade of procrastination, conferences, resolutions, promises and school boycotts appears to have come to an end. The educational advancement of our city demands it; the social tranquility of our community requires it.

One of the most pressing needs of our city has been to undo the psychological and educational harm resulting to our children from an increasingly segregated school system. The Board of Education cannot get on with the business of providing quality integrated education to which we are all committed if, year by year, the proportion of non-white and Puerto Rican children in our public school system increases. The flight of the Negro and white middle class public school population to the suburbs and to private and parochial schools will continue unabated unless affirmative action by government is now taken to reverse this trend.

At present, the public school population of New York City is approximately 50% non-white and Puerto Rican. A City Planning Commission projection shows that in 10 years, in the Boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx, the non-white and Puerto Rican ratio may be as high as 75%. In Manhattan it is already 73% in elementary schools and in 10 years may be higher than 80%.

There is little doubt in my mind that a high proportion of the white and Negro middle class has fled our school system because of the high proportion of non-white and Puerto Rican children in some schools and an accompanying decline in the quality and quantity of education afforded therein.

The hard question before us therefore is how to change this overwhelming fact of life. It has been suggested in the Allen report and other proposals that this devastating fact may be altered by the development of educational parks in carefully selected areas. The Board of Education has notified this body that it is willing to try this proposal for achieving integration on the Brooklyn Flatlands Site which is now before us for approval as a site for an industrial park.

Short of complete integration in housing, there currently appears to be no other promising alternative. I am unalterably committed to integrated public education. Because of this commitment, I find myself willing to try any reasonable proposal. The Board of Education has decided that "the concept of an educational park is worthy of experimentation." The Board has asked us to consider the Flatlands site as a location for this experimentation in considering today the resolution that the site be devoted to industrial development. Of several other proposed sites, the Flatlands site is the most desirable for an educational park because of its size. It would afford not only an opportunity for integrated schools but an exceptional opportunity for assembling in one educational complex the best available educational tools.

The next generation must be fully equipped to secure the jobs which are available. The decline in manufacturing jobs in New York City and the corresponding increase in service and commercial employment would seem to require, at this juncture, a reexamination of the question of the desirability of developing industrial parks within this increasingly commercial and service oriented City in the next decade.

The needs of factories in New York deserve consideration. But so do the needs of children. I cannot approve the allocation of this entire site, a vast bloc of the city's most precious resource - open land - without any provision for meeting the equally important problem of how to provide quality integrated education.

To the thousands of boys and girls in the ghettoes of Bedford Stuyvesant and Brownsville, the plan for an industrial park offers nothing. To a number of adults, who may commute from their suburban homes in segregated areas, this plan offers city-subsidized jobs.

I do not oppose jobs, but when a plan is proposed to provide these jobs that would also permanently preclude the breaking of racial barriers that divide children, that price is too high to pay.

It will not be my vote on the Board of Estimate which locks the door to the ghetto and throws away the key. I vote no.

Politics NYC

123

THE CITY OF NEW YORK
OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN
MUNICIPAL BUILDING, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10007

CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY
PRESIDENT

OCT 7 1965

October 1, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
C O R E
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I send you for your information copies of an address I made on September 29th before the first Borough President's Conference of Community Leaders.

The program embodied in this statement for the revitalization of Harlem and East Harlem was unanimously approved by approximately 100 Community Planning Board members, elected officials, clergymen and others who previously had demonstrated their interest in the physical rehabilitation of both communities.

All city-wide candidates have been asked for a pre-election commitment that the new city administration will implement this program.

I will be glad to discuss this program with you if you so desire. Meanwhile, I respectfully request your sympathetic consideration and support.

Sincerely,

Constance Baker Motley

CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY

Enc.

Address by Manhattan Borough President
Constance Baker Motley at First Borough
President's Conference of Community
Leaders, Sept. 29, 1965 at City Hall.

I am delighted to greet this distinguished group attending the first Borough President's Conference of Community Leaders.

The fact that so many of you arranged your schedules so that you could attend, on relatively short notice, is a mark of your deep interest in the revitalization of Harlem and East Harlem so that they become, once again, integrated neighborhoods fully in the mainstream of the Borough of Manhattan. I welcome your attendance and I cherish your interest.

The purpose of this conference is to bring together those persons who previously have demonstrated, by concrete proposals, concern for upgrading the Harlem and East Harlem communities in order that there may be developed, for adoption by the new City administration, broad-based foundation prerequisites which will serve to support all proposals for the physical improvement of Harlem and East Harlem in the next decade.

I have been deeply impressed by the number and the effectiveness of public spirited citizens who are dedicating their minds, their hearts and their energies to the resurrection of Harlem and East Harlem. Their imagination, their thinking, their appearances before public agencies and their molding of public opinion are absolute antecedents for action. They constitute as fine an example of citizenship in action for the benefit of Harlem, East Harlem and the Borough of Manhattan that I know.

But the task of rehabilitating Harlem and East Harlem is so formidable that private efforts alone, skillful though they are, can not advance these dreams to the brick and mortar stage.

Consequently, I asked you to come here to listen to proposals designed to bring the fullest governmental assistance to bear on the task of

making these dreams a reality in our time, so that we will not bequeath to our children and our children's children the ghetto Harlem and East Harlem that plague our generation.

I appeal to you for your whole-hearted support for these framework proposals which I am about to make. I appeal to you for your support for these shelter proposals even though we may not see eye to eye on all the details necessarily associated with the rejuvenation of Harlem and East Harlem. I appeal to you for this basic unanimity of thought for the sole purpose of giving effect to the aspirations of the 500,000 residents of Harlem and East Harlem for a most elementary benefit.....a decent community in which to live and to rear our children.

I make this appeal knowing full well the present city administration during its tenure in office has built in Harlem and East Harlem 26 new schools seating 24,000 pupils at a cost of $51,000,000; that public housing with apartments for an estimated 84,000 persons.....have been built or are under construction in East Harlem and Harlem at a cost of $333,000,000; that 10,305 units of middle income housing are in being or under planning or construction; that the $50,000,000 Harlem Hospital will be one of the most modern institutions of its kind in the world; and that many other specific projects are in process of development.

I agree that these efforts are commendable. But I say that these programs represent mere spinning of wheels without forward traction. And I say that, with the present rate of progress, Harlem and East Harlem will remain, for many decades, slum ghettos, with blocks of rat-ridden fire trap tenements, with a dearth of community facilities. Without the concensus we now seek, Harlem and East Harlem will remain for many years drab islands of decay which, in effect, are walled off from the rest of Manhattan.

You know and I know that what the people of Harlem and East Harlem

want are communities that are open to the winds of change and progress and hope which are now blowing across the country as President Johnson leads the way to the Great Society. The people of Harlem and East Harlem want communities where people live by choice not by compulsion. Freedom of residence has now been established in law. It must now be secured in fact. Not only must the people of Harlem and East Harlem be free to exercise their right to freedom of residence outside of Harlem and East Harlem, but they must now be free to live in Harlem and East Harlem because they have been given a meaningful compulsion free choice in a community equal in status and dignity to any other Manhattan community.

To achieve this goal, I say we need a sharp break with the status quo. We must dispense with business as usual methods. We must employ imagination and vision, and embark on an exploration of new horizons in search of the goal that unites us today.

Much of this imagination and vision has been demonstrated by the old as well as the newly emerging community leaders and their respective associates. By hours of toil and brainwork which I can not begin to calculate, they have helped articulate the desires of hundreds of thousands of our citizens for a better Harlem and East Harlem. And I must not forget Community Planning Boards 9, 10, and 11, the efforts of which have done so much already to educate and develop a broad community consensus about the future of Harlem and East Harlem.

I say that all these efforts represent a treasure of planning in behalf of the city. I feel the city should meet this remarkable demonstration of citizen cooperation with government halfway. Therefore, I place before you a program designed to bring about a broad attack on a problem that will not yield to piece meal approach.

Under this program, the new city administrations would do these things:

1. Commence the immediate development of a master plan for the revitali-

zation of the Harlem and East Harlem Community (110th Street to 155th Street, river to river) taking cognizance of those improvements already underway, and develop to the maximum the residential, recreational, cultural and economic potential of the area.

2. Immediately assign the necessary full-time personnel under the supervision of the City Planning Commission for the development of this master plan in consultation with community representatives.

3. Actively support legislation for a special appropriation of money by the Congress to carry out the development of such a master plan on a demonstration basis

4. Locate new public buildings in Harlem and East Harlem on a scale sufficient to stimulate redevelopment in the vicinity of such new buildings.

5. Construct new housing in Manhattan over highways, roadways, railroad tracks and new low rise public buildings in which families can be relocated until new housing is provided in their former locations which will permit them, if they wish to return to their former communities.

6. Ensure that maximum opportunity will be provided under the master plan to enable local residents to invest in new businesses, new housing, and new facilities resulting from the plan.

7. Expedite the processing of all current proposals for improving the physical environment of the Harlem community.

I realize that once these proposals have been adopted by this representative body, securing advance commitments from all of the city-wide candidates represents bold new political action for some of you. But in my judgment any other approach would be naive. The future must be committed to a specific course of action today if there is to be any hope for tomorrow in the Harlem and East Harlem we know. Therefore, out of this meeting today must come proposals for securing the necessary commitments. My proposal would be to address a letter

to each city wide candidate setting forth the foregoing proposals for action by the new city administration and requesting a reply to the chairman of each of the three Community Planning Boards involved, i.e Community Planning Boards 9, 10, and 11 so that the Harlem and East Harlem Communities will know in advance of the election what to expect of the future.

I realize that once the master plan is drawn, vast resources will be required to implement it. All available tools must be marshalled to make the plan effective. You will recall that I described this meeting as the first Borough President's Conference of Community Leaders. Other such conferences will be called to cope with new problems as they arise. We cannot today discuss the specifics of any proposals for new housing or other facilities. Our primary responsibility is to provide an umbrella for all proposals, to provide traction for the spinning wheels now.

Politics
NY

October 28, 1965

Mr. Edwin Chin-Shong
562 West 174th Street
Apartment 64
New York, New York 10033

Dear Mr. Chin-Shong:

Thank you for your letter of October 1st, addressed to Mr. Farmer, that has been referred to me for reply.

As you probably now know, Mr. Farmer has announced his preference for Lindsay over Beame in the mayoralty race. Altough Mr. Farmer has given Mr. Lindsay his personal support, CORE as an organization voted not to endorse any candidate.

I am enclosing a news release regarding Mr. Farmer's participation in a rally for Lindsay on October 29th.

Many thanks for your interest and for taking the time to write to us on this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Stedmann
Administrative Department

OCT 4 1965

562 West 174 St Ap 64
New York 33 NY.
1 October 1965

Mr James Farmer,

I am a student of sociology and political science, and only recently have been free enough from studies to become involved in other activities. I have just joined New York Core on 125th st. I have been thinking about the coming mayoralty election and trying to come to some conclusion. Doubtless you may already have considered what I am about to say, but I feel I should write anyway.

The outcome of the election teeters in the balance. It is up to the Negro voter to act in a way that will do him the most good. At present, Lindsay is less secure, and likely to be more willing to bargain for support.

At this moment, it seems to me that a crucial need of the Negro community is enforcement of the fair employment laws. And which candidate is more likely to press for this?

The entrenched unions supporting the democratic party are the ones who are most resistant to enforcement of the laws. Beame is dependent on the democratic party, and a policy of enforcement puts him squarelyin a position of conflict of interest. This is an issue on which he is bound to hedge.

Lindsay on the other hand, has long ago made his pile; and his social position is secure. His independence is shown in his willingness to go against the very party of which he is a member. It seems clear to me that his major motivations are pride and self-esteem, and the material rewards of office are hardly his aim.

It seems clear to me that Lindsay is more amenable to appeals of humanity and justice, which the fair employment laws represent. Lindsay owes the unions nothing, and it would be even to his republican interest to unsettle them and destroy their unity. Lindsay has nothing to lose, and all to gain by enforcing the law.

It strikes me that Core can do a tremendous lot for the employed and the unemployed Negro if, in exchange for the support of the Negro community, Lindsay will appoint persons, whom Core has chosen, to fill key posts in control of law enforcement and government contracts.

In any case, Core cannot back Beame on the chance that he might win. Core represents reform, and that would be to sell out all that Core stands for. Beame represents the old Board of Estimates, conservative spending, and hardly anything that benefits human equality and public welfare.

If the Negro community is unified, it carries the crucial vote in this election. In the history of New York City since 1900, three mayors have had the independence to buck the Board of Estimates and to do a worthwhile job in the public interest. These were Low, Mitchel and La Guardia. All were Republicans, elected on a Fusion ticket with liberal and reform support. These people could do it because they were free of the ties which a democratic mayor would have to the party machine. Lindsay now occupies this same potentially strategic position.

Sincerely Yours.

Edwin Chin-Shong.

Hilley

COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF GREATER NEW YORK

225 Park Avenue South • New York, N. Y. 10003 • Telephone: SPring 7-5000

October 28, 1965.

MEMO

To: Executives of Agencies and
Presidents of Boards

From: James W. Fogarty, Executive Director

Please find attached a transcript of the Lindsay-Beame discussion of health and welfare issues at Town Hall on Oct. 21st, and our 40th Anniversary program folder which contains the Town Hall program.

You will note in the transcript a number of commitments by the candidates to achieve certain goals of interest to our field.

Additional copies of this transcript and the 40th Anniversary program folder may be requested. We would particularly like to draw this to the attention of board members of agencies..

May I also draw your attention to the fact that on Friday, Oct. 22nd, Mr. David Sher sent a communication to candidates for all public offices on the Nov. 2 ballot, in all five boroughs (except for judgeships), enclosing to them 35 questions on health and welfare issues including those raised on the floor at Town Hall, those posed by the panel to the candidates and other questions suggested by agencies for which there wasn't enough time. Mr. Sher invited all the candidates to state their positions on these issues at forums, radio and TV and other meetings in the remaining days of the campaign.

You will be interested to know that the Town Hall meeting was covered by all the major TV stations in New York, by four camera crews. From three to eight minutes of filmed news reports were made on Channels 2, 4, 5, 7 and 9 during the news periods on the evening of Oct. 21st, and some were carried also on Friday morning. With one or two exceptions, news reports on the meeting were broadcast by all the radio stations in New York. The Herald-Tribune featured the meeting on its front page, and the New York Times referred to it in its lead article on the Mayoralty campaign.

We were pleased with this attention to our concerns and trust that this will have a salutary effect on the next administration in all of its relations with the voluntary agencies and the Community Council.

(2 encl.)

Politics NYC

TRANSCRIPT November 1, 1965

Lindsay-Beame Debate
on
Health and Welfare Issues
at
Town Hall
Thursday, October 21, 1965 - 3 PM

Note: This transcript was taken from the tape produced by WNYC. It includes all except the last question posed by Mrs. Orr regarding representation of the poor in anti-poverty programs and the replies of the two candidates, which were unfortunately not broadcast.

Mr. David Sher

John Lindsay, Abraham Beame, we welcome you. You honor us by coming. Its no secret to either of you that one of you two is very likely to be the next Mayor of New York. But what you may not know is that one of you (and it will be the same man) will also be Honorary President of the Community Council of Greater New York, under whose auspices this debate is being held. I won't use the cliche about some one not needing any introduction, but I am going to say that it is a source of real satisfaction for me to turn over the gavel to our Moderator, and to introduce to this audience, Ben Grauer of NBC. (applause)

Mr. Ben Grauer

Thank you, Mr. Sher. Since we are fortunate to have both candidates with us before this audience of experts assembled by the Community Council I will waste as little time as possible and proceed directly to the discussion, which we are eager to have.

The ground rules are very simple. I must repeat them: there will be an opening statement; (there was a toss under the simplest of circumstances and Mr. Beame's headquarters won); then, the first question will be directed to Mr. Beame and thus the questions will be alternated - first to Mr. Beame and then to Mr. Lindsay by our panel, whom you have met. But I am happy to re-introduce them:

Mr. James Fogarty, executive director of the Community Council; Miss Barbara Yuncker, science writer of the New York Post; Mr. Woody Klein, reporter and columnist of the New York World-Telegram & Sun; Mr. Alfonso Narvaez, staff reporter of the New York Herald-Tribune and Mrs. Dorothy Orr, executive director of Bedford-Stuyvesant Youth in Action.

With your permission I will serve also as time keeper. Each of the candidates will have two minutes to respond to the questions and at the end of our hour, there will be two minutes for a closing statement and in the closing statement, again determined by toss of coin, Mr. Beame will speak first and Mr. Lindsay will have the closing word. These are the conditions and now I'm going to immediately call on Mr. Beame to make his opening statement. I'm happy to introduce Mr. Abraham Beame. (applause)

Mr. Beame

Thank you, thank you Mr. Grauer. I'm gratified to be given this opportunity to appear before you today. This meeting of the Community Council of Greater New York is evidence of the direct involvement of our citizens in the problems that affect the millions of their fellow citizens. Government must play a major role in the areas of health, welfare, and recreation, of course, but without community involvement, success cannot be achieved. New York has traditionally up-held its role as a city of opportunity and will continue to do so.

It has maintained the policy of open-doors to the oppressed and for those who are seeking a better and more productive way of life. That has been, and will continue to be, the strength of New York City.

Its problems are huge, but the successes it has achieved in helping our millions of citizens join hands in building for the future have also been huge. New York spends more than a billion dollars a year for health and welfare services. The budget for these vital services has been crippled over the past 15 years, and for a good reason. New York is proud of the way it is shaping the future by lending a helping hand to the poor and the underprivileged. History has proven that this is the right way, the moral way, and the only way.

Many of those who were poor and underprivileged in the past have now become citizens of the future and they are solid citizens and, thus, our continuing cycle of helping and building and making New York an even better place than it has been.

Health, welfare and recreation are national problems. We cannot close our eyes and hope that they will disappear. We don't want to because that is the democratic way of life and that is the reason for our strength today. And that is the reason I want New York to shine as a place of opportunity for all, regardless of past deprivance. This I am determined to achieve. Thank you. (applause)

Mr. Grauer

And now, Mr. Lindsay --- John Lindsay. (applause)

Mr. Lindsay

Mr. Grauer, Controller Beame, members of the panel, Board members and members of the Community Council of Greater New York. I'm delighted to have this chance to take on just one of my opponents at a time, and I'm delighted to talk about this problem in our city.

There is no area of greater concern, I think, to all of our people than the work in which you are engaged -- and your representative constituencies are engaged -- than has to do with social services, because we're talking about the health, education and welfare and very lives of our people. And I don't think that there is any area that has been more badly nit-picked to death over the past four to 20 years than this particular area, nor any area that has suffered so because of bad planning. In fact, the government in New York City hasn't even understood the importance of program planning.

It does little good to divide things up into cubby holes between departments and agencies if there's no conception of what the overall goal is.(applause) And unless we get started on a program -- until we get started on a program of long-range planning on programs which may cut across the whole multitude of agencies and sub-agencies and departments -- we won't get the job done, anymore than we can get it done unless we make selections of persons to run these, and guide them, and program them purely on the basis of qualification, talent and skill and not on the basis of Party... (applause)

Mr. Lindsay (cont.)

I have issued a number of papers that I hope members of this organization will look at -- all the way from social services and hospitals and parks and recreation, and so on -- each of which is detailed in scope. On welfare and poverty, most particularly, I would urge you to examine these papers and in the remaining time I assume we'll get into some of those programs in some detail.

The main thing is to get on with the job. Thank you. (applause).

Mr. Grauer

And now Mr. Beame. The first question will be addressed to Mr. Beame.

Mr. Fogarty

Mr. Beame, there has been considerable concern about the administration and operation of the Anti-Poverty program in NYC. What do you propose to do to strengthen the structure and operation of this program?

Mr. Beame

I have, during the course of the primary campaign, suggested that the poverty program has to be reorganized in order that we get an administration which is properly coordinated. I have suggested that the various activities -- the three areas now, the Anti-Poverty Board, the Council Against Poverty, as well as the Committee of 100 -- be brought together as a unit.

The Poverty program expends 75 million dollars or thereabouts, which is about the eighth largest expenditure in the City, and it seems incomprehensible to me that there would not be one unit, an agency or a department -- under the overall supervision of the Mayor and not under the overall supervision of any other elected official. And I would bring them together, headed by a qualified and highly experienced person in that area operating directly under the guidance of the Mayor.

Now, this does not mean that it is going to be put under the operation of City Hall anymore than it was before. Before, it was under the Council President where it does not belong. It's inconceivable that you would have, for example, two Boards of Education, one handling City funds and another handling Federal funds. The administration, in my judgment, must be brought together so that we can see where the money is going, what it's going for, and whether the programs are therefore being properly coordinated. And this does not in any way do away with the Committee of 100 which should continue to be in a statutory relationship to the head of the agency. (applause).

Mr. Grauer

Mr. Lindsay.

Mr. Lindsay

Ever since the poverty program came into being, (and came too late, because of the absence of real aggressive action in applying for Federal funds and knowing how to program it), it has been largely unrepresentative. I don't think that the City administration has any conception of what was intended by Congress when it enacted the poverty program. It intended that the program be completely separated, in all respects, from political control. This means that the power of decision and the burden of the administration and responsibility has to be on the shoulders of those people whom it is intended to benefit. That is the essence of self-help. I would abolish the NYC Economic Opportunity Committee. I would transfer its functions to the NYC Council Against Poverty, broaden the representation of the poor, make certain that there is cooperation and coordination between private agencies and public agencies -- which is not now the case -- make sure that there is proper evaluation -- which is not there now -- bringing

Mr. Lindsay (cont.)

in and using organizations, such as this organization right here, universities and other groups and institutions that have no axes to grind, put an end to the secrecy, and get the program moving forward. (applause).

Mr. Grauer

That first question was from Mr. Fogarty. The next question is directed to Mr. Lindsay by Miss Barbara Yuncker.

Miss Barbara Yuncker

I'll direct my first health question into the area of poverty, which we've just been hearing your views on. It's conceded that there is high cost of illness in the poor and poverty sections of the City. One of the greater problems is the lack of contraceptive information, of making it readily available. Would you, as Mayor, favor the active dissemination by the Welfare and Hospital Departments of birth control information to all persons who wish to avail themselves of it, married or not, and if not, what would your policy be?

Mr. Lindsay

I'm so glad you asked that question. (laughter)

Mr. Grauer

We will count that comment as non-responsive and not in your time limit, Mr. Lindsay. Go ahead.

Mr. Lindsay

You're going to keep me ,as Mayor, and my staff very busy indeed, in this City. I want to say to you that I take the same position that the U.S. Government -- of which I've been a part for 9 years -- takes, and which took it under the leadership of President Kennedy, when it was decided by the government that in any area of Federal involvement where this question pertained, particularly in overseas work, the foreign aid program but also domestically, that the U.S. would not stand in the way and that when technical assistance was asked for under various U.S. programs abroad, particularly in countries like India, technical assistance and advice and guidance was asked for on a voluntary basis, the U.S. would be glad to cooperate. And I take the same view with respect to the City of N.Y. It seems to me that when family guidance services are requested, or medical assistance is asked, in these areas where the City of N.Y. has a direct involvement and the responsibility for the welfare of the people, that the City ought to respond. And it seems to me that this is also consistent with the best teachings of advanced thought on this subject today, and that's my thinking also. (applause)

Mr. Grauer

Mr. Beame.

Mr. Beame

I endorse the position which the City has established through the Dept. of Hospitals in the past, of giving this assistance when asked for.

Mr. Grauer

I'd like to remind our candidates that if there is available time, it can be used for rebuttal elsewhere. Mr. Klein has the next question which he will direct to Mr. Beame.

Mr. Klein

Mr. Beame, New York City taxpayers today contribute more than half a billion dollars for welfare programs in NYC, and yet as Welfare Commissioner Dumpson--who is in our audience today -- has said many times, these allotments to welfare clients are below the poverty line, which is about $3,000 a year. The question is, do you think that the welfare allotments ought to be increased, and if so, would this mean a greater load on the taxpayers, or would you consider putting some welfare clients to work?

Mr. Beame

I would agree to the first part, that it should be increased and I think these additional funds will be available come January 1 in the amendment of the social security law which will make more money available to the City for these cases and that this money should be used to increase the allotments to the welfare clients. I believe the -- I'm not sure of the figure but it might be about $3 a month per case or a week per case, I forget what it is -- but whatever the funds are, it should be used for that purpose. (applause)

Mr. Grauer

Mr. Lindsay

Mr. Lindsay

I believe very strongly that income levels have to be adequate for decent living, and the cost of living ought to be one of the chief factors that one takes into account in discovering what those income levels ought to be. I believe that there are other aspects of this, however, which directly relate to the question that's asked. The means test for the simple amenities of life seems to me utterly ridiculous and degrading and ought to be (applause) reformed and reorganized completely. There are other aspects too of means where cut-offs apply which act as, I think, as a counter-productive force in reducing incentive. There are other aspects that have to be examined too in respect of families where there is a husband but he is not living with the family or with the wife. That aspect will have to be reexamined also. So, it seems to me that we have to be more realistic than we are about welfare, about its use, about the means test, and about the income level. (applause)

Mr. Grauer

Our next question comes from Mr. Narvaez and it is directed to Mr. Lindsay.

Mr. Narvaez

One of the basic issues -- well one of the basic problems -- in NY is the shortage of low and middle income housing. How do you propose to cope with this and how will you finance it if Proposition #2 is turned down by the voters?

Mr. Lindsay

Well, my program and the goal is, in a four year period, to erect 100,000 low income units and 60,000 middle income houses. That would be three times the number of low and middle income units that have been built in this City in the best 4 year period of the last 12 years. Within the first six months, I will direct the Housing Authority to submit plans for 50,000 new low-rent apartments over a 4 year period. I will utilize all the provisions of the new powers granted by the U.S. Government, particularly this year, in the new Housing and Urban Redevelopment Act; urge that NY be declared a pilot project in Washington for a new rehabilitation program on housing, establish a City mortgage guarantee fund to enable the private sector to get going in this area and to aid slum areas in particular. Now between all three of these areas, properly backed up mortgage systems for the private sector, new

State aid--and I support the Propositions on the ballot this year for constitutional changes for bond issues--and full energy on the use of new Federal funds to which we have not been directing our attention over the past 10 years, we will be able to finance 160,000 new units in that space of time - four years. (applause)

Mr. Beame

I certainly don't share anybody's pessimism that the Propositions on the ballot will not be adopted. I'm confident that they will be, and the funds will be available. I also have stated in my position papers, during the last several months, that I would call for a change in the law so that the four billion -- or that portion of it permissable -- City housing funds can be used with much greater flexibility to aid housing, and rehabilitation of housing. I would also urge that the Mitchell Lama funds be expanded, and also be able to cover rehabilitation loans, as well as new construction loans.

I would encourage much more of vest pocket projects throughout the City and with the revision -- I would press for -- of the building code, I would anticipate that the attraction to private builders would be greater because of the lesser cost of construction by using less expensive, but just as good, material and that this would then also reflect in the rentals.

I do want to make one observation -- since I had a little time on the other questions -- about Mr. Lindsay's observations about the means test. For years, I've been taking the State, and the Governor of this State, to task for having in the Kerr-Mills bill the means test which requires families of the aged to swear to a poverty role in order to be able to get this help. I have asked that it be taken off the books, because instead of getting about 40,000 people whom they expected to get on the roll, looking for the same help, only about a thousand have taken advantage because they did not want their children and grandchildren to be held financially responsible. At no time, have I heard him voice any opposition to that means test which was, by the way, incorporated in federal legislation, which he probably voted for. But at any rate, it certainly was something which never had been, as I can recall, expressed by my opponent in opposition to the action of the State. (applause)

Mr. Ben Grauer

Before we go to our next question -- and this would be a good time for the briefest interruption -- I want to make it clear that the time is not to be banked if not used on a question to be later used. Otherwise, it would put a distressing arithmetic problem on this table, which we couldn't handle. And also friends, your applause is taken away from the speakers' time, not between the comments, but during the comments. Very well, shall we continue then and the next question is from Mrs. Orr. This fifth question is presented to Mr. Beame.

Mrs. Dorothy Orr

Mr. Beame, the entirety of New York City is concerned about the question of school integration. Would you tell us your thinking and give us some idea as to what your plans for leadership will be to expedite this process?

Mr. Abraham Beame

Of course, I think everybody would agree and all parents would agree that City Hall should not control educational policies. On the other hand, I think it is correct that City Hall should speak up when necessary in connection with any educational policies. I would very strongly do everything in my power to see, whether it's through financial aid or through any influence I might be able to exert in terms of public expression, that the major provisions of the Allen Report are implemented. And although I believe that some of this has already begun with the Donovan report, or the Donovan action, I think that there must be a stepped-up activity to have it put into effect more quickly than what it appears from the present plans.

I think there should be a much more current and consistent and continuous zoning or rezoning activity in terms of our school districts. And, of course, in terms of having the best kind of education which normally would lead to voluntary integration of our schools, parents normally would not be reticent about sending their children there, to any of them. I would urge very strongly that the better type teachers -- the more experienced teachers -- be sent in to the disadvantaged areas where new teachers find it very difficult to cope with the problem. I think this can be worked out satisfactorily with both the teacher groups and the Board of Education. (applause)

Mr. Ben Grauer

Mr. Lindsay, on that same question -

Mr. John Lindsay

Well, the goal is integrated and quality education and that ultimately must be the course of action that is pursued by the Board of Education. The Mayor's got to start, for once in this City, by taking a leadership role on the question. I recognize the independence of the Board, but the Mayor also has specific powers; he's got budgetary powers; he's got site selection powers; and he's got powers of appointment of the Board of Education itself and of removal. So, the Mayor had better get out in front on this question and when the Board is doing the right thing, he'd better not keep silent, as has the current administration, of which Mr. Beame is part and parcel, but better start talking and use radio and television to boot. (applause)

I think we ought to start building some majestic school parks and complexes right away. It doesn't do any good to continue to chase the population around the way the Board of Education has sought to do. It's done so quite courageously and it's tried to change zoning laws and all the rest of it and zoning lines between high schools in order to create a necessary balance between races and between economic groupings. But it's been virtually impossible in many areas and they're frought with frustration. This is the best argument that I know of for creating good school parks and complexes in key areas of the City, using the edges of the ghetto areas most especially, and outside, as the sites for the selection of these areas.

It seems to me terribly important that the Commission on Human Rights here has got to cut across the Board and be upgraded and have powers and have staff.

It seems to me that the Planning Commission has to come into this and most importantly on housing and on the correction of housing evils in this town and on jobs. It all ties into the problem of education in schools and I believe that in the future our housing plans and programs must be done with a view and a guide towards education, as well as a balance of geographical factor in creating integration, economically and racially, in this, our town.

On the question of Medicare that Mr. Beame raised a moment ago, I voted for Medicare. I was one of the first to introduce the Social Security Medicare approach in the Congress. And I was one who received a pen from the President. But I did not see Mr. Beame in Washington once, or even a letter from him, urging Medicare in this country. (applause)

Mr. Ben Grauer

Now Mr. Lindsay, the next question is directed to you from Mr. Fogarty.

Mr. James W. Fogarty

Mr. Lindsay, what do you propose to do about attracting and holding competent professional staff in the City departments as recommended in the Brookings Institute Report, and especially social workers in the Department of Welfare, Health and Hospitals?

Mr. John Lindsay

Well, the Brookings Institute study with which I'm familiar -- and it was a good study -- remains stuck in somebody's bureau draw in this town. I think that this is one of the key problems that we have in the future. There is no guarantee at all, if the opposition comes in -- that is, the machine opposition comes in -- that we won't have this City staffed from top to bottom with district leaders and political clubhouse people who have no qualifications to run this city.

I continue to ask Mr. Beame to answer the question as to whether or not it is not a flat conflict of interest for any person who's a district leader in the political machinery of this town to hold public office in the City at the same time. There's a built-in conflict there and I say that any person who is a district leader has got to get out of that job, one or the other. (applause)

This City must attract to it people with qualification and skills and talent and it must do it on the basis of non-partisanship. There can be no party labels and I will not ask the question ever as to what party a person belongs to. The only question is, is he the most qualified person for the job and is that commitment to get the City moving forward again, in each of these areas of social services, a full time commitment. In all of these areas there can be no connection with the political machinery of this City. (applause)

Mr. Ben Grauer

And now, Mr. Beame.

Mr. Abraham Beame

After that political speech, I don't know what I should say. First, I'm going to take a moment to say that Mr. Lindsay still didn't answer my question on why he didn't speak out against the State's provision for the inclusion of a means test. He has a habit of always not answering the question by moving off to something else. And this is what he's done with this question.

The question, as I gather, is what are we going to do to try to carry out the provisions of the recommendations of the Brookings Institute report? I have, over the years, been very close to this question of salaries, benefits and keeping wages in line with State, Federal and other areas of employment, including of course, the business area. I have already agreed that we must up-date the career and pay plan so that the salaries there are realistic; that we must provide the proper conditions and the equal conditions of employment and pay for simllar work -- not only qualifications, but work. We do have, for example, certain types of qualifications required in jobs; yet they're paid different salaries because of the fact -- rather, paid the same, but the work in one may be more difficult than the other, and that has to be taken into account. So, I would adhere very strongly to keeping our pay scale and our conditions current. I have said this so many times, it's no point repeating it, because it's self-serving: I will appoint only on merit and qualification. (applause)

Mr. Grauer

Miss Yuncker, your question is directed to Mr. Beame.

Miss Barbara Yuncker

It's actually directed both to Mr. Beame and Mr. Lindsay because there are points Mr. Lindsay has been attacking about our hospital system quite strongly.

We spend nearly $400 million a year on health and hospitals. We have admittedly had about as classy and top-flight a commissioner as can be found in the country. And yet we have an obsolete plant, inadequate supplies and a paltry number of nurses. I know when Mr. Beame was budget director and had to find the money, he was very reluctant to put in some of the reforms because he didn't know where he was going to get the dough. I'd like to know from him if he thinks he's going to have to retrench? And I would like to know from Mr. Lindsay how he thinks he can get better leadership than we've had? (applause)

Mr. Grauer

Mr. Beame first.

Mr. Beame

It would be a wonderful thing if for all our services we could give everything that the departments ask. Apparently, I've been criticized, by my opponent, because I haven't given the Hospital Department everything asked for. And if we have to give all of the city agencies everything requested, a printing press wouldn't be enough, and you taxpayers would, of course, feel it. So, we have to use some kind of measure of balance.

In the years that I've been budget director and Controller, the appropriations to the Department of Hospitals has increased from $36 million to $269 million. I started the recommendations for affiliation back when I was budget director. We have continued to the point where we now have most all of our hospitals affiliated with medical schools and with voluntary institutions to get the best kind of medical services at a cost of about $56 million.

We are continuously improving our physical plant. We know about the $85 million Bellevue hospital construction, the $50 million Harlem hospital and others. We are going to continue to improve the services, not only in our hospitals, but in all the other vital areas of our City. (applause)

What I can't understand is how Mr. Lindsay is going to cut $300 million from the budget. And just for his information, there are only eight areas that carry 90¢ of every dollar. And if he wants to cut another $300 million, he's going to have to cut out 69 departments, including the office of Mayor he's running for, Controller -- 69 departments, because for all other services but these eight, for all others, we spend only $293M and he wants to cut $300M. (applause)

Mr. Grauer

Mr. Lindsay -

Mr. Lindsay

Mr. Beame, if you cut out the jobs of the district leaders who have tough jobs, in the City administration, (at the present time of which you're a part,) you'll save a million dollars right there -- (applause) because that's what the figure is! And I'm waiting for an answer on that question.

Second, the Commissioner of Hospitals, and other people in this City, didn't ask you, Mr. Beame, for everything that they wanted for hospitals. They asked for just enough to cut out the cockroaches, to cut out the rats and the mice, to supply some towels, to supply some bandages -- so the nurses could have some gauze bandages to use -- and so those patients who were not being taken care of at all at night would have some mosquito netting around them, and so that just ordinary decency and dignity, as a minimum, would be provided in our hospitals. (applause)

Commissioner Trussell asked you for $9 million, and you refused to give it to him for minimum supplies. Even Mayor Wagner came to the rescue two or three times. He had to veto you and your office, in order to provide just the most basic minimum services. There are 21 City hospitals and 50% of them are a disgrace to the City and the nation. I say that if you're asking for a promotion now from where you've been, this is equivalent to the treasurer of the company, which has brought the company to bankruptcy, asking to be made chairman of the board. That's why I argue it's time for a change. (applause)

Now these hospitals have to be upgraded and they've got to be upgraded fast. They've got to be cleaned-up, swept out, and nurses have to be provided. The nurses won't come now because they don't dare go to the hospitals because there's no security and simple protection for them.

And we must decentralize some of these hospitals so they're community centers in the neighborhood. You're costing the taxpayers money by having 75% of the people come into emergency wards who wouldn't have to come into emergency wards if there were a local facility in their own neighborhoods where they could have their problem taken care of. We don't even have a telephone service that will tell a person in our town where to find a doctor and there are 154,000 doctors and most people don't know where to find one. (applause)

Mr. Grauer

And now a question from Woody Klein which is directed to Mr. Lindsay.

Mr. Woody Klein

Mr. Lindsay, violence in the streets of New York is on everybody's mind these days. The crime rate in our city has gone up steadily. What would you do, if elected Mayor, to make New York a safer place?

Mr. Lindsay

You're right, it has gone up 15% over the last year alone, 30% in the last ten years -- major crime has gone up. The double padlock is the symbol in New York City! People have pulled the shades down and gone into isolation. While the rest of the country moves forward, New York retreats.

Chicago had one of the major increasing crime rates in the country and Chicago reversed it in the space of three to four years simply by modernizing. I know, because we've sent teams there and we've brought people here in this campaign to tell us how they did it -- and from other cities too. They do it by modernizing-- by electronic equipment. They have a computerized center and each neighborhood has a series of patrol cars, usually with one driver instead of two, patrolling the area, and by push-button signals. From any citizen in the community a lightening flash comes, and in less than two minutes there's a patrol car response. The goal is to achieve such a feeling of police presence on the block continually-- bring the police force up-to-date, by adding 2,500 foot patrolmen, equip them with walkie talkies -- which other cities have done at night so the patrolman has a communication with the patrolman down the block. Experiment, as Miami has done, with the use of the telephone system to put in a red button in hallways, in corridors and on the corner of the street where the phone booth is. You push a button and the signal is flashed and the police come.

Relieve the police of paper work. Chicago saved $190,000 by consolidating one form alone. New York City police have 2,500 forms that they have to fuss with -- in quadruplicate -- and this problem of our police, being the least modern police in major cities, is utterly ridiculous, because we have the finest policemen in the country; they're the best. But let them be free to be modern. I suggest also that you might do something about advancing our police according to merit. Let's make sure that if a policeman is given an advance in promotion for giving blood to the Red Cross, that's good, but why not for getting some education and going to school, which they do not. I think training is needed and most of all I think we need the involvement of our people. If our people will stop turning their backs on their neighbors, that might help too. (applause)

Mr. Grauer

Mr. Beame

Mr. Beame

If I were going to talk only about the police part of this I would have to rest my case on Mr. Lindsay's statement, because it was a take-off on a statement I had issued the month before. And so I am sorry that I cannot elaborate on it. I made this statement, by the way, when Mr. Lindsay came out with his report exactly one month after I did, at a press conference, I said this. And you will find everything, everything he said, in there.

Now let me, however, talk about one thing which is not necessarily the Police Department alone and that is the cause of half our crime: narcotics addiction. I don't think we can lick crime in this City without licking narcotics addiction. (applause) I think we've got to develop a realistic plan for treating this. I think we have treated it wrongly; we've treated these narcotics as criminals, instead of as sick persons. (applause) I think the pushers have to be punished mandatorily by the courts. I think, too, that in treating these narcotics as sick people, we must administer the drug to them at specified places, under the proper medical care, with proper psychiatric care and guidance so as to bring to bear all the forces that can help -- so that we'll take the profit motive, the sinister one, out of it -- so that he doesn't have to go out and commit a crime in order to get the money to buy it. And so that this withdrawal will help reduce his desire for it.

When we have raids by the Federal Government, all it does is make drugs less and less available so the price is higher and it means the addicts have to commit not one crime, but two crimes. And so only by taking this profit motive out, can we do that. And I would also establish a Department of Narcotics, give it equal status with any other department and get the top man in the business to head it. I think these steps will help us to attack that problem. (applause)

Mr. Grauer

Mr. Narvaez has a question now for Mr. Beame.

Mr. Alphonso Narvaez

Both you and Mr. Lindsay have advocated Town Hall Centers in neighborhoods -- offices of the Mayor in various areas of the City. Just exactly how many would you place, where would you place them, and what services would these offices give, and what sort of problems will they handle?

Mr. Beame

I would set up local advisory -- community advisory -- councils in each of the twenty-five councilmanic districts. I would expect that the councilmen would sit as a member. The method of choice of the members would be determined later, whether it be by election or another type of selection. These councils would deal with all the problems in the neighborhood -- of the community -- services as well as physical facilities. The doors of our City departments would be open to them to solve most at the local level. Then the chairman of each of these I would expect to meet with the Mayor periodically -- at stated intervals -- monthly or more or less frequently, so that the Mayor could get at these problems before they become crises.

This, in my judgment, has been one of the problems of the administration in the last several years. It has been too far removed from the people. We've got to get a closer involvement with the people. The only way this can be done, is by having the Mayor sit with the representative of each of these communities in the city-wide audition and, in that way, I think that many of the priorities concerning these various communities would be made known quickly to the administration and action could be taken. Only by this method of involvement, can we really have responsive government on a Town Hall basis. (applause)

Note: (A tenth question about involvement of the poor from Mrs. Orr was not included in the WNYC transmission tape.)

Mr. Grauer

Now gentlemen, we've come to the time when we will call upon you both for your closing statements. We have allowed the same two minutes time we assigned in the opening and, by the toss of a coin, it is Mr. Beame who will make the first closing statement.

Mr. Beame

We have discussed many phases of the issues that are the deepest concern not only to the Community Council of Greater New York, but for all people. And I want, again, to tell you how grateful I am for the opportunity you've given me to express my views on the many areas of this concern.

I've tried to be specific in all my responses to your questions because I know we're in complete agreement that generalities, the context of so many political speeches and election-time programs, have never solved any problems.

With that in mind, I'd like to put before you certain specific measures which can be implemented without delay and which as Mayor, I will implement at the earliest possible moment. In the expansion of homemaking services, through the Welfare Department, I will call for increased aid to the elderly who, though their income is low, are not on the Welfare roll. This will be done through the purchase of homemaker services through established voluntary agencies.

I will see to it that increased federal aid is utilized to raise welfare grants to a higher level, as far above the poverty line as such funds will permit, and at the same time, the City will not reduce its share.

I will supplement federal funds earmarked for youth employment with City funds by expanding the Neighborhood Youth Corps. This is a wonderful program and should not have been cut off. (applause) To fulfill this program of training unemployed youth, I will call upon the services of the Community Council of Greater New York and other civic organizations.

I will enlist the aid of New York City's delegation in Congress and of Senator Kennedy to formulate legislation permitting the use of Medicare funds to finance the construction and modernization of hospitals outside of that limit. This will mean additional federal funds.

I will support action for a federal minimum wage at $1.75 an hour, which as we all know is a fundamental step toward strengthening family life because it will help men in our low income group again to become heads of their families.

These are my pledges, these are the steps, and there'll be many more as we go along for which I will be constantly seeking your help. Thank you. (applause)

Mr. Grauer

Mr. Lindsay

Mr. Lindsay

I close by saying that I'm running for Mayor because New York City needs a change and it needs a change from top to bottom. It needs independence, non-partisan and reformed government and it needs it badly. The alternative is more of the same.

Mr. Beame has been part and parcel of the administration which has been a lack-luster, do-nothing administration which has not moved forward while the rest of the country has moved forward. Over the last four years, out of 15,316 votes cast in the Board fo Estimate, Mr. Beame has voted against Mr. Wagner four times. Worse than that, the machine is now poised to take over -- there is no doubt about it. If you don't believe me, ask Mr. Beame to answer the question as to whether district leaders will take responsible roles in a new City government. If we have that kind of thing, we go back many years ago. We go back beyond the time when reform began to set into our City when Mr. Wagner began to fight for reform and for a separation of the political machinery of this town, from administration -- a cut-off of a do-nothing, reactionary, backward looking, inward-drawn, shades-down machinery.

Now, I say that New York City must call on the best talent and resources that it has. It's got to call on it from every part of the City -- and they're here -- and that power and that talent is ready to serve you if only they're asked and if only they are given the leadership to put them to work. Other cities have done it, why not New York? Other cities are moving forward in jobs, in education, in transportation and New York continues to lag behind.

The National Congress has been an action Congress. The Congress has created new tools and new instruments that we can use. Now it's time to put these tools to work in the streets of our City. If we don't put the tools to work in the streets of our City and call on the entire community with all of its power, resources and talent to do it, we will not be the new City of tomorrow, the Empire City that we deserve to be. Thank you. (applause)

Mr. Grauer

I'm sure I express the thanks of our audience to both Mr. Beame and to Mr. Lindsay for their fine participation today and for the very useful and informative discussion we've had. And now this is Ben Grauer, expressing my own personal pleasure in being part of this discussion and turning it over to your skilled and effective President, Mr. David Sher.

Mr. Sher

Thank you, Ben. Thank you John Lindsay and Abe Beame -- two good friends -- for a very stimulating debate. I'm sure that some of you feel informed, some provoked, some confused, some illuminated, some satisfied, but all happy that you were here. This is democracy with a small "d" at its best. Thank you.

Politics NY

November 4, 1965

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE Southern Regional Office
2209 Dryades Street
New Orleans, La. 70113
Phone: 523-7625

CORE ANNOUNCES POSITION ON MAYORALTY RACE

CORE (the Congress of Racial Equality) today announced its position on the mayoralty race: it is supporting no candidate. In its official statement, CORE said it searched the candidates' platforms "in vain" for concern about issues affecting Negroes.

Such issues, in CORE's view, are improving slum housing, expanding job opportunities for Negroes, and implementing NORD's policy of non-discrimination. CORE also stated that no candidate had an evaluation of the hurricane Betsy recovery program.

"Even more ominous," in CORE's opinion, was the attitude of the city fathers on the racial bombings earlier this year. CORE charges that the incidents were waved aside as "typical adolescent exuberance." "Is the mayor-to-be," CORE asks, "just another such handwaver?"

The statement, released by CORE's southern regional office here in New Orleans, concludes by saying that the candidates are following a tradition of local politics, that of promising the Negro nothing. CORE says it is prepared to protest "point by point every instance of such exclusion [of Negro interests]" during the term of the next mayor.

END.

# # #

November 3, 1965

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE Southern Regional Office
2209 Dryades Street
New Orleans, La. 70113

CORE STATEMENT ON NEW ORLEANS MAYORALTY RACE

There has been ample time to review the platforms of the mayoralty candidates. CORE has done this in the hope of finding some clue to the attitudes of the candidates toward New Orleans' Negro population.

We did this review carefully. We have learned that there is political concern about mosquito control; about better facilities for yachts in the municipal harbor; about keeping trucks out of the French Quarter; about building a cultural center.

We searched those platforms in vain for promise of help in improving or removing slum housing. Some two years ago an exhaustive survey showed New Orleans was one of the worst cities in the country on substandard housing. At no time since then, nor at present, has either candidate given us any hope that he feels it important to improve or remove this dilapidation.

We searched these platforms for hope of expanding job opportunities for Negroes. The Mayor's office administers fifteen principal departments which provide some 7000 jobs. Except for a small number of policemen, Negroes are almost totally excluded from these jobs. Nothing in either platform points to any change of policy in this regard, although both men speak expansively of "hiring the best qualified for any job."

We looked unsuccessfully for some concern about the New Orleans Recreation Department, for some concern about its stated policy of non-discrimination. We looked for an evaluation of the operation ostensibly designed to help those who suffered great losses from Hurricane Betsy. But the candidates have nothing to say on these matters.

Beyond these omissions there are still more ominous undercurrents in this city. Months ago there was a series of bombings in New Orleans. Most of the victims were Negroes. One bomb--by no means incidentally--was tossed in front of the CORE southern office. Judging from the arrests of three teenagers which followed, our city fathers felt this violence could be waved aside as "typical adolescent exuberance." CORE would like to know if the mayor-to-be, whoever he may be, is just another such handwaver.

During the past three weeks, racial violence has again erupted. Several Negro people have been shot, others stoned, one knifed. In most cases the victims or witnesses stated the crime was committed by some group of white youths. More handwaving?

This much can be said. The present candidates are solidly, stolidly following the tradition of New Orleans politics: they promise the Negro nothing so it is no surprise when he gets nothing during the next four years. CORE's role is to protest. We protest the exclusion in the present campaign of serious consideration for the Negro and his needs. We are prepared to protest, point by point, every instance of such exclusion during the incumbency of whichever candidate wins this election. We invite--we urge--New Orleans Negroes to observe and complain and protest with us.

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politics NYC

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2175 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
EXTENSION 4527

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MINORITY COUNSEL FOR EDUCATION AND LABOR
EXTENSION 3725
CHARLES W. RADCLIFFE,
SPECIAL EDUCATION COUNSEL FOR MINORITY
EXTENSION 3725

NOV 9 1965

November 8, 1965

Dear Jim:

I thought you would be interested in the enclosed press release which Adam put out today. I hope all is going well with you and let's keep in touch.

It looks like we've got a new political revolution going here.

Take care of yourself.

Cordially,

Chuck

C. SUMNER STONE, JR.
Special Assistant
to the Chairman

Mr. James Farmer, Executive Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

CSS/dh

Enclosure

PRESS RELEASE

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR
ADAM C. POWELL, N.Y., CHAIRMAN

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Monday, November 8, 1965

STATEMENT BY REP. ADAM CLAYTON POWELL OF THE 18th CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT (HARLEM, N. Y.) ON THE NEW YORK CITY MAYORALTY RACE.

I wish to extend my warmest congratulations to Congressman John Lindsay on his victory this past Tuesday and wish him well in the challenging days ahead. It has been my pleasure during his four terms in Congress to know and serve with him. Although we served on opposite sides of the aisle, we voted on the same side of the fence many times. I pledge to him as Congressman from Harlem and as Chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor my complete cooperation to solve the problems of our great city on a non-partisan and efficient basis.

-- The Negro Vote --

Secondly, I would wish to comment on the meaning of Tuesday's election. The Democrats lost the office of mayor. We lost not because Adam Powell failed to deliver the Negro vote or President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey, Senator Kennedy and the 17 other Democratic Congressmen of New York City failed to deliver the "white vote." To claim as did an irresponsible reporter wrote this week that I had promised to "deliver" the Negro vote is as vicious a canard as the post mortem absurdity that Abe Beame was unable to deliver the Jewish vote to himself.

Despite the fact that Republican Congressman Lindsay won election, the Negro vote nonetheless remained Democratic. What inroads he did make into the traditionally Democratic Negro vote were accomplished because he campaigned hard in Negro areas and convinced Negroes he really intended to do something about their shameful treatment in this city in employment, housing, education and hospital care.

We lost because we did not present a new and creative program to the people of New York City. The plain unhappy fact is that the Democratic Party here has become tired, lazy and fat from too much success. We need to go on a political diet of bold programs which can continue to capture the imagination and affection of all the people.

-- "Bossism" --

I wish I could lay claim to all of the extravagant power with which the press endowed me during and after this campaign. I was persistently labelled a "boss" -- that I was supposed to have guaranteed that I could "deliver" the Negro vote.

Let me state emphatically that nobody can deliver or promise the Negro vote. The only person who can deliver the Negro vote is that candidate who personally goes after it for himself and convinces black people that he will give them a square deal and lift them from the bottom of their wretched hopelessness.

I have never been a "boss" because the very concept is alien to my thinking. I have never built any political machine in Harlem, nor have I ever made any effort to keep votes in my hip pocket to be trotted out at some personal whim. When I endorsed Republican Eisenhower in 1956, the Negro vote remained in the Democratic column. When I endorsed Levitt for mayor in 1961, the Negro vote stayed with Bob Wagner.

Yet, last year, the Negroes of Harlem gave me 93,000 votes or 84.4 per cent of the total vote, the highest of my 21 years in Congress and the 7th highest of all contested Congressional elections. Pray tell, is that "bossism"? Where is my political machine? Am I a "boss" simply because black people vote for me?

It is an insult to Negroes to suggest to them that they have any boss whether he's black or white. Black people did not come through 100 years of oppression, degradation, tortures and murders from white bosses to suddenly trade in their freedom for black bosses.

And we will be free. We will be free to shift our votes -- as we should -- just as white people periodically shift their votes. And I hope that each time there is a major shift in political sentiment in this country, Negroes will go with the majority. In the past, unfortunately, this has not often happened. In 1932, a Democratic president, Roosevelt, swept the country. Negroes voted Republican. In 1952 and 1956, a Republican president, Eisenhower, swept the country. Negroes voted Democratic.

-- The Cleveland Election --

What happened in Cleveland last Tuesday should convince everybody that the Negro vote is no longer up for sale or can be purchased cheap with the siren songs of empty promises. The issue was clear in Cleveland -- a Negro believed his people had not been treated fairly by the current administration there, so he ran against it. He fought a clean and beautiful battle. As I wrote him earlier this week, Carl Stokes' so-called loss was in reality a great victory not only for Negroes, but for all Americans.

The Cleveland Call-Post should also be commended for its statesmanship in that campaign.

The Negro vote will not remain politically static out of any compulsive habit. And the Democratic Party must continue to earn the Negro's political fidelity. We have made our greatest economic and political achievements through the Democratic Party. I hope we are never taken for granted.

- 30 -

NOV 15 1965

THE ASSEMBLY
STATE OF NEW YORK
ALBANY

SEYMOUR POSNER
2ND DISTRICT
BRONX COUNTY
1220 MORRIS AVENUE
BRONX, N.Y. 10456

file

November 11, 1965

Dear Jim:

I want to thank CORE for endorsing me for re-election. It was a great victory, particularly in view of the fact that Parents + Citizens (Bronx affiliate of P.A.T.) singled me out for opposition and attack during my bitter primary campaign. (I must have been doing something right!)

Please continue to count on me - as in the past - to support the program and objectives of the Civil Rights Movement.

And, please, call on me whenever I can be of help.

Sincerely,
Sy Posner

Politics - NYC

OFFICE OF CHURCH AND RACE

THE PROTESTANT COUNCIL of the CITY of NEW YORK

475 Riverside Drive • Suite 456 • New York, N. Y. 10027 • RI 9-1214

DR. BENJAMIN F. PAYTON
Director

MEMBERS OF THE SECRETARIAT

The New York A.M.E. Ministers' Alliance

Baptist City Societies of N.Y. and Long Island

Baptist Ministers' Conf. of Greater N.Y. & Vicinity

The Diocese of New York Protestant Episcopal Church of the U.S.A.

New York City Mission Society

Metropolitan Association, N.Y. Conf., United Church of Christ

The N.Y. Society of the Methodist Church

Presbytery of New York City United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

November 12, 1965

NOV 15 1965

Mr. James Farmer
Northeastern Office-CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Dr. Anna Arnold Hedgeman and I were very impressed with your report on your meeting with Mayor Elect John Lindsay.

Cordially yours,

Benjamin F. Payton rsw

Benjamin F. Payton

BFP/rsw
enc.

PLANNING MEETING FOR METROPOLITAN NEW YORK

PRE-WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Place: Brotherhood-In-Action
Date: November 9, 1965

THEME: "ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FOR CIVIL RIGHTS"

Chairman: Dr. J. Oscar Lee, Secretary for Program Services
Christian Life and Mission, National Council of Churches

Call to Order.....Dr. J. Oscar Lee

Invocation.....Dr. Robert W. Spike
Executive Director
Commission on Religion and
Race, National Council of
Churches

Purpose of Meeting: "Why We Are Here".....Dr. Benjamin F. Payton
Director, Office of Church and
Race, Protestant Council of
the City of New York

Introduction of the Agenda Analyst.....Dr. James H. Sheldon, Chairman
Secretariat for the Office of
Church and Race, Protestant
Council of the City of New York

An Economic Analysis of a Civil Rights Agenda for America
.....Dr. Seymour Melman, Professor
of Industrial Engineering,
Columbia University

Dialogue.....Dr. Lee, Presiding

Resolutions of the Session

Appointment of Coordinating Committee for Spring Conference
.....Dr. Lee

Adjournment

RESOLUTIONS OF NEW YORK PRE-WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE PLANNING GROUP

November 9, 1965

The committee that laid the groundwork for this planning meeting gave considerable thought to the matter of what might be the most feasible kind of resolution to come out of this meeting. For your consideration, and perhaps adoption, the following recommendations are presented as a statement of our resolve: that we go on public record affirming our

1.) appreciation to President Johnson for the very able leadership he has provided in the struggle for racial justice in America, and our hope that the much needed initiative he is providing in the form of a White House Conference on Civil Rights will not be weakened or distorted by the very agenda of that Conference. It is our position that the question of "family stability" be stricken entirely from that agenda and be approached through an economic and urban analysis of needs in the critical areas of jobs, housing and quality integrated education. The analysis should deal with the extent to which Federal funds are being used to maintain segregation and other forms of discrimination in violation of Federal laws, and consideration of means for the protection of individual civil rights.

2.) that the 1966 Spring White House Conference on Civil Rights be viewed from the very outset not as a terminal conference, but as one point in a process, the high point of which will be a Conference in the Spring of 1967 which might be called a follow-up White House Conference. Expansion of the time-dimension in this way would allow sufficient scope within which to organize citizen participation, at all levels, in the process in local communities across the nation.

3.) that the major efforts in this whole process, bench-marked by the White House Conference, be devoted to the preparation of "An Economic Development Budget for Equal Rights in America;" one that establishes priority expenditures for jobs and job-training programs, housing, and slum rehabilitation, health and welfare facilities and institutional needs for creating quality integrated education. We resolve to take the lead by preparing such a budget for Metropolitan New York. Our minimum estimate of the public budget required annually to accomplish this task is 32 billion dollars.

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK CITY 27 • RI 9-1214
(NIGHT: RO 4-2541)

NEWS

THE PROTESTANT COUNCIL of the City of New York
the delegated agent of
Protestant Churches within Greater New York

PUBLIC RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
FAITH-ROCKAWAY

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION:
REV. JOHN F. FISLER, RI 9-1214
or
DR. BENJAMIN PAYTON, 469-0981

NEW YORK CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS CALL FOR
$32 BILLION ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

An economic development program for equal rights, costing the nation annually an estimated $32 billion, was declared "the essential next stage of the American movement for civil rights" by approximately 100 leaders of New York City civic, religious and civil rights organizations at a meeting today (Tuesday) regarding the 1966 White House Conference on Civil Rights.

A resolution adopted at the meeting said "that the major efforts in this whole process, bench-marked by the White House Conference, be devoted to the preparation of "An Economic Development Budget for Equal Rights in America;" one that establishes priority expenditures for jobs and job-training programs, housing and slun rehabilitation, health and welfare facilities and institutional needs for creating quality integrated education."

The meeting was convened by the Office of Church and Race of The Protestant Council in cooperation with the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches. Dr. Benjamin F. Payton of the Protestant Council office served as coordinator; Dr. J. Oscar Lee of the National Council of Churches was Chairman.

Adopted at the meeting also was a resolution to strengthen the agenda of the White House Conference. "It is our position," said the resolution, "that the question of 'family stability' be stricken entirely from that agenda and be approached through an economic and urban analysis of needs in the critical areas of jobs, housing and quality integrated education. The analysis should deal with the extent to which Federal funds are being used to maintain segregation and other forms of discrimination in violation of Federal laws."

A third resolution called for another White House Conference in 1967 as a follow-up to the one now being planned for June 1966.

The meeting, held at the Brotherhood in Action Building, had plans for a metropolitan New York pre-White House Conference on Civil Rights scheduled for April or

-- M O R E --

May, 1966, by appointing the following coordinating committee for this spring conference: the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Daniel Berrigan, Jesuit Fathers; Professor Albert Blaustein, School of Law, Rutgers University; Dr. Robert Browne, Professor of Economics, Fairleigh Dickinson University; Dr. Henry Clark, Union Theological Seminary; the Rev. Dr. Henri M. Deas, Pastor, Newman Memorial Methodist Church, Brooklyn; Dr. Dan Dodson, Professor of Sociology, New York University; the Rev. Dr. W. E. Gardner, President, Baptist Conference of Greater N. Y. and Vicinity; Dr. Anna Arnold Hedgeman. Commission on Religion and Race, National Council of Churches; the Rev. Dr. H. R. Hughes, Pastor, Bethel AME Church; Rabbi Edward Klein, The Free Synagogue; Dr. Charles Lawrence, Professor of Sociology, Brooklyn College; Dr. Charles Leber, Director of Urban Missions, Presbytery of New York; Dr. J. Oscar Lee, National Council of Churches; Dr. Seymour Melman, Professor of Industrial Engineering, Columbia University; Dr. Benjamin F. Payton, The Protestant Council.

Dr. Seymour Melman, Professor of Industrial Engineering of Columbia University, in a prepared address, spoke in support of the resolution calling for "An Economic Development Budget for Equal Rights in America." He explained the $32 billion figure was his estimate and that this budget "must include: job training for the under-trained and underemployed, with industrial cooperation for training and placement; general improvement of the entire educational system; new dwellings for 9 million American families; medical facilities upgraded and expanded."

Also addressing the meeting were Dr. Robert Spike, Executive Director, Commission on Religion and Race, National Council of Churches; William Ryan, Ph.D., Mental Health Consultant, Massachusetts Committee on Children and Youth, Boston, Massachursetts and Dr. Payton.

The Moynihan Report, "The Negro Family: A Case for National Action," has been sharply criticized by Dr. Payton and others in the New York area. Dr. Payton, in a paper analysing this report, asserted that it "is flawed by the simplistic logic which holds it together, the inadequate empirical evidence it utilizes, and the erroneous premises upon which it is based. Although it has not even been made public yet, the report has already had an impact upon the civil rights movement and upon more general American politics that is quite deadening and utterly misleading." The White House Study group planning the 1966 conference is alleged to have been influenced considerably by this report. A delegation from New York will convey the thinking of New York leaders regarding the agenda for the White House Conference at a planning session scheduled for November 17 - 19 in Washington, D. C.

- end -

Text of Resolution attached.

Politics NYC

Nov. 13, 1965

Dear Sir:

I have just read that you suggested to Mayor-elect Lindsay that a negro should be appointed to the office of Police Commissioner. I believe this is an excellent idea and you should definitely follow up on it. It is common knowledge with people that are familiar with this matter that negroes and other minority groups are the first ones to be mistreated and abused by "New Yorks Finest", while the present Comm. in many cases sits idly by and covers up for his men, instead of weeding out the rotten apples... Lots of luck and keep up the good work..

NOV 16 1965

Sincerely,

Walter Bergman

Walter Bergman
600W- 183 Str.
New York 33, N.Y.

Politics, NYC

SANE NEWS RELEASE

New York Council for a SANE Nuclear Policy • Public Information Committee • 17 East 45th Street; NYC 10017 • TN 7-6140

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: INFORMATION: Tudja Crowder

NEW YORK SANE BACKS ROBERT J. SCHWARTZ FOR LINDSAY SEAT IN CONGRESS

NEW YORK... The New York Council for a Sane Nuclear Policy at a meeting held last night (Thurs. Dec. 2) voted unanimously to endorse and support Robert J. Schwartz, a member of the Executive Committee of the Village Independent Democrats, in his bid to win Democratic nomination for the Congressional seat to be vacated by Mayor-elect John V. Lindsay.

This is the first time that SANE's New York Council has given its endorsement to a candidate for any political office. In a separate resolution, the Council also voted unanimously to urge its more than 15,000 members and friends in the metropolitan area to support the Schwartz campaign.

SANE Council Vice Chairman Stanley J. Romaine, who chaired the meeting, announced that his group would retain someone to give full-time to the Schwartz candidacy.

"SANE's programs for peace have always included writing letters and speaking to members of Congress. But we have an ultimate objective: to elect to Congress men and women who will work effectively for world peace, and right now for peace in Vietnam. In Bob Schwartz, we have found such a candidate. He is qualified across the board for a seat in Congress and we hope he will be the first of many we can help send to Washington," Mr. Romaine said.

Mr. Schwartz is a banker and former New York state chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action. He is also a member of the National Board of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. He was a Marine Captain in

World War II and saw service in the Okinawa campaign. He announced his candidacy on November 30.

In appearing before the Sane Council meeting here, Mr Schwartz said that his opposition to the government's program in Vietnam was one of the reasons for his candidacy.

"Our problem in Vietnam is political, not military. Escalation will make the war harder than ever to end honorably and clearly threatens a world holocaust. I am convinced there are solid grounds for negotiations in spite of the fact there has been reluctance on the part of Hanoi to negotiate at this time. Our government should take the following peaceful initiatives: (1) an end to the bombing of North Vietnam, (2) an agreement to negotiate with all parties concerned, including the political arm of the Vietcong, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and (3) a willingness to participate in a conference based on the Geneva Agreement of 1954, including all parties to that agreement.

"I believe that our willingness to advance these three proposals could lead to a de facto cease fire and later to negotiations without sacrifice or compromise of principles affecting American national interest in Southeast Asia.

"Since 1957, I have been writing background papers which more and more seem to be vindicated by developments in Southeast Asia. I am convinced that the war in Vietnam can and must be ended now as the war in Korea was brought to an end. I agree with the statement made by President Eisenhower in Feb. 1954 when he said he could 'conceive of no greater tragedy than for the United States to become involved in an all out war in Indo-China.'

"The alternative to peace in Vietnam is almost unspeakable. All that Americans have built up by their hard work will be in danger of being lost. The prospect of a rewarding, creative life that is now coming within reach

of all Americans cannot be achieved unless the helpless drift to war is stopped. The war in Vietnam is now a compelling issue in the 17th Congressional District, as it is in every other district in the nation. We cannot have the Great Society and fight a great war at the same time. A bigger military budget would mean sooner or later more taxation, reduced Federal spending on programs of education, health and welfare, job opportunity and training and other programs we have all been looking forward to.

" I am more concerned at this time with saving the soul of our country than with saving its face. And I believe we are big enough and powerful enough to call for a cease-fire on the terms I have stated. I want and need your support."

Public response to his candidacy has been highly encouraging and gratifying, Mr. Schwartz said, adding that messages of support and funds have been pouring into his campaign headquarters.

o 0 o

COMMITTEE TO ELECT ROBERT J. SCHWARTZ TO CONGRESS

TEMPORARY HEADQUARTERS: 30 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10011

ROBERT H. LOUNSBURY
CAMPAIGN CHAIRMAN

STUART N. SOSLER
CAMPAIGN MANAGER

December 4, 1965

Dear Member of the County Committee:

The undersigned are writing to you as friends and, in many instances, long time associates of Robert J. Schwartz, one of the candidates for the nomination by the Democratic Party to fill the Congressional vacancy in the 17th District. All of us, even those who are not voters in the District, are concerned, as you must be, with obtaining the most effective representation in Congress. We believe that Bob Schwartz is an outstanding candidate and ask that you give the most serious consideration and support to his nomination and then to his election.

Bob spent thirteen years as a government economist and administrator in Washington and abroad. Both as an official and as a private citizen he has labored in behalf of human welfare not only in New York City but in areas ranging from Paris to Issaquenna County, Mississipi.

He has in the past year alone, for example, sponsored and spoken at a major meeting in Madison Square Garden, protesting our Government's policy in Vietnam. He helped organize the November 27 march on Washington. Since 1957 he has continually sought honorable means to terminate the fighting in Vietnam. He is against unilateral withdrawal and for a political not a military settlement now.

This past summer he spent his vacation working in Mississipi for the Medical Committee on Human Rights;the Mississipi Freedom Democratic Party; and Operation Head Start. He has been Co-Chairman of the Banking Committee of the Interracial Council for Business Opportunity and a member of its Board. In 1953 he was Democratic County Committeeman from Nassau County, he was a member of the Board of Governors of the Democratic Club of Great Neck and engaged actively in county and state Democratic Party activities. He was an active sponsor of Stevenson in 1956 and 1960 and worked closely with him, including being a member of the group that went to Los Angeles from New York on his behalf. In 1958 he was a floor manager at the Buffalo convention for Tom Finletter who was seeking the New York State nomination for Senator.

Presently Bob is a member of the Executive Committee of Village Independent Democrats and a member of the FDR-Woodrow Wilson Democratic Club. He was Paul O'Dwyer's campaign manager when he was elected Councilman-at-large for Manhattan. Additionally, he is Vice President of the Morningside Community Center and has devoted many volunteer hours to strengthening its financial base.

He is a member of the National Boards of The Committee for Sane Nuclear Policy and Americans for Democratic Action, and is a member of the latter's Foreign Policy Commission. He is a former New York State Chairman of ADA and a vice-chairman at present.

Bob, a former captain in the Marine Corps, who holds a Ph.D in Economics, has done all this while serving as a bank vice president and as a lecturer in finance at City College. Thus, his record of voluntary contribution reveals a real personal dedication. We know he would be an equally dedicated Congressman.

Although a number of outstanding Democrats are seeking this nomination, we know Robert Schwartz would represent us most effectively in Congress. We feel that his long experience as a Government official and his dedication to liberal causes will add another effective voice to the emerging new leadership of the Democratic Party. We ask that you not only vote for him, but that you urge your fellow Committeemen to support him as well.

Sincerely,

Dr. Benjamin Spock

Dr. Tom Levin
Director of Community Mental Health
Planning and Services
New York Clinic for Mental Health
(Former Director of
Child Development Center
of Mississipi)

Rabbi Isidore B. Hoffman
Rabbi, Columbia University

Arthur Katzman
City Councilman, 13th District Queens

Robert H. Lounsbury
Campaign Chairman

James Forman

Norman Thomas

Melvin Dubin
President, Slant-Fin Corp.

Laura Z. Hobson

Congressman Don Edwards

Prof. Stuart Hughes
Professor of History,
Harvard University

Prof. Seymour Melman
Professor of Industrial Engineering,
Columbia University

Donald Keyes
Executive Director National Committee
for a Sane Nuclear Policy

Arthur W. Reed, Jr.
Executive Director
Morningside Community Center, Inc.

Stuart N. Sosler
Campaign Manager

Roger Baldwin

John Patterson

Ralph G. Martell
Martell's Restaurant

Jane Buchenholz

COMMITTEE INFORMATION - THE ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATION IS FOR IDENTIFICATION PURPOSES ONLY.

AD HOC UNIVERSITIES COMMITTEE
TO ELECT ROBERT J. SCHWARTZ
275 CENTRAL PARK WEST
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

NEWS

INFORMATION: DR. PAUL MILVY
TR 4-7724

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK..... A meeting of more than 100 scientists, physicians, university professors and allied professionals from the Universities Committee in the New York area has endorsed the candidacy of Robert J. Schwartz for the Democratic nomination to the Congressional seat to be vacated by Mayor-elect John V. Lindsay in the 17th Congressional District.

At an ad hoc meeting Friday night (December 3rd) in the Piccolo Mondo Restaurant, it was also decided to form a committee from the academic community in support of Mr. Schwartz.

Mr. Schwartz addressed the meeting. He said that earlier in the day a reporter had telephoned him, saying that Orin Lehman had withdrawn his signature from a statement circulated by Freedom House which called on the American public to support the Government's program in Vietnam.

"I hope this report is true," Mr. Schwartz stated. "I welcome it. I've known Orin for sometime. I think of him as a friend of mine. I'm happy that he may be at last reaching a position I have supported consistently since 1957.

"Now I challenge Orin Lehman to join me in bringing about a constructive dialogue in our district and in our country over our Government's position in Vietnam.

"Our problem in Vietnam is political, not military. The interests of the United States require an end to the bombing of North Vietnam, and willingness to meet with all the parties in the fighting, including the Vietcong, and to the Geneva Agreement of 1954. These are conditions that could lead to a cease fire and to negotations that would end the war.

"I call upon Orin Lehman to do more than withdraw his name from the Freedom House statement. I ask him now to resign as a member of the Board of Trustees of Freedom House or to state publicly his opposition to their statements on the war in Southeast Asia.

"Now I would like to ask Orin Lehman for his stand on our intervention in the Dominican Republic. What position does he take on the question of proliferation of nuclear weapons? How does he view the proposal for a multi-lateral nuclear force? Does he believe Communist China should be seated in the United

Nations? He should make public his views on all the problems of vital importance to voters, and I would like a full and frank exchange of views with him before the voters in the 17th Congressional District."

Mr. Schwartz said that he was particularly disturbed by a statement published by Freedom House on July 21, 1965, which carried Mr. Lehman's name.

That statement said some persons who signed an advertisement opposing the governments's position in Vietnam were "avowed Communists" while other signers who were not Communists had "allowed themselves to become parties to an insidious propaganda campaign."

Referring to this statement, Mr. Schwartz said:

"I resent smear tactics of this kind, and I reject the claim that liberals like Orin Lehman have to associate themselves with the tactics that should have been buried with Senator Joe McCarthy.

"As recently as November 17th, at the Ansonia Democractic Club where Orin Lehman and I appeared together on the same platform, he did not give me the impression he had changed his thinking on Vietnam. At that meeting, I announced that I supported the November 27th demonstration for peace to take place in Washington. I recall that Mr. Lehman said when asked whether or not he favored that meeting, 'I really haven't given it much thought.'"

Mr. Schwartz said that George Field, Freedom House executive director, recently made an incorrect attack on the peace movement in the United States.

"The press quoted Mr. Field as saying that those who marched in Washington on November 27 were the same sort who cheered loudest when Neville Chamberlin brought home his peace pact with the Nazis. The same press account noted that Mr. Field amended this statement later. He now wanted to say that those who were in Washington that day were still the same sort of people but were also 'decent.'"

Mr. Schwartz said that Mr. Field's statement was insulting,contemptible and in direct opposition to the facts. He said: " I was in college at the time of the Munich pact. I was opposed to it and to the rise of fascism. Today, those demanding escalation of military action in Asia include not only Barry Goldwater and Richard Nixon but some of the same radical right that organized the American First Committee in the late 1930's. And those leading the cause for peace today are the same who opposed Chamberlin and the rise of fascism in Europe. I ask Orin Lehman to repudiate these remarks made by Mr. Field.

"If Orin Lehman has indeed dissociated himself from the latest Freedom House ad, I heartily welcome him as a newcomer to the ranks of those who have been opposed to military escalations these many years. The more who see the light the better. That includes other Democracts who are declared candidates for Mr. Lindsay's seat in the 17th Congressional District.

"Mr. Paul Rao, Jr., for example, has expressed complete support for Government foreign policy. According to his stated concept of the role of a Congressman, Mr. Rao would go to Washington to sign blank checks for the President. I replied to him in a statement made on December 1st. As for the other announced candidate, Mr. Stanley H. Nason, he too has indicated full accord with current foreign policy. In a letter to members of the Democractic county committee in the 17th District, of which I am one, Mr. Nason asked members to familiarize themselves with his views ' as well as those of the other candidates.' I am attempting to make my views clear and well known, and I will be glad to debate with any and all of the candidates before the county committee members of my district."

The committee supporting Mr. Schwartz plans to recruit additional workers from the academic community and to campaign actively for his nomination and election. A temporary steering committee has been named, including:

Gerson Lesser, M.D.
NYU School of Medicine *

Josephine Martin, M.D.
NYU School of Medicine

Paul Milvy, Ph.D
Sloan Kettering Institute

Allen Nadler, M.D.
Sloan Kettering Institute

Phillip Siekewitz, Ph.D
Rockefeller University

* Academic affiliation is for identification purposes only.

politics NYC

PRESIDENT OF THE BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN
CITY OF NEW YORK
NEW YORK 7, N.Y.

CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY
PRESIDENT

DEC 9 1965

December 8, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

As you know, the draft capital budget issued by the City Planning Commission on December 7th did not include my request for $250,000 for each of the next five years to prepare a master plan for the revitalization of Harlem and East Harlem.

The enclosed copy of a letter I sent to Chairman Ballard includes some of the reasons why I feel that the Commission's failure to recognize the need for these planning funds is not in the best interests of the City of New York.

I am advised that many citizens who share my views will appear before the City Planning Commission at its budget hearing to urge that the requested planning funds be included in the proposed capital budget which will be issued by the Commission later this month.

A presentation by representative speakers in favor of making these minimal funds available is the most effective way of influencing the Commission's thinking.

Place of the Hearing: Board of Estimate Chamber, City Hall

Item: Office of the President Borough of Manhattan

Time: 2:00 p.m. Wednesday, December 15, 1965

Your cooperation would be appreciated.

Sincerely,

Constance Baker Motley

CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY

Enclosure

December 7, 1965

Hon. William F. R. Ballard
Chairman
City Planning Commission
New York, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Ballard:

I am shocked to learn of the decision of the City Planning Commission which refuses to include in the Capital Construction Budget for 1966-67 and for each of the succeeding four years my request for minimal planning funds of $250,000.

I sought these funds for my office as a guarantee that money would be available as an initial commitment by the City of New York for the development of a master plan for the revitalization of the Harlem-East Harlem areas. With the City Planning Commission acting as my agent, the money would have secured the necessary professional personnel for the development of such a plan as proposed at the Borough President's Conference of Community Leaders on September 29, 1965.

The money also would have laid the basis for an appeal to the state and federal governments for additional planning funds, if needed and certainly to help put the overall plan into effect.

When New York City refuses to take the initial step, we can not reasonably expect Albany or Washington to lend a sympathetic ear.

Who can disagree that our Harlems ought to be reclaimed as integral parts of our city?

Can we, with justification, defer any longer government's decision to desegregate the inner city? Can we really sit by in comfort as the perimeters of our non-white ghettos within this city expand and form cities within the city? Can we postpone another day the decision to arrest the deterioration of our public school system resulting from the flight of our white population and our Negro middle class to the suburbs?

The Planning Commission's decision suggests that a major need of the City of New York is a City Planning Commission which recognizes the terrible urgency for beginning at long last the revitalization of the Harlem-East Harlem ghetto where 500,000 persons, or almost one out of three Manhattanites live.

This refusal to cope with reality, this indifference to our most urgent urban problem should shock all New Yorkers as it has shocked me. I ask the City Planning Commission to reconsider its decision and to weigh the effects of delay.

Sincerely,

CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY
President
Borough of Manhattan

politics, NYC

NEWS RELEASE

BYRDE, RICHARD & POUND, INC.
515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY 10022 • MURRAY HILL 8-3300

FOR RELEASE: Immediately

CONTACT: Oscar Ochs

DATE: December 9, 1965

SUMMARY

COMMITTEE TO ELECT

ROBERT SCHWARTZ TO

CONGRESS (17th District, N. Y.)

10 East 38th Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10016

YU 2-5999

(In a statement published December 9, Councilman Robert Low, Democratic candidate for the seat in Congress from the 17th CD presumably to be vacated by Mayor-elect John V. Lindsay on Dec. 31st, called on Mr. Lindsay to resign his seat immediately on the grounds that New York should not have one less representative in Congress than it is entitled to.)

The following statement was made today by Robert S. Schwartz, also a Democratic candidate for nomination to Mr. Lindsay's seat. Mr. Schwartz is a member of the executive committee of the Village Independent Democrats.

I am more concerned with the kind of representation we have in Congress than with the number. It is more important now to elect a Congressman from New York who has a record of achievement in the area of major concern to our country -- the dangerous escalation of military action in Southeast Asia.

In announcing his candidacy, Mr. Low made what appears to be the first public statement on foreign policy of his political career. He took a position on Vietnam which I consider no more than a hasty and ill-considered public relations response to the dialogue I initiated in the campaign for the nomination. He would use the United Nations without any recognition of the inherent difficulties in this suggestion, and yet he makes no reference whatsoever to the Geneva Agreements of 1954. This is shooting from the hip in genuine western style.

Orin Lehman has also been practicing the fast-draw on foreign policy. It was only on Nov. 17, when a group of Democrats asked him whether or not he supported the Nov, 27th demonstration for peace planned for Washington,

that Mr. Lehman said, "I really haven't given it much thought." His lack of preparation on the subject of Vietnam is further demonstrated by his call for a unilateral ceasefire at the same time he says that the Geneva Agreements are "water under the dam." This is reckless and irresponsible at a time when we are now under the threat of a general war in Asia. The point is that the major vehicle for peace is the Geneva Agreements and a reconvening of the Geneva Conference nations.

I have been a member of the Foreign Policy Commission of ADA since its inception. I have been writing background papers on Southeast Asia since 1957. My position on foreign policy has been published frequently through advertisements I have signed and through statements released by the Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy, on whose National Board I am an active member. The war in Vietnam and the threat to world peace it carries are matters too grave for politics-as-usual in New York City.

Let me make my own position on Vietnam clear. I submit that there are three basic proposals our Government should be willing to advance toward a ceasefire and negotiations that could end the war. These are: 1) An end to the bombing of North Vietnam. 2) An agreement to meet with all parties to the conflict, especially the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and 3) An agreement to sit down at a reconvened Geneva Conference with all parties including the NLF.

It is essential to note there is no evidence to show that the belligerents would not accept these proposals as a prelude to talks. In fact, Hanoi has announced again and again that the Geneva Agreements are the key to peace in Vietnam.

The bombing was supposed to drive North Vietnam into our arms. Instead, North Vietnam has taken a step toward China: The Chinese have begun rebuilding railroads destroyed by the bombing. That help may be the beginning of substantial assistance pretty fast. The Soviet-American détente cannot grow toward an entente while the war in Vietnam rages. The support the United States has been known to enjoy from the neutral nations of the world has virtually evaporated. Even our close allies are obviously restive.

I earnestly ask my fellow Democrats to pause, to think and to engage in a meaningful dialogue with me over Vietnam while there is time.

#

politics NYC

COMMITTEE TO ELECT ROBERT J. SCHWARTZ TO CONGRESS

HEADQUARTERS: 10 EAST 38TH STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016

COMMITTEE IN FORMATION

Roger Baldwin
Nelson Bengsten
Roy Bennett
Leo Bernstein
Algernon D. Black
George E. Brown, Jr., M.C.
Jane J. Buchenholz
Ruth Gage Colby
Melvin Dubin
Don Edwards, M.C.
James Forman
Laura Z. Hobson
Rabbi Isidore B. Hoffman
Prof. Start Hughes
Councilman Arthur Katzman
Donald Keyes
Dr. Tom Levin
Robert H. Lounsbury
Ralph G. Martell
John Patterson
Arthur W. Reed, Jr.
Nathan N. Schwerner
Stuart N. Sosler
Dr. Benjamin Spock
Norman Thomas
James R. Watson

TELEPHONE: 683-9171
YU 2-5999

DEC 14 1965

December 13, 1965

Dear Fellow-Committeemen:

Permit me to impose upon your time to set forth in some detail the developments of my campaign to obtain the Democratic nomination and then to be elected to the Congress. I also want to take this opportunity to present to you my views on a number of important matters. The ten minutes which have been allotted to each of the candidates to speak and the five minutes to answer questions at each of the regional meetings held to date appears insufficient to give you the opportunity to evaluate each of us. I therefore ask you to indulge in reading this letter. I know, from having spoken to many of you, that you feel a responsibility in choosing a candidate and are interested in obtaining sufficient factual material to enable you to make the wisest decision.

In the short time since I announced my candidacy on November 30, support for me from our district and across the country has exceeded all expectations. Most significantly, substantial support is rooted in my fellow-committeemen in greatly increasing numbers. This tremendous response has enabled me, within the first week, to create a strong campaign staff and a large, enthusiastic corps of volunteers. We have received substantial financial support and contributions of all our printing, mailing and headquarters for the campaign. My candidacy has also attracted nationwide interest and appeal. There has been comment in the press as far away as The Los Angeles Times and radio coverage across the country. Two members of the Congress have promptly endorsed me, George E. Brown, Jr. and Don Edwards. Other Congressional endorsements are forthcoming and many from the academic community, the professions and the arts. Some New York unions have offered their assistance.

Events since my announcement have not only reinforced my decision to run, but have had dramatic impact on my appeal for support. News of a more rapid build-up of our forces in Vietnam, the alarming hints of a general war in Asia, the magnificent appeal of the National Council of Churches, representing 40 million Protestants, and the resolution

of The Ecumenical Council, have all intensified public concern with the war. I am proud to have brought the problem of Vietnam to the forefront as a campaign issue in the 17th District, and I am more than ever convinced that a September 1965 Gallup Poll was correct in reporting that 69% of the voters would prefer to elect a Congressman who would do more to bring peace to Southeast Asia. I urge you to give the greatest care and thought to the various approaches to the problem of Vietnam now being presented for your consideration. We dare not pick a man bent on signing blank checks for the President. More than that, there is no place in Congress for a Representative from this district who is not hard-headed and realistic enough to appreciate that the policy of military escalation in Vietnam must be opposed without reservation. Neither Robert Low nor Orin Lehman have shown they possess that essential understanding or familiarity with the complexities involved in foreign policy.

I am a maverick in politics, as John Lindsay is, and his political fortune is ample proof that the 17th District voters are discerning enough to support a candidate combining principle, common sense and the strength of his convictions. Let me restate my position on Vietnam.

The build-up of a trend toward sanity and sense in Washington's view of the world has been dissipated since President Kennedy's assassination. The Johnson Administration now relies on a policy of military intervention and escalation which is pushing us toward a senseless world war. We are in a full-scale ground war in Asia, in some ways already a bigger war than Korea, and without allies. This is a tragedy President Eisenhower warned against and President Kennedy carefully avoided. The no-compromise line just reiterated so strongly by Secretary of State Rusk will drag us from tragedy to holocaust. I believe, as Senator Fulbright has just stated, that settlement of the war in Vietnam requires concession and an intelligent compromise as a first step. The President must be urged to:

1. Halt the bombing of North Vietnam.
2. Meet in negotiations with all parties to the war, including the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.
3. Call for a reconvening of the Geneva Conference to include the N.L.F. and state a willingness to abide by the decisions of such a Conference.
4. Utilize the U.N. wherever possible.

There is no evidence today that the belligerents would refuse to accept this four-point proposal.

Is there an alternative to nuclear war and can it be formed? The answer is emphatically "yes". In foreign policy, proceeding from this basic outlook, I would work, as your Congressman, to place increasingly greater reliance and dependence on the United Nations as a peace-mediating and peace-keeping forum. Toward that end, I would support admission of mainland China to the U.N. Toward our goal of general and complete disarmament, I would work through the U.N. to win a moratorium on underground testing; help to obtain an agreement based on the U.N. resolution of 1961, curbing the proliferation of nuclear weapons. As an early step, I would also advocate extension of the U.N. resolutions covering nuclear-free

zones to as many areas of the world as possible. I would in addition seek to use the U.N. as a priority agency of choice in the handling of our programs of economic aid,trade and other forms of assistance.

I have a record of competence in foreign policy matters. I have been a member of the Foreign Policy Commission of A.D.A. since its inception and am on the National Board of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. In addition, I was for eight years a senior civil servant in Government involved in foreign policy matters.

There is of course much vital unfinished and new business for a Democratic Congressman from the 17th District. I want to present here the highlights of my positions on key issues. The world is going through two kinds of revolutions: One has created new nations and new socio-economic systems. The other revolution has started in our country only in the form of technological breakthroughs which have produced the world's first affluent society and at the same time left major areas in the worst kind of poverty. I would work in Congress to bring the Great Society to every segment of our country. In anticipation of legislation I would support providing for a guaranteed annual wage, I would seek a Federal program of unemployment benefits lasting the length of involuntary unemployment and equal at minimum to two thirds of wages last earned. I would seek a minimum wage of $2.00 an hour and would adjust Social Security cash benefits to assure no less than socially acceptable subsistence requirements.

In the field of civil rights, I would seek to put teeth in the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964. I favor Federal Registrars in every country where voters are now unlawfully disenfranchised. I would help in the efforts to unseat any Congressman elected through a segregated political structure; I would join those calling upon the Attorney General to accelerate school desegregation in compliance with the Supreme Court decision now eleven years old. I would introduce legislation in the Congress making it a Federal crime to injure or intimidate in order to deprive any person of his lawful rights to speak, assemble peacefully, demonstrate, or vote. I have done substantial voluntary work on these matters in Mississippi and in Harlem.

With respect to civil liberties, I favor the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee and support the repeal of existing legislation limiting the right to free speech, association and political expression and oppose efforts to legalize wiretapping in any form. I believe in a citizen's right to free and unrestricted travel throughout the world. The Supreme Court decisions of 1964 with regard to the principles of "one-man-one-vote" must be upheld.

In the field of health, education and welfare, I believe that all Americans are entitled to full, prepaid, universal health insurance, covering preventive, diagnostic and therapeutic care. Medicare represents an incomplete concept but is a good start.

What about the 17th District and the City of New York? I believe that a society, in order to be affluent, is obliged to develop entirely new concepts of economic planning, regional planning and Federal, State and

Municipal relationships. It should be clear by now, with Megalopolis slowly strangling opportunities for the good life, that an entirely fresh approach to the problems confronting New York must be taken. As you know, I am a trained economist, a banker by profession, with long experience in Washington, and I have given considerable thought to this problem over the past several years. I have remained in close touch with friends in Washington operating at the highest levels of Government, and you have my assurance that I am aware of the gravity and the complexity of the problems facing our District and City.

I am acutely aware of the difficulties in the Reform movement between the East and the West sides. I believe that coming from a West side club and running in a district that I would represent which is predominately on the East side, I am in a unique position to bring harmony to the Committee for Democratic Voters. I have no special ties and no special interests except those which I consider best for our constituency. I have been involved in various phases of C.D.V. since its inception and have not participated in any internal political struggles but rather have focused on the issues involved.

It has been constantly said to me that "what we want is a winner" and that my name is not sufficiently known to be that winner. I have found during this brief campaign to date that one who stands firm on an intelligent position, is articulate and knowledgable, quickly achieves strong support. In conclusion, you may test, as I have, some of the voters and find, as I have, that I have substantial strength among those voters who selected John V. Lindsay as their Congressman.

I welcome the support of each and everyone of you and invite you to call or to visit my headqaurters.

Sincerely,

Robert J. Schwartz

Robert J. Schwartz

RJS:rr

Politics NYC

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To THE HONORABLE ROBERT F. WAGNER _____ 19__

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CORE AND OTHERS POINTED OUT AT HEARING WEDNESDAY THAT CORSO-CURTIS BILL REGULATING TAXICABS THREATENS LIVELIHOOD OF THOUSANDS OF NEGRO BREADWINNERS WHO SUPPLY NEEDED LIVERY SERVICES NOT EXTENDED BY TAXI INDUSTRY TO NEGRO AREAS.

CORE ESTIMATES BILL COULD DEPRIVE OVER 5000 HEADS OF NEGRO HOUSEHOLDS OF THEIR JOBS. WE CALL UPON YOU DURING THIS HOLIDAY SEASON TO ANNOUNCE YOUR INTENT TO VETO THIS UNJUST BILL, AS YOUR GIFT TO FAMILIES OF ONE OF MOST DEPRIVED COMMUNITIES IN NEW YORK.

GEORGE A. WILEY

ASSOCIATE NATIONAL DIRECTOR
CORE

Senders's name and address (For reference)

Sender's telephone number

PROPOSAL FOR A "PAC" (Political Action Committees) MOVEMENT

As far back as the November elections of 1965, a new political wind has been stirring in this city and across the country. People are more and more in motion, seeking new forms and directions for effective political action in behalf of their most urgent needs . . . for full civil rights and liberties for all Americans, for the security and dignity of labor, for truly equal opportunity for all youth without exception to enjoy rich and rewarding lives in a world of peace and plenty.

The last-minute sweep of Mayor Lindsay into office in a spontaneous popular rejection of political machinism and stand-pat-ism . . . the unprecedented near-victory (by 1%!) of a candidate who would have been the first Negro mayor of a major industrial city, Cleveland . . . the triumph for academic freedom in the sweeping Hughes victory in New Jersey (on the central Genovese issue) . . . the thumping defeat of the Ultra Right in many parts of the country, most notably in Detroit where it had concentrated its efforts--all these popular trends and mandates among others have indicated which way the rising wind would blow in '66.

Events have since borne out this promise. With historic marches and rallies in this city and across the land, Americans have been demonstrating as never before their massive will toward peace in Vietnam and throughout the world. Significant new political forms have emerged out of this popular will toward peace--from independent movements and candidates to the newly set up Foreign Policy Council, which is working for a just peace within the ranks of the President's own party.

On the Civil Rights front too, new actions and demands have grown apace, calling world attention to such inspired events as the recent heroic trek across Mississippi. This swelling outcry for a people's dignity and freedom, which as the true measure of democracy for all Americans, has likewise achieved a new maturity and taken on new political forms . . . the continuing active growth of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, for example, along with other local independent groups, and most significantly, the recently formed, brilliantly conceived National Conference for New Politics.

To harness this new wind at its maximum force for peace and progress is the immediate task before us. And time is of the essence here. We cannot wait until it has flagged or lost momentum. There is no better time to "take political fortunes at the flood" than in an election year.

However, new forms must be found to tap these growing resources. A bold new approach is needed to cut through the knots in which traditional party politics has tied us. Too long the old political parties have played a "shell game" with the American people, forcing them to make choices in an "either-or" situation over which they have had little or no control. Even the various independent and reform movements, for all that they have accomplished, have not effectively broken this stranglehold of the old two-party system on millions of Americans--and ironically, here in New York, particularly in the ghetto areas, where people's needs and readiness for independent action is greater than ever before.

For these many compelling reasons, it is proposed here that we who truly desire a "new politics" in this city and country, work together toward building an independent political action movement with an entirely new and fresh approach to this difficult problem, cutting through crippling entanglements with old party procedures and commitments by the simple and direct

expedient of going straight to the people, the citizens and voters of our city, where they now are, in their own communities and community, labor, social, welfare and other organizations.

The basic nucleus of this movement would be the Political Action Committee set up within each separate organization. Its function primarily would be to promote discussion, information, education and activity among the membership around political issues, platforms and candidates, in behalf of their own urgent needs and demands.

In addition to this inner-organization work, these Political Action Committees would elect representatives to a regular, over-all Political Action Conference, held periodically as agreed, to act as a guiding and coordinating body for the Committees as a whole. This larger Conference of leaders and representatives of the affiliated organizations could discuss and adopt positions, stands, actions and plans, which could then be brought back via the PAC Committees to their respective groups for full membership discussion and decision.

How PAC Would Operate:

The basic nucleus of this movement would be the Political Action Committee, working primarily within its own organization. Its function would be to promote discussion and debate, education, information and activization of the general membership on and around political issues, campaigns and candidates, in behalf of their own urgent needs and demands. The Political Action Committees would also elect representatives to an over-all Political Action Conference covering all such groups on a district, community or city-wide basis, to be held regularly and periodically as decided.

This representative Political Action Conference would discuss the political situation in terms of this larger area, defining and adopting positions on various party planks, platforms and candidates--or adopting independent positions on these, as the need exists--and generally giving guidance and direction to the work of the Committees. The Committee representatives would then bring back to their respective organizations all these ideas, suggestions, plans, positions and actions taken by the larger Conference, for their decision and implementation.

Rules of procedure in this Political Action Conference would of course be adopted by its participants, subject to the approval of the membership at large in each participating group.

In this flexible yet effective way, people's groups and organizations reflecting a wide variety of needs, orientations, affiliations and opinions, would be enabled to inform and avail themselves of the great potential that lies in common united action for the common good--in any political situation both during elections and the year 'round . . . taking stands on platforms, planks and candidates not based on any rigid commitment to any political party but on the basis of the issues and those candidates who will stand committed on them.

During elections, the flexibly coordinated PAC Conference could, by its own decision, adopt a specific common platform of agreed-upon planks on such basic issues as an immediate end to the war in Vietnam, securing an effective world peace, full implementation of civil rights, aid and opportunity for all youth and really winning the war on poverty.

Such a common platform, once adopted and agreed upon by the membership organizations, could then be used as a test-basis for the support of candidates by the entire PAC movement, depending on their acceptance thereof.

This would pin down politicians running for public office squarely on the issues as never before--and enable the voters to make demands from a position of organized strength rather than merely appealing for the good will, pledges, and "promises" of candidates on these crucial issues--begging for crumbs from the political table, so to speak--as has been done heretofore.

Advantages of the PAC Movement:

The PAC Movement would have any number of advantages over previous independent political movements and actions, among which are the following:

1. PAC could tap the broad forces and leadership, the actual and potential strength of grassroots communities and organizations in our city, which have never been tapped before. Through its regular and well-publicized larger Conferences, it could reach wide sections of our citizenry who have never been politically educated or activated before.

2. PAC could establish a firm footing in the heart of New York's ghetto areas, which up till now have been in the pocket of machine politicians for want of an effective alternative. It could mobilize those forces who have long been justly outraged by official indifference, neglect and abuse--and channelize their energies away from periodic explosions of frustration into meaningful paths of forceful concerted action.

3. PAC would give the poor and deprived of our city that initiative and leadership in solving their problems which has been a major demand of all real fighters in the war against poverty.

4. PAC would link together those ever-enlarging sections of our population who are actively engaged on many fronts in the fight for peace, Civil Rights, labor's rights, youth's needs, care of the elderly and all other aspects of building a truly Great Society--on the solid foundations of effective political education and political action for the common good of all.

5. True to its name, the PAC movement would be in the best traditions of American organized labor at its highest level of political consciousness. Political Action Committees (which are already an indigenous part of the work of many trade unions), when coordinated in their activities with such a movement, linked in policy and action through its representative Conference of leaders, could supply that indispensible link with labor toward which the historic Civil Rights struggle has been moving--and on which the successful outcome of all movements toward a free, peaceful and prosperous America ultimately depend.

6. Finally, such a movement would be both practical and adaptable to new situations as they arise. With a minimal necessary outlay in expenditures, of time, money or personnel, without the formidable red tape that would be involved in launching a political party at this time--and without separating itself from or alienating those voters who are still aligned with the old political parties--it would have the added advantage of utilizing its forces where they can be most effective, in their own communities and within their own organizations.

Thus the PAC Movement could develop step by step on a year-round basis, over not one but many electica years, to raise the general level of popular political education and organization, and lay a solid groundwork for other and varied forms of independent political action as the need and readiness arise.

RAY H. WILLIAMS

Candidate for Representative
11th Congressional District (Brooklyn)

Campaign Headquarters:

317 Rockaway Ave. (Near Eastern Parkway)
Brooklyn, New York

Telephone: MA 2-7556
After 7:00 p.m. 342-9293

Dear Sir:

Over the years you have been involved in community action to advance the cause of equal justice for all people. Over the years I, too, have been involved in the fight to strengthen our democracy and protect the liberties of all peoples.

We are engaged now in a grave struggle to bring national representation to thousands of Negroes and Puerto Ricans who are not represented in the Congress of the United States.

Many political forecasters have said that Negroes are not ready for self-representation in Congress. This myth must be dispelled. Thousands of Negroes were killed and maimed in defense of our country while fighting in every war or conflict that America has fought -- and thousands of Negroes and Puerto Ricans are presently being slaughtered in Viet Nam in a war that has no clear purpose or course. The Negro people are ready for self-representation -- now.

If you feel as I and the mounting number of supporters do that the Negro people are as qualified as any people to represent themselves in the total political structure of Brooklyn, then it is a simple matter -- you must now put your body where your "mouth" is. Come to my headquarters at 317 Rockaway Avenue, near Eastern Parkway, at 7:00 p.m. any evening, (Saturday from 10:00 a.m. on), so that we might together prove true that Americans are equal to the task of democracy. We cannot wait for an indifferent white power structure to give us our rights.

IF YOU HAVE ALREADY MADE A FINANCIAL PLEDGE AND HAVE NOT SENT THE MONEY IN, DO SO IMMEDIATELY, AS FUNDS ARE URGENTLY NEEDED. IF YOU HAVE NOT MADE A PLEDGE BUT HAVE PRIDE IN SELF REPRESENTATION, PLEASE MAKE A FINANCIAL COMMITMENT IMMEDIATELY.

Make checks payable to:

Citizens Committee to Elect Ray H. Williams

Send the same to:

Mr. J. Ken Cave
429 Dumont Avenue
Brooklyn, New York

Anticipating your support, I am

Very truly yours,

Ray H. Williams

RAY H. WILLIAMS
Your Candidate for Congress in the
11th Congressional District, Brooklyn

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FOURTH WARD REGISTRATION REPORT

The fourth ward has 63 precincts, 50 of which were chosen by the Freedom Democratic Clubs for canvassing. Intensive efforts were made in 32 of these 50. They were chosen because of their high density low income Negro population, which has been relatively neglected by the regular Democratic Organization, controlled there by Claude B. Holman. FDC members in the area joined with resident workers and FDC field workers from other areas in a house to house canvass program. They uncovered a total of 1,625 unregistered voters, or voters who needed to re-register.

The workers encountered immediate attempts at intimidation, resulting from the fear that a growing FDC might hold out the possibilities of political change. The FDC workers were able to overcome this intimidation attempt, and register 856 voters of the inital 1,200 found. The regular organization at this time began registration attempts also, and we believe the remaining 344 were registered by them. In addition to the new voters, 425 people were uncovered who needed change of address cards to be eligible to vote. 328 of these were successfully taken care of.

On October 6 a special four man force was assigned to locate and register those remaining 97 potential voters. On October 6 also, the entire FDC registration group made a most dramatic effort to get out the unregistered voters by visiting taverns, barber shops, pool rooms, and physically took people to the polls. The results of this day's effort are not included in our final totals, but it is estimated that we registered an additional 3,100 voters. (This figure could not be verified by FDC cards since time did not allow making separate FDC registration cards for these people.)

The final figures from the registration cards we do have is as follows:

856	eligible voters registered
328	address changes
87	address changes on Oct. 6
1,271	total on FDC cards

The results from the 4th ward on election day are most significant when compared to the '62 election, and certainly

significant standing alone in contributing to the Goldwater defeat.

1962:	Yates	17,325	Dirksen	3,845	Total: 21,170
1964:	Johnson	26,714	Goldwater	1,685	Total: 28,399
	Kerner	23,921	Percy	3,452	

We feel sure that you must be proud to have been instrumental in making this possible. We of the Freedom Democratic Clubs are grateful to you for your awareness of the serious situation faced, and for your willingness to help. We believe that by consistant efforts of this nature we, and you, can bring about the changes so necessary for true political representation, for ourselves, and for those who are least able to do this for themselves. We hope that with the release of these results you share our feeling of accomplishment, and renewed commitment to the necessity for constant civic involvement.

Enclosed is the receipt for your contribution to this effort. Without it, the above results might not have been possible. You have our most sincere thanks.

Respectfully yours,
Albert A. Raby. Chairman

EXPENSE REPORT

The expenses incurred in this registration drive were mainly in salaries. Five full time workers were paid as follows: 1 - $20. per week; 1 - $15. per week; 2 - $50. per week; and 1 - $45. per week. All paid workers came from unemployed families; volunteers who could afford to worked without any compensation. Full time volunteer workers received expenses of between $4. and $10. per week for items such as babysitters and transportation. Eight part time workers received $1. per meal plus bus fare. The total work force by the end of registration was: 70 workers, 22 of them paid, and the balance volunteer.

Expenses were also incurred for flyers and telephone. Homes were used as central offices, where coffee and donuts, and a telephone were available. FDC paid for the food, the use of the phone, and, when necessary, of a car to transport workers. When we ran out of funds allocated to the fourth ward four days before final registration, the entire force of full and part time workers stayed on to complete the job.

Differentiates:

Liberal politics - change cond. w/o changing pol. ins

Radical " -

politics

DRAFT STATEMENT ON THE NEED FOR STRENGTHENING THE NEW POLITICS

Beginning with the sit-ins of early 1960, American politics has displayed new energies, developed new forms, and moved in new directions. We now propose to make a major national effort to strengthen the "new politics," in the many localities, forms, and walks of life in which it has already appeared: to make its liberating energies available to Americans who have not yet begun to take part; and to bring its ideas and energy to bear on the national government in such a way as to revivify American democracy.

There have been many important elements in this new polities, and it has taken many different forms; but all of them share the most basic commitment to the notion that all men belong in the body politic. None can be excluded or ignored because of race, or poverty, or youth, or age, or lack of education or information, or even because they live in some "foreign" "enemy" country. The most fundamental thrust of the new politics has been to bring new people into politics--housewives into making foreign policy, Negroes into choosing sheriffs and writing laws, Vietnamese and Dominicans into deciding their own future instead of having the great powers decide it for them. One of the major elements in the new politics has been the emergence of a vigorous student movement deeply concerned by the persistence of, and absolutely determined to put an end to, racial inequality and economic injustice within the United States, and the arms race and outright war in the world at large. Another important factor has been the recent ferment and the search for new approaches and policies that have characterized many of the reform-minded and independent: liberals who originally organized in the late 1940's and the '50's in states like California, Texas, New York and Pennsylvania. Still another major element has been the involvement of large numbers of Negroes who had previously been and felt excluded from politics, in making important decisions about their own lives and futures and in acting on those decisions. A fourth has been the entrance of large numbers of clergymen and academics (and increasingly of some lawyers and doctors) who had previously defined their roles as narrowly professional, into social and political action concerned with civil rights and peace. Still another has been the greater militance of many locals in solidly established labor unions, and the greater activism of service workers, farm laborers, white collar workers and professionals such as teachers in demanding, through unions and professional organizations, that previously unorganized and helpless members of the work force be negotiated with and treated seriously.

Much of the flavor of this new political activity has been local, decentralized, communal, in "movement" style, rather than "organization" style. It has used unorthodox means: the sit-in, the teach-in, the rent strike, the Selma-to-Montgomery march, the "freedom ballot" and the fusion ticket, the illegal strike of public employees. It has focused on getting new people into politics and building new centers of energy around the country,

rather than on changing the content of decisions made by national political institutions. The new people are coming into politics on their own terms, using their own political forms and formulating their own political dreams and demands--not on the terms "offered" them by those who were already within the political system.

But it has now become clear that those who are carrying on the "new politics" face two problems: first, that activation and organization of new energy, new constituencies, and new localities must be carried on with even more speed and vigor if it is to outrun those resistances that lead to riots at home and wars abroad; and secondly, that much of what those who are in motion in "the new politics" want can only be achieved if the national political institutions change the style, the content, and the quality of their own performance. And the crucial question that now faces Americans who are involved in and who support the new politics is whether it is possible to build a form of political action that can both reinforce efforts to release new political energies around the country and transform the performance of the national government.

Why do we say that the energizing of new constituencies is still necessary, when it is so clear that many more Americans are "in motion" than have been for at least a generation? Because even now, among the Negroes of the urban North, among the submerged poor of every race and religion, even on the campuses, and certainly among the urban and suburban middle classes, there have emerged only a handful of heroes who can win sporadic support for desperate protest--not solid, knowledgeable, long-run groups who can change their own neighborhoods or the national society. Because even where new energy and organization have appeared, its active practitioners have not yet built effective bridges to their counterparts elsewhere in the country, or even across the city--but have remained mostly isolated inside their own narrow constituencies and their own issues. So what the different partners in the "new politics" need to do is to get in touch with each other, locally and nationally, to trade ideas, money, energy, information, and power in such a way as to multiply themselves and their strength.

Why do we say that the style, the content, and the quality of national decision-making need to be transformed? For after all, on every side we hear praise of "the great consensus," and we hear the legislation passed by the 89th Congress called "the most far-reaching of the century."

On two counts.

First, in the theoretical but precious terms of democratic government. For the politics of "consensus" is not the politics of democracy. The quiet "management" of political decisions among institutionalized groups of leaders of various interest groups is

the politics of Gaullism, not of free-swinging American democracy. American democratic institutions will not work, will not in fact survive, without the open conflicts of ideas and power that vivified our past. And those clashes of ideas and power must be expressed not only in every locality, but in that institution which should be the locus of conflict on the national scene--the Congress.

Secondly, and more concretely, there are deep needs that are not being met by "the great consensus." (Probably they are not being met precisely because it is the great consensus.) On the two most important issues of our civilization, the 89th Congress, good as it is by all the old measures, has failed to meet the new obligations of the last third of the twentieth century.

First of all, it has failed to meet the great crisis of metropolitan life in the only ways it could be met: by energizing those who live in the cities to join in making the cities decent, and by putting great sums of money behind their efforts. Instead, the rhetoric of the War on Poverty, by which the poor were to be involved in deciding their own futures, has been made barren in the practice of city after city, and the fetishes of the balanced budget, tax reduction, and the arms race have been permitted in their various ways to keep to a minimum the money available for transforming the cities.

Secondly, the Congress has utterly failed to meet the great crisis of international life in the only way it could be met: by moving away from war and the arms race and American military intervention, and toward the encouragement of disarmament, the great transformation of the hungry nations, and the building of a decent relationship between the United States and the Third World. Indeed, the failure here has been so deep that the prosecution of a politically absurd and morally corruptive war in Viet-Nam, of a politically absurd and morally corruptive intervention in the Dominican Republic, and of a politically absurd and morally corruptive cynicism toward the UN have gone almost unchallenged in the 89th Congress. And this despite the obvious dangers of the official foreign policy: (a) that an escalating war in Southeast Asia could at worst explode into holocaust now and at best block (until it is too late) the progress toward world-wide detente and disarmament that must occur if holocaust is to be prevented later; (b) that decency, liberty and progress in the underdeveloped world could be destroyed by our blind arrogance toward the forces of change there;(c) that liberalism at home could be strained and badly damaged by the pressures of patriotic conformity, the deliberate abandonment of moral sensitivity, the strengthening of military institutions (of the worst kind: "political" armies, as in France during the '50's), and the alienation and embitterment of decent opinion overseas; (d) that the simple cost of war will block the expansion of funds for social change at home that is absolutely

necessary if the recent symbolic gestures in legislation are to be made into real change, and most important, (e) that no commitment to democratic social change at home can be made, or maintained, by the same society that carries on a morally corruptive war abroad, channeling its creativity and the attention of its public men into destruction. In the face of these dangers, the 89th Congress utterly failed.

And it failed for a reason. The theory behind the Great Consensus, the theory that the 89th Congress accepted, was that the cities must indeed be governed, and that the world must indeed be policed. That theory may seem a major advance over the old notion that the great metropolis is disgusting, ungovernable, and not to be governed but to be left to private rapacity; or over the old notion that the world is evil, totally hostile, and not to be governed but to be left to national rapacity. But it is not enough to say that the metropolis must be governed and that the world must be policed: it is necessary to say that the cities are to be governed democratically, by <u>all</u> the people who live in them; and the world must be policed or governed democratically, by <u>all</u> the people who live in it--and not by Americans, or Americans and Russians, or even Americans and Russians and Chinese. (And so too it is not enough to say that the Congress has advanced education for all, but we must ask whether that education is to be democratic--to include the will of the students. And it is not enough to say that civil rights legislation has been passed, but to ask whether decisions on when to enforce and not enforce it are made from the top in Washington, or democratically in the areas concerned by the people for whose presumed benefit the laws were passed. And so on.)

Such an outlook requires new ideas as well as new centers of political energy. How do we advance the control of a great metropolis by the people who live in it? How do we assure that the poor really do have control over the poverty program? How do we cope with the new definitions of work and leisure that automation is imposing on us? How do we assure that the voice of the wretched and the revolutionary of the world, as well as of the comfortable in the great powers, is heard in shaping the future of the earth? <u>We do not know.</u> Some ideas have begun to cook--decentralization of the cities, a guaranteed annual income, a sabbatical for all, new forms of international development aid and international peace-keeping. But we still do not know. We need social inventions, and many of them must be made by the people who are most concerned--because only they fully understand the political problems of their own condition.

As we see it, therefore, the great need is for the intensification of the new politics, all across the country, to the point at which it can reinvigorate the Congress with new men, <u>not accidentally elected but representing real constituencies</u>. These must be men who see the new necessities of ending poverty and racial inequality, rebuilding our cities and recreating our

countryside, stirring a new sense of political involvement and activity in our localities and neighborhoods, taking the major steps that will actually create peace and world disarmament, and building a decent relationship between the United States and the underdeveloped world. They must be men who see that all this must be infused with the democratic motif: that the people must decide, not a few leaders in conference. They must be men who reject consensus and are prepared for, joyous in the prospect of conflict on behalf of democratic decision-making. And they must be men who are able to use the Congress as the place from which to mount a campaign for the national policies that will revivify democracy, even if such a campaign conflicts with Administration desires.

In order to accomplish these ends, we must (1) help activate new centers of local energy for the new politics and assist them in joining with existing centers to develop new programs and policies, and to find and support candidates who will stay committed to those programs; (2) build new national arrangements for supplying such local constituencies with the money, ideas, expertise and legitimacy they need to elect new men to Congress; and (3) support such men, once elected, with legislative research and information services capable of making them highly effective in their seats, in actually pursuing the policies of their constituents in the new politics.

In order to accomplish these three purposes, we believe that a new nation-wide organization is necessary.

We believe it is necessary now. Now, because the Viet-Nam war is going on now and is setting patterns for the future; because the "War on Poverty" is going on now and is setting patterns for the future; because the 1966 Congressional elections offer the first opportunity to show that new political energies in the country want to break and change those patterns. We do not know now--indeed, one of our first task must be to find out--in which districts a "new politics" campaign would be most fruitful. It may well be that in many districts the most useful action that could be taken now would be a campaign for sheriff, or city councilman, or state senator--a local campaign that can build a political base and political experience which would help in a Congressional campaign later; and where this is true, we intend to take part in such campaigns. But the focus of all our judgments will be how best to bring to fuller growth the local energies of the new politics in such a way as to break apart the national ssumptions of the Great Consensus.

There are several different structures that might be used by such an organization as we envision, and a few possibilities are sketched out below:

Possibility I

(A) A National Board, representing the whole array of newly energetic, forward-moving forces in American politics: the student movement, liberal reform clubs and organizations, neighborhood community action groups of poor people, and the new and newly militant labor unions, the civil rights movement, peace groups, academics, and clergymen who have moved into social action, etc. Such a board could sponsor a national fund-raising appeal based on the tithing principle (1% of income). It could distribute the money so raised in such a way as to stimulate local centers of the new politics and put them in touch with each other, building the connections that would make possible vigorous Congressional campaigns; and it could channel money to the most promising of such campaigns, wherever and however they develop--in primaries or general elections, in either party or in independent candidacies, etc., depending on the local situation and the channels that local practitioners of the new politics have found most useful.

(B) A body of local and regional "activators" who could help create and could stay in close touch with the emerging, forward-moving politics of local Congressional districts. These activators could bring together the various local elements of the new politics--campus teach-inners, Negro activists, labor insurgents, reform Democrats, members of community unions of the poor, liberal Republicans, peacenik housewives--in study/action groups where they could work out their differences of approach and emphasis, develop new policies and programs, develop potential Congressional candidates, and become the local nucleii of local political action. The local and regional activators could also organize local forums, debates, and other means of stimulating serious thought on new programs and issues among many segments of the general public; and could keep the National Board closely informed as to the progress of political action in their areas.

(C) A legislative research and information service for those Congressmen who had been elected with the help of the new politics locally or had been endorsed or approved by the National Board. This legislative service could be made up of two groups of people: in Washington, about five full-time experts in various legislative-issue areas who could develop new legislation, keep tabs on the progress of bills and amendments, and otherwise translate new ideas into effective Congressional legislation, investigation, publicity, etc.; and in each of the districts a continuing committee of people out of the new politics who could spot emerging social problems, discuss possible solutions, and propose appropriate legislation to their own Congressman. The legislative service could in effect provide additional legislative assistants to those Congressmen who represent the new politics.

Possibility II

(A) State Boards, in those states where the new politics has a substantial base, with the Boards made up of individuals essentially self-chosen and Board-chosen from various elements of the new politics; these Boards to be responsible for a body of local "activators" who could stay in close touch with the emerging politics of Congressional districts in their particular state and for a group of legislative specialists who would keep in close touch with that state's Congressmen, and to be responsible for sending delegates to a National Board.

(B) A National Board made up of state delegates and of additional valuable individuals without any particular base in a given state, to be chosen by the state delegates. The National Board to have major responsibility for activating the new politics in states where it did not exist, including responsibility for its own staff of regional activators; to be responsible for channeling money, ideas, and people into states or Congressional districts where the new politics was under way but needed help; and to manage a small Washington center for legislative research and information.

Possibility III

(A) A body of individuals across the country, essentially "members," whose membership would be defined by the amount of time and/or amount of money they gave to the new politics or to the national "organization."

(B) A National Board (and perhaps State Boards) to be elected by the members, perhaps with weighted voting according to amount of time and money invested by the members. These Boards to work either as in I or II above.

* * *

One final note: would the proposed organization duplicate or compete with existing organizations? We think not: because most groups that now try on a national basis to affect Congressional elections are not attuned to the new politics; because we envision not a paper-membership organization but one that is fluid, more nearly in the movement style, with all that means in terms of warm and continuous contact with the various local insurgencies; because the groups active in the new politics have for the most part focused on other forms of action than elective Congressional politics; because those few that have focused on Congress (like the Mississippi Freedom Democrats and Californians for Liberal Representation) need national connections and assistance of the kind we envision.

mr. Farmer

position papers

STATEMENT ON THE COMMUNIST ISSUE

Adopted by the Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality

June, 1948

1. At the present time in the United States one of the ominous signs that point toward a future war with Russia is the Red scare campaign. We are opposed to this campaign and to what it means in terms of a possible new war. We look with disfavor on the concrete evidences of this campaign as seen in the Taft-Hartley Bill, with its provisions for loyalty signatures of union officials; the Hollywood hearings by the Un-American Activities Committee; the deportation proceedings being taken against alien Communists; and other occurrences.

2. Many of us who have been active workers in CORE campaigns have at one time or another been tagged as Communists. We are given the Red epithet simply because we are, in carrying out a resistance campaign to Jim Crowism, bucking the main currents in our culture. In many newspapers and editorials in the South the Journey of Reconciliation, which we sponsored last spring, was called Communist-inspired. On an interracial picket line it is not unusual for an occasional passer-by to call a picketer a Communist. After a broadcast by a CORE official in Seattle, Washington, some months ago, a woman who had listened to an explanation of CORE principles called up directly after the program to ask if the speaker was a Communist. The uneasy temperament which thus easily suspects Communism is a sign of the times of tension in which we live.

3. In the light of the above two factors, however, our position in regard to Communism should be made clear. We are opposed to the undemocratic tactics which Communist and Communist-front groups use in order to attain their ends. The real aim of the Communist groups is to extol the Soviet Union and to have a like governmental system established in every country where they have the power to accomplish it. Ends justify the means, within the Communist ideology. Therefore any kind of tactics, including violence, trickery, political maneuvering without principle except the ultimate principle of the Soviet system, may be used.

The reason why there is confusion between Communist groups and non-Communist interracial groups is that Communists have used the reace issue as a means of winning support from minority groups. However, the basic principle for Communists is not to establish interracial brotherhood per se. This is illustrated by the fact that during the recent war Communist groups were opposed to the campaign against Jim Crow in the army. They opposed the Lynn Committee, which was set up for the purpose of challenging army Jim Crow. Thus, even the race problem is used as a tactic, not as an end principle. (This is not to say that Communists draw a color line.)

Almost inevitably, when the issue of Communism or Communist control arises in any group it becomes a divisive factor. Many groups working in the race field as well as, of course, numerous labor unions, have discovered this to their dismay. The energies of a group split on this question, instead of being

(continued)

given to a campaign against Jim Crow, ar dissipated in politicking either to gain or to maintain control within the group. Internal struggle militates against unified and effective action against the real problem of race segregation.

It should be made clear that we are fundamentally opposed to imperialism and to acts and policies of injustice, whether initiated by the Russians or by the government of the United States.

4. The positive principle upon which CORE is based finally differentiates our group from any Communist-controlled group, or any group organized along totalitarian lines. We are committed to the basic principle of nonviolence. This means that above all we believe that means and ends are a unity. We can not achieve the good end of racial brotherhood by a bad means of hatred, deceit, and violence. It would be destructive to our more central principles if there was any degree of Communist influence in our groups.

Although there is no fool-proof way of keeping Communists out of any group, the following suggestions if followed should be of real assistance.

1. Be sure that every person who joins the group agrees to the CORE Statement of Purpose and Action Discipline, and will, in good faith, abide by them as long as membership is maintained.

2. Be sure that persons elected to office and to executive committee positions have proven themselves to be conscientious CORE members, committed to nonviolence.

3. When calling on non-members for support in specific campaigns, do not call upon known Communist-front organizations for help. Any non-members should agree to the CORE Discipline before participating in a project.

4. Avoid joining united front activity unless it is fairly clear that non-Communists are in a position of leadership.

5. As CORE policy indicates, take an all out position for complete racial equality, without allowing political issues to cloud our central principles.

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Core poston papers

Civil Rights Strategy After the March

By Marvin Rich

Reprinted from
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FALL, 1963

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A FEW YEARS AGO, civil rights news was relegated to the maritime section of the *New York Times* where it occupied a few paragraphs. Today, page after page of the *Times* and some other papers are filled with civil rights news. Yet, civil rights is poorly, if extensively, reported. Some of this is simply the lag of reporters shifted from Cape Canaveral to Birmingham. The reporters don't know the players and they don't have a scorecard. It is only natural that they will overplay a suggestion for a Negro political party which has no serious backing and ignore for months the brutality and denial of due process in Americus, Georgia.

But the civil rights movement must also bear some of the responsibility. The reporters don't know because there has been too little examination by informed people in the movement. There has been far too little analytical material on Albany, on Birmingham, on civil disobedience, on the implications of boycotts and "preferential hiring." This has confused the general public and the press; more important, it has also left many of the activists looking for direction.

The lack of analysis has two principle sources. Many of those engaged in the sit-ins, the picket lines, the Freedom Rides and the marches want to "make history, not write it." This is, in part, a reaction against a sterile academic background and should be understood as such. In part, it is the natural reaction of those caught up in the middle of a revolution and relegating all demands not of the moment to second place.

A more important reason, however, is the increased competition for funds and prestige. The emergence of new civil rights groups is another reason for the silence and it is far more important. I think that August Meier (*New Politics*, Vol. II, No. 3) is quite right in emphasizing that the competition between the groups

has stimulated all of them to more militant and more effective action. This competition has been on the whole positive. However, it runs in the face of the strong desire for unity. And it is this desire that makes organizational leaders hesitate to analyze lest criticism be mistaken for organizational in-fighting.

This has also tended to inhibit the publication of some of the self-criticism developed at staff meetings and seminars. These meetings thus affect only those present and a small circle of others but are soon lost as staffs grow and turnover. SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) has only one person now actively working for it who goes as far back as the sit-ins of 1960. Since 1960, the CORE professional staff has grown from 4 to 47.

The analysis that is most needed is not of the sort that pours from the university presses. It helps some to have statistical verification for the fact that Negroes as a group have not advanced relative to whites since the war. It helps to know how much the national economy is losing because we fail to use the skills of Negroes. But what we most need is an analysis of our own programs, of where we have succeeded and where we have failed, of what might happen if some of our proposals were actually put into practice, and of what problems we will face in a year and in a decade.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT is in great flux today. Birmingham and the March on Washington have each symbolized currents in the struggle. Each has had a great impact on the civil rights community and upon the broader community.

The mass demonstrations in Birmingham this spring evoked a surge of thousands into the streets in scores of communities. In May, June and July there were over 12,500 arrests of civil rights demonstrators. The use of fire hoses and police dogs in Birmingham did not deter, but rather stimulated the protests. The use of cattle prods in Gadsden and Americus and of horses in Plaquemine had the same effect. The daily television and news reports of Birmingham helped to stimulate the mass marches in Greensboro and then in Durham, High Point, Goldsboro, Wilmington and Lexington, North Carolina. As many as 6,000 participated in a single CORE demonstration in Greensboro. At one point, 900 sat down in the street and blocked traffic. The mayor who had been hesitant finally called the recalcitrant owners into session and said in effect: "You have a right to make a private business decision to segregate, But how long do you expect the city to pay for the extra police needed to support that private decision? How long do you expect your fellow businessmen to suffer because of your private decision?" The owners integrated. The same kind of thing occurred in many of the cities of North Carolina and, on a smaller scale, elsewhere.

These demonstrations did bring about changes. The Department of Justice esitmates that in a three-month period, 275 of the 574 communities of 10,000 population or larger in the South desegregated some facility. Many communities have changed from "southern" to "northern" in a few weeks. This is a massive change and should be recognized as such. No other period in our history can show such quick changes. And yet, the North is not free of discrimination and discrimination persists everywhere. The restaurants and movies of Greensboro may be open, but what of the jobs and the schools and housing?

For most Negroes, there has been no substantial change in the way of life. Nor is there likely to be one. When 13 Negroes entered the public schools of Atlanta "without incident" the mass media hailed it as a major change. Perhaps it was. Three years later, less than 200 Negroes are enrolled in formerly white schools For the tens of thousands of Negro youngsters still enrolled in the same old Atlanta schools there is no greater educational opportunity.

Birmingham also symbolizes the mass involvement of Negroes from every walk of life in the current struggle. One of the beauties of non-violent direct action is that it permits the uneducated and the unskilled to join with the more highly trained and make a personal contribution. You don't have to be a doctor, or lawyer or minister to walk a picket line or to sit-in. For far too long civil rights activity has been the near monopoly of the educated and the skilled. Now, significant numbers of working class Negroes are participating in demonstrations and some are taking leadership positions. It is fascinating to watch white and Negro university of Syracuse faculty members taking orders from unemployed Negro picket captains in housing demonstrations.

This particular demonstration is interesting for another reason. It is probably the first major demonstration in the nation aimed at urban renewal rehousing policies. Use of civil disobedience has been widespread to halt, at least temporarily, demolition of slum housing until the Negro occupants could be decently rehoused in non-ghetto areas. The urban renewal act calls for this but it has being ignored all over the country. When the CORE demonstrators (some of whom are graduate school students at Maxwell School of Public Administration and who know the law far better than those who locally administer it) called for its enforcement they got nowhere in months of negotiations. When they took to the streets they were called "anarchists." Who are the anarchists? The demonstrators or the city officials who ignore laws they swore to uphold?

But the changing character of the civil rights movement has brought many problems which have not been analyzed. For the

college professors and the intellectuals and the ministers who may have to take a back seat to others of lesser status in the general community, there are painful personal readjustments. It is frequently as difficult for the working class person to learn that his opinion is valued even if not expressed in perfect English.

For many, the civil rights movement is a struggle to achieve recognition of the intrinsic value of the individual as a human being. From that point of view, the direct action organizations have held that they must express this in the internal organization and actions of the local groups. The individual member who pickets, serves on a negotiating team, and makes strategy decisions, is also asserting his own self respect. He is acting to achieve his own freedom within him. In this sense, the nonviolent demonstrations are more than means of achieving specific demands. They are also ends in being. President Kennedy and others who often ask that the courts and administrative agencies act so that street demonstrations will stop seem to be unaware of this element. Yet, it has great importance in a complex society where there seems to be so little the individual can do about the great issues that affect him. For the Negro, who has been deprived for generations of all opportunity to master his fate and to assert his manliness and humanity, the demonstrations are especially important.

The involvement of thousands of Negroes has also tended to change the character of the civil rights organizations in other ways. For decades the NAACP has been a Negro-led group with many white members and supporters. The SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) has been, since its founding in 1957, a grouping of Negro churchmen, churches and religious organizations. CORE, on the other hand, has appealed primarily to a limited secular, intellectual and politicized group. This was primarily white though chapters have always been interracial. Now, most CORE chapters have Negro chairman and most members are Negroes, though substantial numbers of whites are involved (except in the deep South). In many ghetto communities of the North it would be practically impossible to elect a white person as chairman of a group though many serve as chairmen of important action and program committees.

The new membership also brings new problems. Everyone is in favor of mass membership, of closeness to the needs and problems of the community, and of true militancy. Everyone is also for responsibility and carefully thought out programs. These are not antithetical objectives but to make them compatible takes thought, time and energy and money. And there are far too few of all of these. Those who ask for responsibility without providing its prerequisites are themselves guilty of the most profound irresponsibility. The new members are attracted by the militancy and ag-

gressiveness of CORE and SNCC. They are also brought to these organizations by the brutality or the hypocrisy of the white power structures. Each day the TV screens show new evidence of our shallow commitment to the American ideal. Those attracted in this way require a lot of training and discipline before they are truly ready to turn the other cheek.

There is a need to prepare simple instructional manuals that relate behavior to objectives. Too much of the material is of the "Do" and "Don't" variety and far too little emphasizes the "why." There is a need for a tremendous expansion of the number of membership workshops, leadership training conferences and staff seminars. These ought to be an essential part of the program and not just possible when the budget permits. Staff members ought to be forced to take vacations in order to have time to think. It is possible to direct and control demonstrations involving thousands of people. But these methods are not widely known. In a few months as mass demonstrations increase they will be essential.

The alliance between the civil rights movement and the labor and liberal movements will be under greater strain as we attract more and more previously unaffiliated people to the civil rights organizations. Often these are people with little previous background. They are not union members and their lives have been little touched by the liberal organizations or their philosophy. If the "natural alliances" are to be strengthened it will take much work at every level. Liberal organizations cannot place a few Negroes on their boards and rest content. Nor will resolutions of support be enough. Or even financial contributions. Rather it will take intensive day-to-day program support at the local level.

Present lobbying efforts for the civil rights bill have developed an impressive working coalition of civil rights, labor, church and liberal organizations in Washington. But there is still not much duplication of this in Des Moines, Milwaukee and San Francisco. Civil rights organizations cannot rest content with the knowledge that their cause is just and therefore expect others to rally to their support. It isn't reasonable to expect others to drop their main concerns and come rushing to our aid every time we blow the whistle. We have to know more about the operations of other groups, their concerns, their strengths, their weaknesses. Further, these alliances will not develop and flower in a few weeks. There has to be real action not only on ending school segregation but also on the quality of the entire educational system; not only on fair sharing of the available jobs but on greatly expanding the total number of jobs; not only ending discriminatory barriers in housing but also increasing the housing supply for all our people. There has to be enforcement of the housing codes against slumlords as well as new housing developments.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS organizations to the Kennedy Adminstration is a curious one of interdependence, lack of understanding and disillusion.

The Administration has undoubtedly done far more than any previous administration. Yet, it has been Kennedy judicial appointees such as Harold Cox of Mississippi, E. Gordon West of Louisiana, and Robert Elliott of Georgia who have allowed some of the most flagrant abuses of constitutional rights by local officials. Their decisions have been overturned by the Circuit Court of Appeals but only after needless delay and expense to the movement. The effect upon morale has been incalculable.

The attitude of the Attorney General himself has been ambivalent. In the Freedom Rides and in Birmingham the Attorney General has said to us that he did not have the power to intervene on our behalf. Yet, he has discovered that he did have the power a few days later when public opinion had time to assert itself. The attitude of the Administration to the civil rights legislation has been equivocal. It was the Administration that opposed basing the public accommodations sertion of the 14th Amendment as well as the Interstate Commerce Clause. This simple procedural change was supported by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and would have gone far to meet some Republican objections. The attempt to water down the bill in the House Judiciary Committee can only be considered cynical. Before the Attorney General intervened there was a clear majority for the civil rights bill both in the full committee and in the rules committee.

It has been sadly true that the Administration has been counting votes while many of our members have been risking their lives. No amount of sophistication or understanding can explain to a Jerome Smith why it was that two agents of the F.B.I. watched while he was cruelly beaten by a mob.

How can you explain the failure of the Federal Government to intervene in Americus, Georgia where four young Americans have been imprisoned without bond since mid-August on an "insurrection" charge which carries a penalty of death in the electric chair? Why should anyone try to explain this failure of the American government to protect the rights of its citizens?

And yet the Administration has the power to help or cruelly hinder. It has done much and it will do more and so the cry of passion and outrage is muted.

THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON SEEMS ALREADY to have been expropriated. The 1,700 members of the working press present have given our country an impression of a huge gala with foot-dunking guys and strolling gals. The cause for which hundreds of thousands gave up a day's pay to demonstrate seems to have been lost in the self-congratulations of some that the whole thing was neat and orderly. Were Negroes really demonstrating that they were capable of organizing a mass action or that they could be orderly? A stereotype has been refuted but this was hardly the purpose of the March.

So the demands of the March for jobs and equal treatment have been pretty well lost in the shuffle. But other positive aspects of the March have made their point and been driven home. The success of the March as a major achievement of a united movement has intensified the demands for unity of action at the national and at the local levels. This has a basis in a very real and very strong desire in the Negro community itself. For too long the community has been divided by the efforts of some whites to develop and use "Uncle Toms" for their own advantage. Demands for unity also come from those individuals and organizations who want to support "civil rights" but don't want to take the time and energy to differentiate between the civil rights groups. There are also, of course, those who think that unity will be simpler and neater and reduce overlapping and confusion.

There is much to be said for all of these arguments. A united movement can be far more effective than one operating with the support of only a portion of the community. If civil rights legislation is achieved this year it will be because the civil rights, labor and religious groups were united in their lobbying efforts. We cannot really expect most individuals to make sober judgments as to the realistic contributions and claims for support of each of the four or five or six civil rights organizations. The facts are complex and not readily available and most people are busy and interested primarily in their own problems. So they wish to abdicate responsibility. And there are some examples of duplication of effort.

Yet, there is another side of the coin. And it is not simply that there are a lot of unity committees: Council for United Civil Rights Leadership, Joint Consultative Conference, Southern Interagency Conference, Leadership Council on Civil Rights, March On Washington Committee and Voter Education Project. Some of these have specialized functions and meet seldom but all require staff work. It sometimes seems that we spend more of our time coordinating than we do acting. A far more serious objection is the inevitable tendency for coordinated action to be on the basis of the least common denominator of the most acceptable and therefore the weakest action. When the March On Washington brought together the coalition of the groups that supported it it was inevitable that the

demand for jobs was downplayed. When the list of demands was promulgated there was a proviso that the 10 sponsoring organizations were not necessarily committed to these demands. Thus, at the very beginning the demands were weakened. Further, since there was no real agreement it was impossible to press them on other occasions.

The same kind of thing operates at the community level. When three or four of the civil rights groups get together to present common demands they increase their political power. But they often have disagreements upon tactics arising out of basic differences in ultimate objectives, methods, and even personality types. These tactical differences can quickly devastate a project. Before they begin a project, groups have to make hard decisions as to whether the advantages of united support will outweigh the difficulties. There is no easy formula to determine this in advance.

There are other difficulties as well. In any unity group there is a tendency to work on the basis of past patterns and associations. Thus the newer groups tend to find they have less influence than those longer established who can claim experience and personal contact and friendship. It's not easy for those who have provided much of the drive for the new civil rights climate to sit back and be considered poor relations or, at best, junior partners.

Then, too, some of the organizations operate in essentially different ways. Some can move in a day or two. Others require far more clearance and consultation. Action thus becomes a function of moving with the slowest. This is terribly discouraging at a time when every moment seems decisive.

The Voter Education Project is one of the best administered of the joint efforts. Wiley Branton and his staff know what they are doing and after some initial growing pains the project is increasing its effectiveness. But even here there are real difficulties. Each of the five participating organizations has a system of reports and accounting devised to meet its own requirements. The VEP has added a sixth system which all the others must use. This is perfectly justified in terms of the VEP's needs but it does establish a new bureaucratic element. Further, there has not been a meeting of the five participating organizations within a year to evaluate the program. Nor has there been a written report of the first year of functioning.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IS CHANGING in terms of its perspectives. If Birmingham meant anything it meant that tokenism is no longer acceptable. Wendell Phillips said of the Emancipation Proclamation: "It freed the slaves and ignored the Negro." Much of the civil rights activity of the past has been subject to similar criticism. The "first" Negro in an executive position has often been the only Negro in such a position. The "first" is important

as a symbolic achievement but all too often it did not mean any change for the Negro community as a whole. Less than 10% of the Negro school children of the South are in school systems which have formally desegregated. Far fewer are themselves enrolled in integrated schools.

A few years ago there was a rash of Fair Housing Committees in the suburban communities which ring our large cities. These committees carried on educational campaigns, distributed open occupancy pledges, supplied listings of available housing for Negroes. A large amount of effort was expended for discouragingly little result. A few Negro couples moved into a few suburban communities. Too often the housing which was available in this way was too high priced to interest significant numbers of Negroes. The existence of laws forbidding bias in housing has helped and President Kennedy's executive order on housing will also help. But it looks as if the ghetto will be with us for years. And now some of the civil rights groups are looking for ways to work within the ghetto—not in terms of accommodation to it but in terms of ultimately tearing it down.

Novel direct action methods have been devised to achieve this objective. One landlord had been convicted of more than 200 violations of the housing code. He was given a suspended sentence upon expressing contrition and promising to correct the situation. The situation has not been corrected. The CORE chapter entered into negotiations with the landlord, the city Department of Buildings and with the Sanitation Department. There was little to show. Then, the group rented a truck and shoveled some of the trash into it and dumped it near City Hall. Eight people were arrested. The two Puerto Rican residents of the slum (one was on welfare and the other had recently moved from another area) and the CORE chapter chairman were given 10 day sentences and five others received five days each. They were given a lecture about law and order by the judge as he sentenced them. If they had expressed contrition they would probably have received suspended sentences. If they had simply rented the truck and taken the trash to a rubbish heap they would probably have received the approbation of the community. But the problem of insufficient sanitation pick-ups would have remained. This is a simple example of the kind of work that will soon be going on to make our large cities more liveable.

The work of the Northern Student Movement in tutorials also points in one of the newer directions. The possibility of paternalism is obvious but so is the possibility of meeting a real need in a human non-bureaucratic way.

In employment there is increasing emphasis on ending discriminatory barriers for jobs where the skill level is low and where hundreds can secure jobs. Recently, CORE won a campaign at the

White Castle Restaurant chain in the Bronx. Two months after the agreement was reached more than 50 Negroes were working at new jobs. By most standards they weren't "good" jobs but they beat unemployment compensation. Traditionally, Negroes have not been bellboys at the New York City hotels. The prestige of the jobs isn't high and neither is the skill level but the income is excellent. And under pressure Negroes will soon have some of these jobs. But here again there is need for some real examination. In industry after industry our negotiators are receiving the answer: "Yes, we have discriminated in the past and we'd like to change now but we're constantly reducing our workforce because of automation." Of course there are answers—in every industry *some* new employees are hired. But it would be better if we could know in advance what are the expanding industries and areas.

The increasing interest of the civil rights organization in police brutality is another indication of concern with the problems of the great majority of Negroes. Police brutality is not a problem for the middle class Negro nor is it exclusively a problem of Negroes. In the more traditional view it is therefore not a civil rights problem. But the evidence is clear that Negroes, whatever the reasons, face far more brutality by the law than do whites. And so the civil rights groups are working to establish citizen review boards and other techniques to alleviate a shocking condition. There have already been two sit-ins at police stations in New Orleans and Rochester to protest police action.

These last few paragraphs are not to suggest that the old concerns are wrong in themselves. After all, America is a middle class country and if we succeed at all more Negroes will become middle class. It is important that some Negroes move into the suburbs which are now a white noose around increasingly black cities. It is important that Negroes get jobs as engineers and as stock salesmen. However, the new direction will be in terms of increasing the level of aspirations and particularly by Negroes in all aspects of American life.

In the South, greater emphasis will be on basic literacy and training programs, use of the ARA (Area Redevelopment Administration) and the manpower training, but on a truly non-discriminatory basis. The Voter Education Project will increase in scope and effectiveness as well as demonstrations for equal access to places of public accommodations. In the North, there will be greater concern with the reality behind the pledges of "equal opportunity in jobs and housing." The pace of demonstrations will accelerate and the demonstrations will take new forms as the civil rights movement uses the energies of working class Negroes and whites.

MARVIN RICH *is the Community Relations Director of CORE.*

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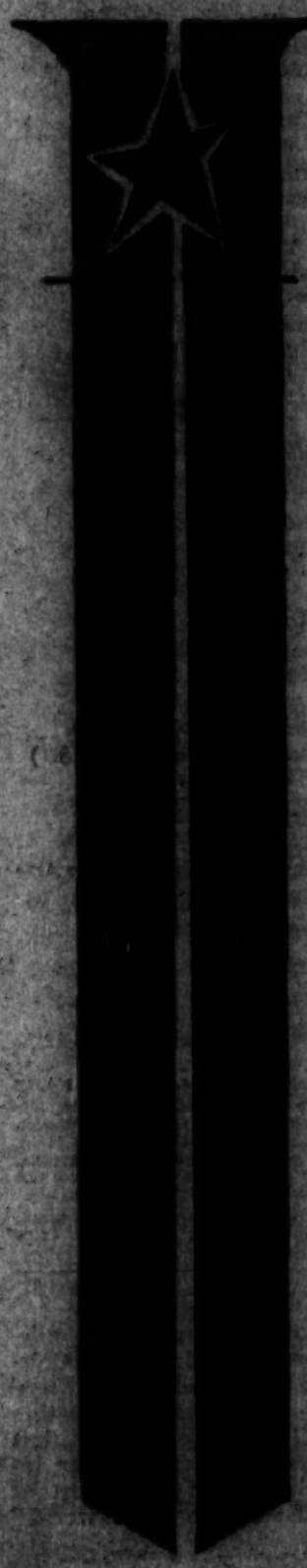
BROADWAY ON ICE: Robert Hector

THE NATION

March 16, 1964 . . 35c



Puerto Rico

The Migration Reverses

A. W. Maldonado

The Essence and Ethics of

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Carl Cohen

South West Africa

Timetable for Freedom

Patrick Duncan

'THE DEPUTY' And Its Metamorphoses

John Simon

tensely will it focus public attention upon a community injustice long in need of remedy? If public attention is so directed, is that likely to increase the pressure upon the lawmakers? Or might misunderstanding of the demonstrators and resentment of them do their cause more harm than good? And we want to know how fully and how carefully other means of effecting change have been attempted, and with what results. On the negative side of the question, we want to know how seriously, if at all, the disobedient act affects the legal order. Is the protest likely to result in riot or chaos? Does the demonstration really deteriorate the legal system, or the respect for law? Or may it perhaps improve that system and increase the general respect for it? How serious a blow to that legal order is the public infraction of it, and the public acceptance of penalty? All of these questions, and others like them, are relevant in deciding whether one is justified in protesting through deliberate disobedience of the law.

With these empirical considerations clearly in mind, and some reasonable set of moral evaluations at hand, one pattern of justification which may then be attempted is essentially utilitarian. Will deliberate disobedience, and its punishment under these circumstances, lead in the long run to a better or a juster society than would compliance with the ordinance in question? Some balancing process of this kind, more or less refined, is, I think, consciously or unconsciously employed by most of those who make a deliberate decision on whether or not to participate in protests of this nature. No man can know that his decision on such matters is infallible, but I do not know what more can be asked of him than that he make it as wisely as he can, after weighing as intelligently as he can all relevant considerations.

Methodists: Crisis of Conscience . . Ralph Lord Roy

America's 10 million Methodists are approaching a racial crisis. On April 26, delegates who gather in Pittsburgh to attend the denomination's quadrennial General Conference must face the fact that their church continues to be segregated. No doubt, every effort will be made to reach a compromise solution, one that gratifies few but preserves unity. Something of the sort was achieved at the last General Conference in 1960, but the revolution in race relations since then has had an enormous impact upon Methodists, as upon the whole nation.

The Methodist Church occupies a position in our country's religious life so indistinct as almost to defy generalization. It demands little or no theological conformity, and in its midst are fundamentalists, conservatives, neo-orthodox, existentialists, liberals, personalists, naturalists and a probable majority that is unconcerned with the finer points of faith. Its churches adopt forms that range from enthusiastic old-time "love feasts," identified with the frontier camp meeting, to a liturgy patterned after the Episcopal Book of Common Prayer.

The most widely recognized and oft-derided characteristic of Methodism over the years has been its encouragement of personal piety. The General Rules of the denomination contain a host of quaint provisions that forbid "the putting on of gold and costly apparel," "the using of many words in buying or selling" and "singing those songs or reading those books which do not tend to the knowledge and love of God." But many Methodists have abandoned the asceticism of their forefathers, and a survey in 1955 disclosed that only 15 per cent objected to dancing, 30 per cent to smoking, 33 per cent to Sunday golf and 40 per cent to bingo (as a means of raising church funds). Predictably, the older a Methodist is, the more traditional his views are likely to be. There is still strong sentiment against alcohol, a perennial target of Methodist ministers, but even here 40 per cent of those under forty-four could find nothing wrong with drinking.

Some see in this growing Methodist latitude ominous signs of spiraling profligacy; others consider it one of the factors that have spared the denomination all major schisms since 1844. The issue at that time was not far removed from the segregation issue of today. Methodism's founder, the Englishman John Wesley, described slavery as "the sum of all villainies," and the first General Conference in America in 1784 pledged itself to "extirpate this abomination from among us." With the invention of the cotton gin, however, slavery regained importance in the economy of the South and Methodist indignation cooled little by little until, by 1840, members of the church exhibited more animosity toward abolitionists than toward slaveholders. Then, with baffling speed, abolitionist fervor swept through Methodism in the North. Four years later, in 1844, a majority of the delegates to General Conference insisted upon a resolution deposing a Georgia bishop who had become an owner of slaves through marriage to his second wife, and who had not emancipated them. The denomination suddenly found itself sundered into Northern and Southern bodies, and the separation persisted for nearly a century.

The rupture was finally healed in 1939, but before that could occur an urgent question had to be answered. What was to be done with Negro Methodists who had affiliated with the Northern faction following the Civil War, but who were largely concentrated in the South? The overwhelming majority of American Negroes have ties with all-Negro denominations, but about 400,000 are members of The Methodist Church, and that is as many as belong to all other multiracial

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Ralph Lord Roy, a Methodist minister, is the author of Apostles of Discord *(Beacon Press) and* Communism and the Churches *(Harcourt, Brace). On two occasions, Dr. Lord has been jailed for taking part in civil rights demonstrations in the South.*

Protestant bodies combined. The compromise devised at the time of reunion twenty-five years ago was to establish the so-called Central Jurisdiction, a euphemism more honestly translated as the Negro Jurisdiction. The result is that nearly all of the 2,800 Negro congregations (there are a few exceptions, mainly in metropolitan areas outside the South) are grouped into segregated annual conferences under Negro bishops and Negro district superintendents.

This shocking situation humiliates many Methodists, and the Central Jurisdiction has been protested by most Negroes and by innumerable whites from the day it was first proposed. Yet, as in most such matters, it is easier to recognize the problem than to prescribe an altogether satisfactory solution. The principal apologists for the Central Jurisdiction emphasize that it has provided Negroes with broad opportunities for leadership. Perhaps this argument can best be illustrated by contrasting the approximate statistics of The Methodist Church with those of the Roman Catholic Church, the one multiracial religious body in the United States with more Negro members (see table below). The majority of Negro Roman Catholics, like Negro Methodists, still worship in all-Negro parishes, but the church has no separate ecclesiastical apparatus comparable to the Central Jurisdiction.

While Negroes comprise less than 4 per cent of the laity of The Methodist Church, the percentage of Negroes among the active bishops serving in the United States is more than 11.3 per cent. This kind of leadership bonus, which is also found to a somewhat lesser degree on many of the denomination's boards and agencies, has appealed to some Negroes and has helped both white and Negro Methodists to rationalize an essentially pernicious system. There are Negro pastors in Georgia, Alabama and elsewhere in the South who have little reason to expect equal opportunity or other fair treatment if submerged into predominantly white conferences. The choice some see is between a segregated structure in which the Negro dominates his own section, and an integrated structure in which their fate would be determined largely by Southern white leadership. Much as they dislike the present situation, they have had enough experience with the white man to be wary of the alternative.

Yet despite such anxiety, most Negroes, most Northern whites, and a number of Southern whites will arrive at General Conference committed to the abolition of the Central Jurisdiction. (Unlike the annual regional conferences, which are segregated, General Conference represents all segments of The Methodist Church throughout the nation.) How should abolition be achieved? There are surprisingly few blueprints for accomplishing this delicate task, and each assumes some degree of gradualism. Two plans are attracting the greatest attention.

The first is proposed by an official commission of the denomination, known as the Committee of Thirty-Six, which includes ministers and laymen of both races, all regions and many different viewpoints. When its "Plan of Action" is boiled down, the committee seems to be saying little more than that the Central Jurisdiction churches should be absorbed more rapidly into the predominately white conferences in which they are geographically located — a process which has been slowly under way since 1956. This report is under attack as being too sluggish, as placing too much emphasis on voluntarism, and as not differing substantially from steps taken at the last two General Conferences. The Southern white members of the committee give unanimous endorsement to the "Plan of Action," and for many that is proof of its timidity. However, it also has the support of all Negro committee members, although some signed with great reluctance. One of its several selling points for liberals is a provision calling for the assignment of Negro bishops to overwhelmingly white areas. This should not be a remarkable innovation, but such a situation has not existed within any American religious body in this century, with the qualified exception of John M. Burgess, who now serves as Suffragan ("assistant") Bishop in the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts.

A bolder proposal has been constructed mainly by Professor Philip Wogaman of the University of the Pacific, and it will come to Pittsburgh with the endorsement of the influential California-Nevada Conference. This plan would abolish the Central Jurisdiction forthwith and set in motion a procedure for rapid incorporation of Negro churches into white conferences. Special consideration would be given to safeguarding Negro positions of leadership. Professor Wogaman sets 1972 as the deadline for completing assimilation.

In 1960, the Central Jurisdiction established its own study group, known as the Committee of Five. Last month, it recommended some comprehensive proposals aimed at removing many vestiges of discrimination within the church. Its position on the Central Jurisdiction, however, has been less forceful. It does not take fundamental issue with the slow-paced procedure now in effect nor insist upon any deadline for action. This has disappointed many liberals within the denomination who had hoped that Central Jurisdiction delegates at General Conference would take a vigorous stand against voluntarism and excessive gradualism. The fact is that there is almost as much disagreement over methods of achieving structural desegregation among leaders of the Central Jurisdiction as within the church at large.

The principal stumbling block to all the plans, of course, is not the Negro Methodist, despite his mis-

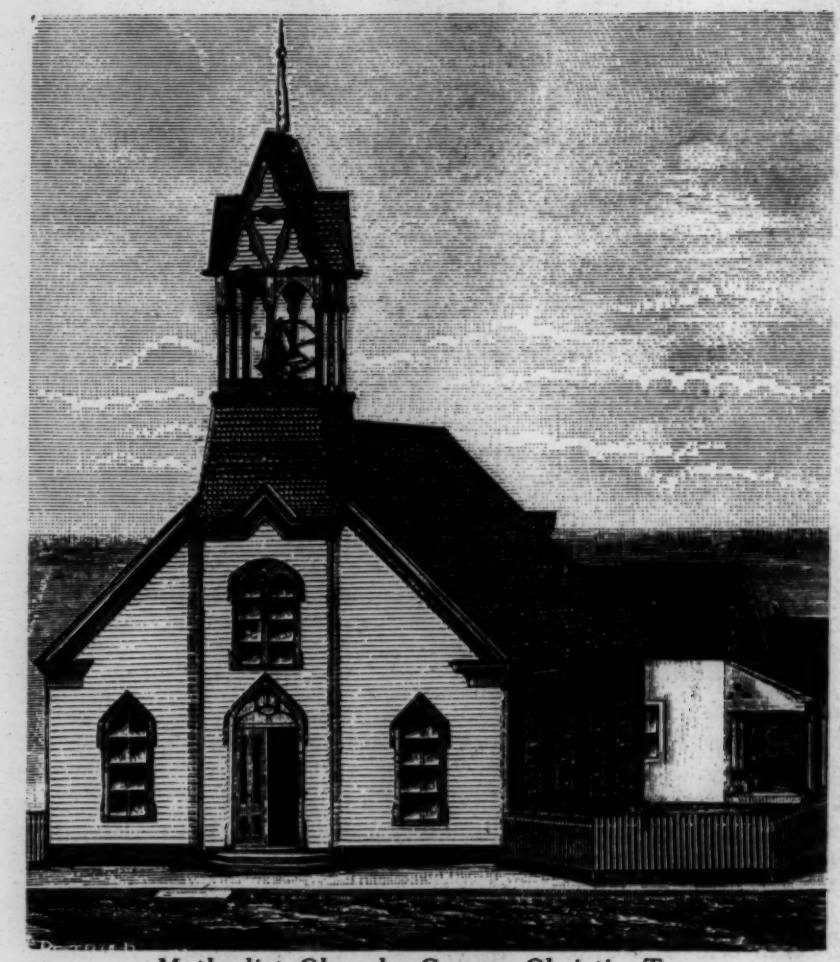
	Catholic Church	Methodist Church
Total membership	43,850,000	10,150,000*
Negro membership	700,000	400,000
Total clergy	56,800	28,600
Negro clergy	126	1,600
Total bishops	237	44
Negro bishops	0	5

*Most Protestant denominations minister to about twice the number of their actual members. A national sample survey made by the Bureau of the Census in 1957 found that 14 per cent of the population identified itself as Methodist. Probably 20 million Americans, including children, are constituents of the Methodist Church. Another 5 million have ties with separate all-Negro Methodist denominations.

givings and uncertainties. It is the white Methodist in the Deep South, where nearly a third of all Methodists live, where defensiveness has been increasing, and where inflammatory agitation is steadily rising against "radicals" in high Methodist circles. The possibility of a schism exists, and if the Methodist Church is sufficiently forthright on the matter of discrimination, there is certain to be a concerted effort in some Southern conferences to force secession from the denomination. The dilemma for Methodism is to move ahead briskly on the issue of race and still keep the denomination from splintering.

Abolition of the Central Jurisdiction is not the only important aspect of the race question that disturbs The Methodist Church today, and it may not be the most poignant issue at General Conference. Even if, by some magic formula, the Central Jurisdiction could be dissolved this spring, the problem of integration would still exist in the local parishes. Ministers and laymen of both races would sit together in the same annual conferences, and this would be an incentive to further interracial contact. But their congregations would remain about as segregated as before. Integration on the parish level is progressing well in some places, but in this area Methodism and all other religious groups in America still face a formidable challenge. What will the 1964 Conference say and do about churches that not only systematically exclude Negroes from membership but have them arrested when they arrive for a service of worship?

Such an incident occurred on October 6, 1963, when three girls, students at Tougaloo Southern Christian College, were charged with trespassing and disturbing divine worship when they attempted to attend the regular Sunday services at Capitol Street Methodist Church in Jackson, Miss. They were tried, found guilty, sentenced to a year in jail, and fined $1,000 each. Opponents of segregation within the church were scandalized, though they found some comfort in the fact that appeal bond was posted by the denomination's national Board of Christian Social Concerns and by its Woman's Division of Christian Service. Not unexpectedly, this gesture of support produced some loud cries of anguish, and the ladies of several Southern parishes informed Woman's Division headquarters in New York that they had voted to cut off their financial support of the national body.



Methodist Church; Corpus Christi, Tex.

Two of the convicted girls were from the Chicago area, and publicity in the Chicago press aroused Methodists there. Ministers and laymen from that city and then from Detroit, New York and elsewhere began to travel to Jackson for Sunday service. Many of them have ended up in prison and none has been able to worship in a desegregated manner. These costly weekend treks still continue and the legal battle goes on in the courts.

As news of the arrests reached more and more ministers and laymen, the feeling grew that some coordinated effort should be made to force the church to face up to this perversity in its ranks. On November 13, when the Council of Bishops was meeting in Detroit, pastors and seminarians from different areas arrived in that city with the intention of confronting the church fathers. They listened with mounting indignation as the Rev. E. Edwin King, white Methodist chaplain at Tougaloo and 1963 write-in candidate for Lieutenant Governor of Mississippi, reported on the influence of the White Citizens Councils upon Methodism in that state and told of the scores of clergymen of several denominations who were leaving the area rather than live in an atmosphere of intolerance and intimidation.

The assembled pastors then decided to congregate in the Statler-Hilton Hotel just outsides the Michigan Room where the Council of Bishops was in session. It is not customary for parish ministers to pressure their superiors in such an unabashed manner, and many bishops betrayed their irritation. Some of the ministers knew well enough that their action could jeopardize their future in the church, since Methodist bishops hold enormous power over the clergy.

After a two-hour wait, a statement came from the Michigan Room. Progressives in the Methodist Church complain that the bishops have offered scant leadership on social issues since the late Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam retired in 1960. Therefore, the resoluteness of the episcopal pronouncement of November 13 caught many by surprise. The ministers listened intently as Bishop Paul V. Galloway of

Texas read it to them, and they then broke into spontaneous and sustained applause. The bishops condemned "the denial to any person of the right to worship in any Methodist Church," adding that "to move to arrest any persons attempting to worship is to us an outrage." They condemned all forms of segregation without qualification and defended "the legality and right of those minorities who are oppressed anywhere in the world" to protest, citing "the recent march in Washington" as a "spectacular and well-directed move of this kind."

After the initial enthusiasm, however, some ministers who took a closer look at the episcopal document concluded that it was not only too general but had carefully sidestepped several key issues. They sent a message to the council that expressed support of the statement, but went on to accuse the bishops of permitting "a leadership vacuum in The Methodist Church" which "has helped to produce the present crisis in which we find the precepts of Jesus flouted, the Church silent on crucial issues, and a situation in which we have expressed more concern for unity as an institution than for unity in Christ."

The ministers listed their demands: the bishops were to ask Jackson churches to "immediately open their doors to all who come," give full backing to all those who have sought without success to worship in Jackson, support the abolition of the Central Jurisdiction, and present to General Conference a many-sided program in support of human rights. This program should include the assignment of staff and funds to aid in voter registration, to support civil rights legal cases, and to assist "in direct action."

Before the ministers dispersed, they organized the Methodists for Church Renewal, which is now rallying support among ministers, laymen and students across the nation. Its objectives go well beyond the race issue, but for the moment this is where it is concentrating. The nucleus of the group has been drawn largely from the younger clergy. The Rev. James H. Laird, pastor of Central Methodist Church in the heart of Detroit, serves as chairman, and national headquarters is at his church. MCR will try to brief a number of General Conference delegates who otherwise would arrive in Pittsburgh without full knowledge of the issues. It also seeks to generate a flood of petitions to General Conference (known among Methodists as "memorials") demanding changes in the denomination's Discipline—roughly speaking, its canon law—that would help blot out segregation and discrimination within the church. One of the proposed memorials, for example, would specifically forbid any form of discrimination in any of the several hundred colleges, hospitals and other institutions affiliated with The Methodist Church. In instances where such a regulation was ignored, punitive action would be taken.

The most dramatic project planned by Methodists for Church Renewal is a "Pilgrimage to Pittsburgh." In concert with others, especially student groups, MCR plans to bring its insistence upon integration and racial justice directly to General Conference. Methodists from different parts of the nation, including busloads from such Southern battlefields as Jackson, Birmingham and Atlanta, will converge upon Pittsburgh Friday evening, May 1, to serve as a "living memorial." An all-night church gathering will move from a freedom rally into a prayer service and close Saturday morning with a solemn ritual of communion. This will be combined with a silent demonstration each day in front of the auditorium where delegates will be meeting. Methodists for Church Renewal, together with other churchmen, have resolved that the conscience of Methodism must be aroused, at the risk of discord and even of secession.

South West Africa

TIMETABLE FOR FREEDOM . . . Patrick Duncan

London

More and more, the tension between the rich, pale peoples of the North and the poor, dark Southerners dominates international politics. In South Africa, land of unashamed white supremacy, lies the principal irritant and focus of this tension. But in South Africa, white supremacy is being increasingly challenged, and an open clash, which could become the greatest issue of the sixties, approaches.

The prelude to the clash will probably be played in the dry, 318,000-square-mile mandated territory of South West Africa. And for this prelude there already exists an approximate timetable, allowing us the rare privilege of a reasonably accurate historical long-range forecast.

The timetable of the South West Africa crisis is the timetable of the International Court of Justice at The Hague. For Ethiopia and Liberia have taken the question of South West Africa there. On November 4, 1960, at the second conference of independent African states, the two African nations asked the Court to declare that the introduction of the apartheid policy into South West Africa was inconsistent with the terms of the mandate.

After all but intolerable delays, the Court gave the South African Government a four-month extension to enable it to file a tremendous counter-memorial of perhaps 2,000 pages, which was duly presented in January of this year. Ethiopia and Liberia now have an opportunity to reply in turn. This may take still another two or three months. Then South Africa will issue a reply, which if the Court understands the increasing urgency of the problem, may be limited to two or three months.

This brings us to mid-1964, when the matter should come to a hearing. If the hearing is expedited and judgment given promptly, a decision should be handed down by the

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Patrick Duncan is the former editor of Contact *(a liberal South African fortnightly), a member of the Pan-African Congress of South Africa and author of* Sotho Laws and Customs.

post papers

WHY WE MUST DEMONSTRATE

Special News Bulletin March 19, 1964

From:

Alabama Christian Movement For Human Rights

For Release: By Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, President

We have come again to the point where the Negro Community must engage in Non-Violent direct action against the evil system of segregation and discrimination in Birmingham. Despite the hopes and prayers of the nation and the world that meaingful racial progress would materialize here, the tragic facts are that the City has thus far presented to Negroes a blank wall, and most of the Merchants have neglected the most meaningful point in the May 1963 Agreement. We move today because we must. For while the rest of the world moves forward, Birmingham acts as if it has a mandate to erect barricades against Negro progress; thinking instead that progress comes only with new industry, new signs, and new slogans.

It cannot be said that Negroes have not been patient and waiting. We have waited while pleading in vain, and have been patient and loyal while untold suffering was heaped upon us, both by the oppressive arm of the law and the glaring inequities of the system imposed upon us. As a matter of atonement something tangible should have already been done for the Negro Community by the City of Birmingham. But what racial progress has come in Birmingham without a Federal Court order? Our Mayor testified recently in Federal Court in the Airport case, "Judge, there are no signs up, and we have no segregation anywhere in the City of Birmingham." Yet today toilets at City Hall, over which he presides, are locked with a few white people carrying the keys. In the absence of so-called "threats and pressure" for five months, and with announcement of the long awaited Police Report with its already known answers, City Hall has not hired Negroes, nor has called for any number to be trained in its Academy as it does whites.

While there has been much talk of "following the law," and "hiring qualified personnel," the facts are that to date no Negro serves as a policeman, fireman, clerk, or secretary in Birmingham. We hold that it does not take Negroes with Bachelor, Masters, or Ph. D Degrees to fill these positions, while white people - many with no degr ees, and some without High School education - can be hired by the hundreds. We do not believe in any law which discriminates against either white or Negro.

More than this, Negroes cannot allow Birmingham to forget the police brutality and killing of Negroes without Officers being brought to trial; nor the many humiliating bombings - especially the September Church blast which killed innocent children. Birmingham must be reminded of its system of injustice in which white men can obtain misdemeanor bonds for illegal possession of dynamite, and White youth can obtain probation in the murder of a Negro boy.

We have sought without success meetings with our officials who appear to think that mere discussions by an Advisory Group can take the place of positive action. Our officials will now blame their failure to act upon us who now must seek with our bodies and our souls the promises of our country. But let the record be clear as to why we demonstrate.

1 - To offset Demonstrations in September 1963, Senior Citizens Committee, led by Messers Sidney Smyer and David Vann, met with us and agreed

(a) To desegrate lunch counters and rest rooms at once
(b) To request the City Commissioners to drop criminal charges (accrued up to that time)
(c) To join with Negroes in a suit against the segregation ordinance
(d) To request City Commission to sit up a bi-racial commission; and if the city failed to act, to set up its own bi-racial committee.

(over)

Although we warned these gentlemen that demonstration would occur if the agreement was not kept, we heard nothing more from them and the Merchants who met with our Committee. Signs came down at two stores only to be put back up the next day. Not one promise made in good faith was fulfilled.

2. Although the Merchants broke their agreement, the Southern Christian Leader Ship Conference, headed by Dr. Martin Luther King,Jr., and the A.C.M.H.R. postponed demonstration three times between November 1962 and March 14, 1963 so that the referendum on Birmingham's Form of Government could be held free of racial tension. The Run-Off necessitated still another poseponement, and thus it was decided that demonstrations would begin the day after the election (April 3rd) no matter who won in the run-off.

3. The Demonstration reflected the disenchantment of the Negroes and their deep determination for change. They aroused the national conscience of America until Civil Rights became the most urgent and important business of the nation. The Civil Rights Bill, overshelmingly passed by the House, and now being debated in the Senate, is a direct result of the spontaneous protests all over America triggered by Birmingham. It is tragic that it took 3400 people in jail, widespread use of dogs and fire hoses, and many other indignities, for the Statesmen of Birmingham to pledge again in May the promises broken and unkept in September.

4. The negotiations were far from ideal. Our insistence upon face to face meetings was fruitful only in one or two instance with a few Merchants, with Messers Smyer and Vann discussing behind the scenes essential points with first one side and then the other. Representations of the Federal Government, zealous in their hopes for peace and quiet, must not have understood that these gentlemen were more concerned with stopping demonstrations than advancing the cause of Negroes.

5. The New City Government, uncertain of its legal status, was unofficially represented at all meetings on both sides. Honorable Ed Hamilton, now the Mayor's Executive Secretary, almost at the point of physical exhaustion, urged acceptance of the agreement; promising that the New Government would lead out in non discriminating hiring, and that a committee to deal with this would be set up within 30 days after the New Government took office.

   We were promised that they would "work with us on the criminal charges," either dropping them or holding them in abeyance.

6. The Points finally agreed upon May 10, 1963 by our Committee and the Merchants were:

   1. Fitting Rooms to be desegregated 3 days after cessation of Demonstrations
   2. Desegregation of Restrooms, washrooms, and drinking fountains, 30 days after New City Government was established by Court Order
   3. Desegregation of Lunchrooms; A program of Lunch Counter Desegregation within 60 days after establishment of City Government by Court Order
   4. Upgrading and fair Hiring Policy would be continued. That leaders of both races comprise a committee to mediate and watch progress. Hiring of Negroes as Clerks and Salesmen within 60 days. This includes at least One Negro in each of the five stores .

7. Failure of the Merchants to hire Negroes as <u>Clerks and Salesmen</u> resulted in another Boycott lasting from October 1963 to January 1964. About this time Kress, Woolworth, and Britts, employed one Negro each, and the campaign turned to Selective Buying <u>which favors trade with those stores and others willing to be fair.</u>

   <u>Since Loveman's and Pizitz refused to hire-and still do at this time, Boycott action is now directed at them.</u>

8. The Selective Buying Campaign will be enlarged to include the Business Community, with Negroes trading with Merchants who respect and appreciate their trade. We would simply ask Merchants and Bankers to include Negroes in their establishments in respectable positions. Monthly bulletins [illegible] be published by our Negotiation Committee showing desposition of Business to adjust or discriminate, and will be widely distributed in the Negro Community.

9. A.C.M.H.R. will continue acting in concert with S.C.L.C., of whose support and participation we are well assured, and with all other Civil Rights Organizations in Voter Registration projects and Protest actions anywhere. Together we shall secure not only jobs and equal opportunities, but also make real the "One man One Vote" concept of Democratic Government.

A. C. M. H. R. goals are the same as have often been stated: to work for an "open city" with every citizen enjoying the same rights, privileges, and opportunities. Equal and exact schooling, participation in government, both by ballot and job status, unfettered use of all public facilities, and the right to advance along beside and at the same time as others-these would hasten the day of the beloved community which we seek.

10. We finally pray that true statesmanship and Christian idealism would speedily come in the affairs of Birmingham and the State of Alabama. However, much this city and state gain in industrial development, its image will never be perfect nor its name magic, until its statesmanship is purified of treachery and perfidy. It happens that some who worked with us in May 1963 are opposing us now; and as it was of old, even so it is today that "They that persecute us demand of us mirth". But we shall overcome!

As for Negroes, the only place to go is forward. The way things now stand, and as laws are being administered, no Negro, whatever his character, has a chance to become his best. To continue standing still is to die forever; to move forward only is to live. We choose to sail the rugged seas to freedom rather than lie at anchor in a stagnant harbor.

We call upon all freedom loving citizens of this city and state to join us in prayer, and act constructively for the goals of decency, fairplay, and humanitarianism. Negroes will be Non-Violent in their actions, and forever adhere to the principle of love. We have faith in America, and still believe that Birmingham and Alabama will rise to height of glory in race relations. And we shall be true to our ideals as a Christian Nation.

file CORE position papers

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The Congress of Racial Equality and Its Strategy

By Marvin Rich

Abstract: The idea for the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) was originated by James Farmer in a 1941 memorandum calling for personal nonviolent direct action to end discrimination, and by a group of University of Chicago students who staged the first successful United States sit-in in 1942. Early chapters of CORE were college-centered because of the demands on time involved in its training projects and in the sit-ins and picket-lines themselves. CORE's early demonstrations took place mainly in the North and were mostly aimed at increasing public accomodations for the Negro. In the 1950's CORE expanded rapidly, forming chapters throughout the South and widening its membership to include representatives of all social classes. It also widened its goals by working for improvement in Negro employment and housing conditions. By 1964, CORE had an income of $900,000 and a professional staff of 137, as well as a solid nucleus of CORE chapters throughout the country. The dramatic sit-ins and Freedom Rides organized by CORE have had visible results in civil rights legislation and in increased public accomodation for Negroes. Its future efforts will be concentrated on training its burgeoning numbers of new members and on working for the improvement of Negro living conditions, voter registration, and employment. To accomplish its new goals, however, it will continue to employ its characteristic nonviolent direct action methods—Ed.

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A FEW of us try harder. A few try not at all. Yet the story of CORE is the story of an effort—sustained and sustaining—to put ourselves out of business.

ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY

James Farmer started it all, in 1941, when he went home again to his native South. He walked up the steps to the "crow's nest" reserved for Negroes in the local movie theatre. Perhaps for the first time, he fully realized that though he believed "Jim Crow" was wrong, he and most of his friends were actually supporting it by their daily actions. He wrote a memo posing this dilemma and called for the formation of a dedicated group of individuals who would combine mind and body in an effort to take personal nonviolent direct action to end discrimination.

This memo was widely circulated among student and religious groups, liberals, pacifists, and socialists in the spring of 1942. One such group was composed primarily of University of Chicago students. One Sunday afternoon following a session, the group wandered too far from the campus and was refused coffee at a restaurant. They tried to negotiate with management, but were unsuccessful, in spite of the fact that Illinois law forbade discrimination. They then began the first race relations sit-in in America. They were successful in changing policy. The first CORE chapter was formed out of Farmer's memo and this incident. Ever since, CORE chapters have been adapting the techniques of nonviolent direct action to different sections of the country and to different forms of discrimination.

The first CORE chapters were college-centered. They included as members students, teachers, ministers, and trade unionists. They were small and elitist. Only a very few individuals were willing to make the sacrifices of time, energy, and reputation demanded of CORE members, for chapters usually met every other week, and committees met on the alternate weeks. There were negotiating sessions with management, training sessions for new members, and workshops before major actions. Then there was the radical nature of our action—picket lines and sit-ins—and the ever-present possibility of arrest. But if the chapters were small, they were also inclusive. It requires discipline and some training to sit-in and to respond to insults with good will. It does not require an advanced degree. CORE chapters have increasingly involved persons from every walk of life in their membership and in their leadership.

The first CORE chapters were located in the North and concentrated on public accommodations—yes, two decades ago throughout the North many restaurants, bowling alleys, skating rinks, and barber shops refused to serve Negroes. There were some experiments with interracial housing co-operatives and some successful efforts to open up job opportunities. But the main thrust was in public accommodations and in the North. It was in the late 1940's and early 1950's that CORE moved into the border states of Maryland, Missouri, and Oklahoma. It was only in the middle 1950's that the radical idea of direct action was able to secure a base in the South as a whole.

As time went on the emphasis in the North turned increasingly to jobs and to open-occupancy housing. The housing efforts included efforts to negotiate with realtors and to open tract housing in new suburbs to meet the needs of individual Negro families. This approach represented the largely middle-class base of these early CORE chapters. The effort to secure jobs, on the other hand was primarily centered on semiskilled occupations in consumer-oriented indus-

tries which were amenable to CORE-type pressure. Successes in this field inevitably drew in more Negroes with a working-class background and subtly changed the character of the middle-class and predominantly white Northern chapters. In the South, almost from the beginning there was a far higher percentage of black members, even though the first emphasis was upon public accommodations.

GROWTH AND EXPANSION

CORE had grown in the early 1940's. However, the groups were small. They had many student members who graduated and moved away. Further, many had been formed to combat a specific instance of discrimination and, once this was eliminated, they would often disappear. In the 1940's and early 1950's there was no paid staff, and CORE was entirely an organization of volunteers, but, by 1956, the organization began to develop a nucleus of solid chapters and a trained staff. In the late 1950's, CORE developed a series of summer training institutes for leaders of local groups. Those who participated in these institutes were to play important roles in the 1960 student sit-ins.

CORE staffers negotiated at the national level with the variety store chains involved in the 1960 sit-ins and provided workshops at the local level for the thousands of students. These efforts helped the organization to secure the allegiance of many in every section of the country and to secure firm roots in the upper South. The 1961 Freedom Rides, which were initiated, financed, and organized by CORE, brought CORE to the hard-core areas of the South. Today, CORE has a membership of over 80,000. It has approximately doubled in size and budget every year for the past five years. Thus, in the year ending May 31, 1959, CORE's income was $62,000. Five years later the income was $900,000. There are now 124 chapters affiliated in every section of the country. In 1959 there was a staff of seven. Today there is a professional staff of 137.

SOME RESULTS OF CORE ACTIVITY

The sit-ins and the Freedom Rides were dramatic, and they were successful. Within a year of the first sit-in in Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 1, 1960, more than 140 communities had desegregated at least some restaurant facilities. Most of these were of the chain variety and department stores and could thus be readily identified by the Negro shopper who wanted service without embarrassment. The Freedom Rides secured the Interstate Commerce Commission order which made possible effective enforcement of the Boynton decision. Further, CORE followed up with the Freedom Highways campaign, in the spring and summer of 1962, which opened the Howard Johnson and Holiday Inn chains, so that by 1962 it was possible for a Negro to travel from one end of the country to the other with dignity.

The successes of these campaigns brought into CORE thousands who wanted to share personally in bringing about the civil rights revolution. They have taken action individually which has brought about change. They negotiated with management, leafleted, picketed, and sat-in. And then, they have used the newly opened facilities. That first cup of coffee and that first hamburger have tasted better than any others for thousands. For these people, talk by columnists, politicians, and some civil rights leaders of returning the civil rights struggle to the courts and the legislative halls and out of "the streets" is a way of saying that they are not needed or wanted, that they are to

be relegated to the status of dues-payers. This status they will no longer accept.

Direct action plays an important role for the country as well. The Emancipation Proclamation, the First, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments have been the "law of the land" for some little time. Most Northern states have had civil rights laws for more than eighty years, and these laws have been strengthened since World War II. And, yet, these laws are as honored in the breach as in the observance. The nonviolent activists know that their demonstrations which caused people to say: "Aren't they going too far, now?" also brought about the Civil Rights Act of 1964. They know that Act is as strong as it is only because of their pressure in the streets of Birmingham, Greensboro, and Jackson. When they went to talk to congressmen they could say: "It really happened in America; it happened to me." Zev Aelony told his congressman about facing a death penalty in Americus, Georgia, on a charge of insurrection. Jerome Smith could tell of being brutally beaten in McComb, Mississippi, while law enforcement officials looked on. And the congressmen responded by strengthening the bill. And the American people have responded—reluctantly, slowly, hesitatingly—but they have responded. When forced to make a choice between making a mockery of the American creed and making it a reality they have chosen the course of equality. Surely, there has been a backlash. It used to be called prejudice, but now there is a new term. But most of the American people and their representatives have chosen to go forward. We in CORE believe that when forced to make a choice, they will continue to make the choice for progress.

The willingness to sacrifice of CORE members has also played an important role. The first sit-in students who actually served their full jail terms in the 1960 sit-ins were members of Tallahassee CORE. The first of the Freedom Riders to serve their full jail terms rather than appeal were members of New Orleans CORE. After the first bus of Freedom Riders was burned in Anniston, Alabama, a second bus proceeded to Birmingham only to be met by a mob. Here Jim Peck, editor of the *CORE-lator*, was brutally beaten. Walter Bergman of Detroit CORE is still partially paralyzed three-and-one-half years later as the result of the injuries suffered then. It was a CORE member, William Moore, who was ambushed and murdered at night on an Alabama highway in April of 1963. A few months later the vice-chairman of Cleveland CORE, the Reverend Bruce Klunder, was killed in a demonstration against the construction of a segregated school. And then CORE staff members James Chaney and Michael Schwerner and their student companion Andrew Goodman were abducted and murdered in Philadelphia, Mississippi, on the night of June 23, 1964. The sacrifices and the determination to go on in spite of them have struck a responsive chord throughout the nation. The fact that three of the four CORE leaders who have given their lives are white has re-emphasized the essential interracial character of the organization.

There are other forms of sacrifice and commitment. CORE Task Force members live on a meager $44.89 every two weeks, are occasionally cold or hungry, often harassed by local registrars, police, and night riders, and frequently discouraged. They must win the confidence of a people whose only protection is their seeming apathy. CORE Task Force members have picked cotton and worked in tobacco fields to win the confidence of local people and to earn a few dollars for a new shirt. They have given years of their lives while friends have taken the first steps on more

rewarding careers. Their day-to-day dedication and sacrifice have played a decisive role in the growth of CORE.

FUTURE GOALS AND PROBLEMS

But the new recruits who have been attracted to CORE because of its militancy, its dramatic successes, and the desire to share in the sacrificial struggle have also brought new problems. Their very number has made it difficult to train them in methods and in the philosophy of nonviolent direct action. When a staff doubles in size each year, very few can have had much training themselves. This past year CORE began a series of area training conferences. In the coming year these will be augmented by larger institutes as well as by regional workshops on specific problem areas.

During the past year CORE has emphasized in the North and in the South a program of community service to develop community roots, indigenous organizations with the ability to help themselves economically and politically. In the North there has been door-to-door canvassing in the sprawling urban ghettos to determine the complaints that most concern the people themselves. This has led to major programs to secure housing-code enforcement through rent strikes, demonstrations before the offices of building commissioners and mayors, and tours of the slum buildings with community leaders. It has also led to successful demonstrations to secure play streets and traffic lights. These kinds of demonstrations, if effectively followed up, can lead to permanent and significant community organization. In Mississippi, Louisiana, and northern Florida, CORE has developed a series of community centers that not only house the voter registration offices, but also have libraries, game rooms, sewing classes, and art activities.

The voter registration efforts of the past have begun to pay off with significant numbers of new registrants in most of the Southern states—excluding Mississippi and Louisiana. For example, during the past two years CORE staffers in South Carolina have co-ordinated registration drives that have put 31,000 Negroes on the books—this in spite of the fact that for most of the year the registration books are open only one day a month and in spite of prolonged slowdowns by some of the registrars. The voter registration effort which has been part of CORE's Southern activity since 1956 is now firmly rooted in the North as well. In part, this has been a natural outgrowth of the effort to service local communities more effectively. It has also been an outgrowth of the effort to defeat Goldwaterism. Soon, the national organization will establish a political action department to co-ordinate and develop local action programs.

The struggle for an increased share in the economy continues to receive major effort. CORE works under the assumption that there cannot be fair employment unless there is relatively full employment. However, we also know that even in a full-employment economy there need not be fair employment. Negroes could and probably would be the last hired and the first fired, confined to the menial and the dead-end jobs. So CORE continues to work to end discrimination by employers and unions. Our major concern has been among consumer-oriented industries where we can be most effective and to secure unskilled and semiskilled jobs where the largest reservoir of unemployed and underemployed manpower is available. There have been some notable examples of success. The First National Bank of Boston, after several weeks of picketing and previous months of negotiations, moved to hire Negroes. We believe that this will mean approxi-

mately 1,000 jobs. To do this the company re-evaluated its personnel policies and changed requirements for many jobs. For example, they decided that a messenger really didn't need a high school diploma. In New York, we were able to get the A&P to reverse a long-standing personnel policy and agree to hire hundreds of full-time Negro employees, whereas they had increasingly resorted to part-timers. These victories point to a concern and a direction. To use direct action effectively with primary manufacturers, such as steel and aluminum, will be more difficult than with consumer-oriented companies, but not impossible.

CORE has changed to meet new situations and new demands. It will continue to do so. However, it will also continue to emphasize nonviolent direct action methods which involve people from every status level, to be interracial and interreligious, to be national in scope, youthful in membership and outlook. We believe that it will continue to be the cutting edge of the civil rights movement.

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FROM PROTEST TO POLITICS: THE FUTURE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

BAYARD RUSTIN

Commentary

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FROM PROTEST TO POLITICS: THE FUTURE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

BAYARD RUSTIN

I

THE DECADE spanned by the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school desegregation and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will undoubtedly be recorded as the period in which the legal foundations of racism in America were destroyed. To be sure, pockets of resistance remain; but it would be hard to quarrel with the assertion that the elaborate legal structure of segregation and discrimination, particularly in relation to public accommodations, has virtually collapsed. On the other hand, without making light of the human sacrifices involved in the direct-action tactics (sit-ins, freedom rides, and the rest) that were so instrumental to this achievement, we must recognize that in desegregating public accommodations, we affected institutions which are relatively peripheral both to the American socio-economic order and to the fundamental conditions of life of the Negro people. In a highly industrialized, 20th-century civilization, we hit Jim Crow precisely where it was most anachronistic, dispensable, and vulnerable—in hotels, lunch counters, terminals, libraries, swimming pools, and the like. For in these forms, Jim Crow does impede the flow of commerce in the broadest sense: it is a nuisance in a society on the move (and on the make). Not surprisingly, therefore, it was the most mobility-conscious and relatively liberated groups in the Negro community—lower-middle-class college students—who launched the attack that brought down this imposing but hollow structure.

The term "classical" appears especially apt for this phase of the civil rights movement. But in the few years that have passed since the first flush of sit-ins, several developments have taken place that have complicated matters enormously. One is the shifting focus of the movement in the South, symbolized by Birmingham; another is the spread of the revolution to the North; and the third, common to the other two, is the expansion of the movement's base in the Negro community.

BAYARD RUSTIN, who organized the March on Washington and has been a close associate of Martin Luther King, is widely recognized as the leading tactician of the civil rights movement. This is his first appearance in COMMENTARY.

To attempt to disentangle these three strands is to do violence to reality. David Danzig's perceptive article, "The Meaning of Negro Strategy,"* correctly saw in the Birmingham events the victory of the concept of collective struggle over individual achievement as the road to Negro freedom. And Birmingham remains the unmatched symbol of grass-roots protest involving all strata of the black community. It was also in this most industrialized of Southern cities that the single-issue demands of the movement's classical stage gave way to the "package deal." No longer were Negroes satisfied with integrating lunch counters. They now sought advances in employment, housing, school integration, police protection, and so forth.

Thus, the movement in the South began to attack areas of discrimination which were not so remote from the Northern experience as were Jim Crow lunch counters. At the same time, the interrelationship of these apparently distinct areas became increasingly evident. What is the value of winning access to public accommodations for those who lack money to use them? The minute the movement faced this question, it was compelled to expand its vision beyond race relations to economic relations, including the role of education in modern society. And what also became clear is that all these interrelated problems, by their very nature, are not soluble by private, voluntary efforts but require government action—or politics. Already Southern demonstrators had recognized that the most effective way to strike at the police brutality they suffered from was by getting rid of the local sheriff—and that meant political action, which in turn meant, and still means, political action within the Democratic party where the only meaningful primary contests in the South are fought.

And so, in Mississippi, thanks largely to the leadership of Bob Moses, a turn toward political action has been taken. More than voter registration is involved here. A conscious bid for *political power* is being made, and in the course of that effort a tactical shift is being effected: direct-action techniques are being subordinated to a strategy calling for the building of community

*COMMENTARY, February 1964.

institutions or power bases. Clearly, the implications of this shift reach far beyond Mississippi. What began as a protest movement is being challenged to translate itself into a political movement. Is this the right course? And if it is, can the transformation be accomplished?

II

THE VERY decade which has witnessed the decline of legal Jim Crow has also seen the rise of *de facto* segregation in our most fundamental socio-economic institutions. More Negroes are unemployed today than in 1954, and the unemployment gap between the races is wider. The median income of Negroes has dropped from 57 per cent to 54 per cent of that of whites. A higher percentage of Negro workers is now concentrated in jobs vulnerable to automation than was the case ten years ago. More Negroes attend *de facto* segregated schools today than when the Supreme Court handed down its famous decision; while school integration proceeds at a snail's pace in the South, the number of Northern schools with an excessive proportion of minority youth proliferates. And behind this is the continuing growth of racial slums, spreading over our central cities and trapping Negro youth in a milieu which, whatever its legal definition, sows an unimaginable demoralization. Again, legal niceties aside, a resident of a racial ghetto lives in segregated housing, and more Negroes fall into this category than ever before.

These are the facts of life which generate frustration in the Negro community and challenge the civil rights movement. At issue, after all, is not *civil rights,* strictly speaking, but social and economic conditions. Last summer's riots were not race riots; they were outbursts of class aggression in a society where class and color definitions are converging disastrously. How can the (perhaps misnamed) civil rights movement deal with this problem?

Before trying to answer, let me first insist that the task of the movement is vastly complicated by the failure of many whites of good will to understand the nature of our problem. There is a widespread assumption that the removal of artificial racial barriers should result in the automatic integration of the Negro into all aspects of American life. This myth is fostered by facile analogies with the experience of various ethnic immigrant groups, particularly the Jews. But the analogies with the Jews do not hold for three simple but profound reasons. First, Jews have a long history as a literate people, a resource which has afforded them opportunities to advance in the academic and professional worlds, to achieve intellectual status even in the midst of economic hardship, and to evolve sustaining value systems in the context of ghetto life. Negroes, for the greater part of their presence in this country, were forbidden by law to read or write. Second, Jews have a long history of family stability, the importance of which in terms of aspiration and self-image is obvious. The Negro family structure was totally destroyed by slavery and with it the possibility of cultural transmission (the right of Negroes to marry and rear children is barely a century old). Third, Jews are white and have the *option* of relinquishing their cultural-religious identity, intermarrying, passing, etc. Negroes, or at least the overwhelming majority of them, do not have this option. There is also a fourth, vulgar reason. If the Jewish and Negro communities are not comparable in terms of education, family structure, and color, it is also true that their respective economic roles bear little resemblance.

This matter of economic role brings us to the greater problem—the fact that we are moving into an era in which the natural functioning of the market does not by itself ensure every man with will and ambition a place in the productive process. The immigrant who came to this country during the late 19th and early 20th centuries entered a society which was expanding territorially and/or economically. It was then possible to start at the bottom, as an unskilled or semi-skilled worker, and move up the ladder, acquiring new skills along the way. Especially was this true when industrial unionism was burgeoning, giving new dignity and higher wages to organized workers. Today the situation has changed. We are not expanding territorially, the western frontier is settled, labor organizing has leveled off, our rate of economic growth has been stagnant for a decade. And we are in the midst of a technological revolution which is altering the fundamental structure of the labor force, destroying unskilled and semi-skilled jobs—jobs in which Negroes are disproportionately concentrated.

Whatever the pace of this technological revolution may be, the *direction* is clear: the lower rungs of the economic ladder are being lopped off. This means that an individual will no longer be able to start at the bottom and work his way up; he will have to start in the middle or on top, and hold on tight. It will not even be enough to have certain specific skills, for many skilled jobs are also vulnerable to automation. A broad educational background, permitting vocational adaptability and flexibility, seems more imperative than ever. We live in a society where, as Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz puts it, machines have the equivalent of a high school diploma. Yet the average educational attainment of American Negroes is 8.2 years.

Negroes, of course, are not the only people being affected by these developments. It is reported that there are now 50 per cent fewer unskilled and semi-skilled jobs than there are

high school dropouts. Almost one-third of the 26 million young people entering the labor market in the 1960's will be dropouts. But the percentage of Negro dropouts nationally is 57 per cent, and in New York City, among Negroes 25 years of age or over, it is 68 per cent. They are without a future.

To what extent can the kind of self-help campaign recently prescribed by Eric Hoffer in the *New York Times Magazine* cope with such a situation? I would advise those who think that self-help is the answer to familiarize themselves with the long history of such efforts in the Negro community, and to consider why so many foundered on the shoals of ghetto life. It goes without saying that any effort to combat demoralization and apathy is desirable, but we must understand that demoralization in the Negro community is largely a common-sense response to an objective reality. Negro youths have no need of statistics to perceive, fairly accurately, what their odds are in American society. Indeed, from the point of view of motivation, some of the healthiest Negro youngsters I know are juvenile delinquents: vigorously pursuing the American Dream of material acquisition and status, yet finding the conventional means of attaining it blocked off, they do not yield to defeatism but resort to illegal (and often ingenious) methods. They are not alien to American culture. They are, in Gunnar Myrdal's phrase, "exaggerated Americans." To want a Cadillac is not un-American; to push a cart in the garment center is. If Negroes are to be persuaded that the conventional path (school, work, etc.) is superior, we had better provide evidence which is now sorely lacking. It is a double cruelty to harangue Negro youth about education and training when we do not know what jobs will be available for them. When a Negro youth can reasonably foresee a future free of slums, when the prospect of gainful employment is realistic, we will see motivation and self-help in abundant enough quantities.

Meanwhile, there is an ironic similarity between the self-help advocated by many liberals and the doctrines of the Black Muslims. Professional sociologists, psychiatrists, and social workers have expressed amazement at the Muslims' success in transforming prostitutes and dope addicts into respectable citizens. But every prostitute the Muslims convert to a model of Calvinist virtue is replaced by the ghetto with two more. Dedicated as they are to maintenance of the ghetto, the Muslims are powerless to affect substantial moral reform. So too with every other group or program which is not aimed at the destruction of slums, their causes and effects. Self-help efforts, directly or indirectly, must be geared to mobilizing people into power units capable of effecting social change. That is, their goal must be genuine self-help, not merely self-improvement. Obviously, where self-improvement activities succeed in imparting to their participants a feeling of some control over their environment, those involved may find their appetites for change whetted; they may move into the political arena.

III

Let me sum up what I have thus far been trying to say: the civil rights movement is evolving from a protest movement into a full-fledged *social movement*—an evolution calling its very name into question. It is now concerned not merely with removing the barriers to full *opportunity* but with achieving the fact of *equality*. From sit-ins and freedom rides we have gone into rent strikes, boycotts, community organization, and political action. As a consequence of this natural evolution, the Negro today finds himself stymied by obstacles of far greater magnitude than the legal barriers he was attacking before: automation, urban decay, *de facto* school segregation. These are problems which, while conditioned by Jim Crow, do not vanish upon its demise. They are more deeply rooted in our socio-economic order; they are the result of the total society's failure to meet not only the Negro's needs, but human needs generally.

These propositions have won increasing recognition and acceptance, but with a curious twist. They have formed the common premise of two apparently contradictory lines of thought which simultaneously nourish and antagonize each other. On the one hand, there is the reasoning of the New York *Times* moderate who says that the problems are so enormous and complicated that Negro militancy is a futile irritation, and that the need is for "intelligent moderation." Thus, during the first New York school boycott, the *Times* editorialized that Negro demands, while abstractly just, would necessitate massive reforms, the funds for which could not realistically be anticipated; therefore the just demands were also foolish demands and would only antagonize white people. Moderates of this stripe are often correct in perceiving the difficulty or impossibility of racial progress in the context of present social and economic policies. But they accept the context as fixed. They ignore (or perhaps see all too well) the potentialities inherent in linking Negro demands to broader pressures for radical revision of existing policies. They apparently see nothing strange in the fact that in the last twenty-five years we have spent nearly a trillion dollars fighting or preparing for wars, yet throw up our hands before the need for overhauling our schools, clearing the slums, and really abolishing poverty. My quarrel with these moderates is that they do not even envision radical changes; their admonitions of moderation are, for all practical purposes, admonitions to the

Negro to adjust to the status quo, and are therefore immoral.

The more effectively the moderates argue their case, the more they convince Negroes that American society will not or cannot be reorganized for full racial equality. Michael Harrington has said that a successful war on poverty might well require the expenditure of a $100 billion. Where, the Negro wonders, are the forces now in motion to compel such a commitment? If the voices of the moderates were raised in an insistence upon a reallocation of national resources at levels that could not be confused with tokenism (that is, if the moderates stopped being moderates), Negroes would have greater grounds for hope. Meanwhile, the Negro movement cannot escape a sense of isolation.

It is precisely this sense of isolation that gives rise to the second line of thought I want to examine—the tendency within the civil rights movement which, despite its militancy, pursues what I call a "no-win" policy. Sharing with many moderates a recognition of the magnitude of the obstacles to freedom, spokesmen for this tendency survey the American scene and find no forces prepared to move toward radical solutions. From this they conclude that the only viable strategy is shock; above all, the hypocrisy of white liberals must be exposed. These spokesmen are often described as the radicals of the movement, but they are really its moralists. They seek to change white hearts—by traumatizing them. Frequently abetted by white self-flagellants, they may gleefully applaud (though not really agreeing with) Malcolm X because, while they admit he has no program, they think he can frighten white people into doing the right thing. To believe this, of course, you must be convinced, even if unconsciously, that at the core of the white man's heart lies a buried affection for Negroes—a proposition one may be permitted to doubt. But in any case, hearts are not relevant to the issue; neither racial affinities nor racial hostilities are rooted there. It is institutions—social, political, and economic institutions—which are the ultimate molders of collective sentiments. Let these institutions be reconstructed *today*, and let the ineluctable gradualism of history govern the formation of a new psychology.

My quarrel with the "no-win" tendency in the civil rights movement (and the reason I have so designated it) parallels my quarrel with the moderates outside the movement. As the latter lack the vision or will for fundamental change, the former lack a realistic strategy for achieving it. For such a strategy they substitute militancy. But militancy is a matter of posture and volume and not of effect.

I BELIEVE that the Negro's struggle for equality in America is essentially revolutionary. While most Negroes—in their hearts—unquestionably seek only to enjoy the fruits of American society as it now exists, their quest cannot *objectively* be satisfied within the framework of existing political and economic relations. The young Negro who would demonstrate his way into the labor market may be motivated by a thoroughly bourgeois ambition and thoroughly "capitalist" considerations, but he will end up having to favor a great expansion of the public sector of the economy. At any rate, that is the position the movement will be forced to take as it looks at the number of jobs being generated by the private economy, and if it is to remain true to the masses of Negroes.

The revolutionary character of the Negro's struggle is manifest in the fact that this struggle may have done more to democratize life for whites than for Negroes. Clearly, it was the sit-in movement of young Southern Negroes which, as it galvanized white students, banished the ugliest features of McCarthyism from the American campus and resurrected political debate. It was not until Negroes assaulted *de facto* school segregation in the urban centers that the issue of quality education for *all* children stirred into motion. Finally, it seems reasonably clear that the civil rights movement, directly and through the resurgence of social conscience it kindled, did more to initiate the war on poverty than any other single force.

It will be—it has been—argued that these by-products of the Negro struggle are not revolutionary. But the term revolutionary, as I am using it, does not connote violence; it refers to the qualitative transformation of fundamental institutions, more or less rapidly, to the point where the social and economic structure which they comprised can no longer be said to be the same. The Negro struggle has hardly run its course; and it will not stop moving until it has been utterly defeated or won substantial equality. But I fail to see how the movement can be victorious in the absence of radical programs for full employment, abolition of slums, the reconstruction of our educational system, new definitions of work and leisure. Adding up the cost of such programs, we can only conclude that we are talking about a refashioning of our political economy. It has been estimated, for example, that the price of replacing New York City's slums with public housing would be $17 billion. Again, a multi-billion dollar federal public-works program, dwarfing the currently proposed $2 billion program, is required to reabsorb unskilled and semi-skilled workers into the labor market—and this must be done if Negro workers in these categories are to be employed. "Preferential treatment" cannot help them.

I am not trying here to delineate a total program, only to suggest the scope of economic reforms which are most immediately related to the plight of the Negro community. One could

speculate on their political implications—whether, for example, they do not indicate the obsolescence of state government and the superiority of regional structures as viable units of planning. Such speculations aside, it is clear that Negro needs cannot be satisfied unless we go beyond what has so far been placed on the agenda. How are these radical objectives to be achieved? The answer is simple, deceptively so: *through political power.*

There is a strong moralistic strain in the civil rights movement which would remind us that power corrupts, forgetting that the absence of power also corrupts. But this is not the view I want to debate here, for it is waning. Our problem is posed by those who accept the need for political power but do not understand the nature of the object and therefore lack sound strategies for achieving it; they tend to confuse political institutions with lunch counters.

A handful of Negroes, acting alone, could integrate a lunch counter by strategically locating their bodies so as *directly* to interrupt the operation of the proprietor's will; their numbers were relatively unimportant. In politics, however, such a confrontation is difficult because the interests involved are merely *represented.* In the execution of a political decision a direct confrontation may ensue (as when federal marshals escorted James Meredith into the University of Mississippi—to turn from an example of non-violent coercion to one of force backed up with the threat of violence). But in arriving at a political decision, numbers and organizations are crucial, especially for the economically disenfranchised. (Needless to say, I am assuming that the forms of political democracy exist in America, however imperfectly, that they are valued, and that elitist or putschist conceptions of exercising power are beyond the pale of discussion for the civil rights movement.)

Neither that movement nor the country's twenty million black people can win political power alone. We need allies. The future of the Negro struggle depends on whether the contradictions of this society can be resolved by a coalition of progressive forces which becomes the *effective* political majority in the United States. I speak of the coalition which staged the March on Washington, passed the Civil Rights Act, and laid the basis for the Johnson landslide—Negroes, trade unionists, liberals, and religious groups.

THERE ARE those who argue that a coalition strategy would force the Negro to surrender his political independence to white liberals, that he would be neutralized, deprived of his cutting edge, absorbed into the Establishment. Some who take this position urged last year that votes be withheld from the Johnson-Humphrey ticket as a demonstration of the Negro's political power. Curiously enough, these people who sought to demonstrate power through the non-exercise of it, also point to the Negro "swing vote" in crucial urban areas as the source of the Negro's independent political power. But here they are closer to being right: the urban Negro vote will grow in importance in the coming years. If there is anything positive in the spread of the ghetto, it is the potential political power base thus created, and to realize this potential is one of the most challenging and urgent tasks before the civil rights movement. If the movement can wrest leadership of the ghetto vote from the machines, it will have acquired an organized constituency such as other major groups in our society now have.

But we must also remember that the effectiveness of a swing vote depends solely on "other" votes. It derives its power from them. In that sense, it can never be "independent," but must opt for one candidate or the other, even if by default. Thus coalitions are inescapable, however tentative they may be. And this is the case in all but those few situations in which Negroes running on an independent ticket might conceivably win. "Independence," in other words, is not a value in itself. The issue is which coalition to join and how to make it responsive to your program. Necessarily there will be compromise. But the difference between expediency and morality in politics is the difference between selling out a principle and making smaller concessions to win larger ones. The leader who shrinks from this task reveals not his purity but his lack of political sense.

The task of molding a political movement out of the March on Washington coalition is not simple, but no alternatives have been advanced. We need to choose our allies on the basis of common political objectives. It has become fashionable in some no-win Negro circles to decry the white liberal as the main enemy (his hypocrisy is what sustains racism); by virtue of this reverse recitation of the reactionary's litany (liberalism leads to socialism, which leads to Communism) the Negro is left in majestic isolation, except for a tiny band of fervent white initiates. But the objective fact is that *Eastland and Goldwater* are the main enemies—they and the opponents of civil rights, of the war on poverty, of medicare, of social security, of federal aid to education, of unions, and so forth. The labor movement, despite its obvious faults, has been the largest single organized force in this country pushing for progressive social legislation. And where the Negro-labor-liberal axis is weak, as in the farm belt, it was the religious groups that were most influential in rallying support for the Civil Rights Bill.

The durability of the coalition was interestingly tested during the election. I do not believe that the Johnson landslide proved the "white backlash" to be a myth. It proved, rather, that

economic interests are more fundamental than prejudice: the backlashers decided that loss of social security was, after all, too high a price to pay for a slap at the Negro. This lesson was a valuable first step in re-educating such people, and it must be kept alive, for the civil rights movement will be advanced only to the degree that social and economic welfare gets to be inextricably entangled with civil rights.

The 1964 elections marked a turning point in American politics. The Democratic landslide was not merely the result of a negative reaction to Goldwaterism; it was also the expression of a majority liberal consensus. The near unanimity with which Negro voters joined in that expression was, I am convinced, a vindication of the July 25th statement by Negro leaders calling for a strategic turn toward political action and a temporary curtailment of mass demonstrations. Despite the controversy surrounding the statement, the instinctive response it met with in the community is suggested by the fact that demonstrations were down 75 per cent as compared with the same period in 1963. But should so high a percentage of Negro voters have gone to Johnson, or should they have held back to narrow his margin of victory and thus give greater visibility to our swing vote? How has our loyalty changed things? Certainly the Negro vote had higher visibility in 1960, when a switch of only 7 per cent from the Republican column of 1956 elected President Kennedy. But the slimness of Kennedy's victory—of his "mandate"—dictated a go-slow approach on civil rights, at least until the Birmingham upheaval.

Although Johnson's popular majority was so large that he could have won without such overwhelming Negro support, that support was important from several angles. Beyond adding to Johnson's total national margin, it was specifically responsible for his victories in Virginia, Florida, Tennessee, and Arkansas. Goldwater took only those states where fewer than 45 per cent of eligible Negroes were registered. That Johnson would have won those states had Negro voting rights been enforced is a lesson not likely to be lost on a man who would have been happy with a unanimous electoral college. In any case, the 1.6 million Southern Negroes who voted have had a shattering impact on the Southern political party structure, as illustrated in the changed composition of the Southern congressional delegation. The "backlash" gave the Republicans five House seats in Alabama, one in Georgia, and one in Mississippi. But on the Democratic side, seven segregationists were defeated while all nine Southerners who voted for the Civil Rights Act were re-elected. It may be premature to predict a Southern Democratic party of Negroes and white moderates and a Republican Party of refugee racists and economic conservatives, but there certainly is a strong tendency toward such a realignment; and an additional 3.6 million Negroes of voting age in the eleven Southern states are still to be heard from. Even the *tendency* toward disintegration of the Democratic party's racist wing defines a new context for Presidential and liberal strategy in the congressional battles ahead. Thus the Negro vote (North as well as South), while not *decisive* in the Presidential race, was enormously effective. It was a dramatic element of a historic mandate which contains vast possibilities and dangers that will fundamentally affect the future course of the civil rights movement.

The liberal congressional sweep raises hope for an assault on the seniority system, Rule Twenty-two, and other citadels of Dixiecrat-Republican power. The overwhelming of this conservative coalition should also mean progress on much bottlenecked legislation of profound interest to the movement (e.g., bills by Senators Clark and Nelson on planning, manpower, and employment). Moreover, the irrelevance of the South to Johnson's victory gives the President more freedom to act than his predecessor had and more leverage to the movement to pressure for executive action in Mississippi and other racist strongholds.

NONE OF this *guarantees* vigorous executive or legislative action, for the other side of the Johnson landslide is that it has a Gaullist quality. Goldwater's capture of the Republican party forced into the Democratic camp many disparate elements which do not belong there, Big Business being the major example. Johnson, who wants to be President "of all people," may try to keep his new coalition together by sticking close to the political center. But if he decides to do this, it is unlikely that even his political genius will be able to hold together a coalition so inherently unstable and rife with contradictions. It must come apart. Should it do so while Johnson is pursuing a centrist course, then the mandate will have been wastefully dissipated. However, if the mandate is seized upon to set fundamental changes in motion, then the basis can be laid for a new mandate, a new coalition including hitherto inert and dispossessed strata of the population.

Here is where the cutting edge of the civil rights movement can be applied. We must see to it that the reorganization of the "consensus party" proceeds along lines which will make it an effective vehicle for social reconstruction, a role it cannot play so long as it furnishes Southern racism with its national political power. (One of Barry Goldwater's few attractive ideas was that the Dixiecrats belong with him in the same party.) And nowhere has the civil rights movement's political cutting edge been more magnificently demonstrated than at Atlantic City, where the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party not

only secured recognition as a bona fide component of the national party, but in the process routed the representatives of the most rabid racists—the white Mississippi and Alabama delegations. While I still believe that the FDP made a tactical error in spurning the compromise, there is no question that they launched a political revolution whose logic is the displacement of Dixiecrat power. They launched that revolution within a major political institution and as part of a coalitional effort.

The role of the civil rights movement in the reorganization of American political life is programmatic as well as strategic. We are challenged now to broaden our social vision, to develop functional programs with concrete objectives. We need to propose alternatives to technological unemployment, urban decay, and the rest. We need to be calling for public works and training, for national economic planning, for federal aid to education, for attractive public housing—all this on a sufficiently massive scale to make a difference. We need to protest the notion that our integration into American life, so long delayed, must now proceed in an atmosphere of competitive scarcity instead of in the security of abundance which technology makes possible. We cannot claim to have answers to all the complex problems of modern society. That is too much to ask of a movement still battling barbarism in Mississippi. But we can agitate the right questions by probing at the contradictions which still stand in the way of the "Great Society." The questions having been asked, motion must begin in the larger society, for there is a limit to what Negroes can do alone.

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From Protest to Politics:

The Future of the Civil Rights Movement

By Bayard Rustin

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FROM PROTEST TO POLITICS: THE FUTURE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

BAYARD RUSTIN

I

THE DECADE spanned by the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school desegregation and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will undoubtedly be recorded as the period in which the legal foundations of racism in America were destroyed. To be sure, pockets of resistance remain; but it would be hard to quarrel with the assertion that the elaborate legal structure of segregation and discrimination, particularly in relation to public accommodations, has virtually collapsed. On the other hand, without making light of the human sacrifices involved in the direct-action tactics (sit-ins, freedom rides, and the rest) that were so instrumental to this achievement, we must recognize that in desegregating public accommodations, we affected institutions which are relatively peripheral both to the American socio-economic order and to the fundamental conditions of life of the Negro people. In a highly industrialized, 20th-century civilization, we hit Jim Crow precisely where it was most anachronistic, dispensable, and vulnerable—in hotels, lunch counters, terminals, libraries, swimming pools, and the like. For in these forms, Jim Crow does impede the flow of commerce in the broadest sense: it is a nuisance in a society on the move (and on the make). Not surprisingly, therefore, it was the most mobility-conscious and relatively liberated groups in the Negro community—lower-middle-class college students—who launched the attack that brought down this imposing but hollow structure.

The term "classical" appears especially apt for this phase of the civil rights movement. But in the few years that have passed since the first flush of sit-ins, several developments have taken place that have complicated matters enormously. One is the shifting focus of the movement in the South, symbolized by Birmingham; another is the spread of the revolution to the North; and the third, common to the other two, is the expansion of the movement's base in the Negro community.

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To attempt to disentangle these three strands is to do violence to reality. David Danzig's perceptive article, "The Meaning of Negro Strategy,"* correctly saw in the Birmingham events the victory of the concept of collective struggle over individual achievement as the road to Negro freedom. And Birmingham remains the unmatched symbol of grass-roots protest involving all strata of the black community. It was also in this most industrialized of Southern cities that the single-issue demands of the movement's classical stage gave way to the "package deal." No longer were Negroes satisfied with integrating lunch counters. They now sought advances in employment, housing, school integration, police protection, and so forth.

Thus, the movement in the South began to attack areas of discrimination which were not so remote from the Northern experience as were Jim Crow lunch counters. At the same time, the interrelationship of these apparently distinct areas became increasingly evident. What is the value of winning access to public accommodations for those who lack money to use them? The minute the movement faced this question, it was compelled to expand its vision beyond race relations to economic relations, including the role of education in modern society. And what also became clear is that all these interrelated problems, by their very nature, are not soluble by private, voluntary efforts but require government action—or politics. Already Southern demonstrators had recognized that the most effective way to strike at the police brutality they suffered from was by getting rid of the local sheriff—and that meant political action, which in turn meant, and still means, political action within the Democratic party where the only meaningful primary contests in the South are fought.

And so, in Mississippi, thanks largely to the leadership of Bob Moses, a turn toward political action has been taken. More than voter registration is involved here. A conscious bid for *political power* is being made, and in the course of that effort a tactical shift is being effected: direct-action techniques are being subordinated to a strategy calling for the building of community

*COMMENTARY, February 1964.

institutions or power bases. Clearly, the implications of this shift reach far beyond Mississippi. What began as a protest movement is being challenged to translate itself into a political movement. Is this the right course? And if it is, can the transformation be accomplished?

II

THE VERY decade which has witnessed the decline of legal Jim Crow has also seen the rise of *de facto* segregation in our most fundamental socio-economic institutions. More Negroes are unemployed today than in 1954, and the unemployment gap between the races is wider. The median income of Negroes has dropped from 57 per cent to 54 per cent of that of whites. A higher percentage of Negro workers is now concentrated in jobs vulnerable to automation than was the case ten years ago. More Negroes attend *de facto* segregated schools today than when the Supreme Court handed down its famous decision; while school integration proceeds at a snail's pace in the South, the number of Northern schools with an excessive proportion of minority youth proliferates. And behind this is the continuing growth of racial slums, spreading over our central cities and trapping Negro youth in a milieu which, whatever its legal definition, sows an unimaginable demoralization. Again, legal niceties aside, a resident of a racial ghetto lives in segregated housing, and more Negroes fall into this category than ever before.

These are the facts of life which generate frustration in the Negro community and challenge the civil rights movement. At issue, after all, is not *civil rights*, strictly speaking, but social and economic conditions. Last summer's riots were not race riots; they were outbursts of class aggression in a society where class and color definitions are converging disastrously. How can the (perhaps misnamed) civil rights movement deal with this problem?

Before trying to answer, let me first insist that the task of the movement is vastly complicated by the failure of many whites of good will to understand the nature of our problem. There is a widespread assumption that the removal of artificial racial barriers should result in the automatic integration of the Negro into all aspects of American life. This myth is fostered by facile analogies with the experience of various ethnic immigrant groups, particularly the Jews. But the analogies with the Jews do not hold for three simple but profound reasons. First, Jews have a long history as a literate people, a resource which has afforded them opportunities to advance in the academic and professional worlds, to achieve intellectual status even in the midst of economic hardship, and to evolve sustaining value systems in the context of ghetto life. Negroes, for the greater part of their presence in this country, were forbidden by law to read or write. Second, Jews have a long history of family stability, the importance of which in terms of aspiration and self-image is obvious. The Negro family structure was totally destroyed by slavery and with it the possibility of cultural transmission (the right of Negroes to marry and rear children is barely a century old). Third, Jews are white and have the *option* of relinquishing their cultural-religious identity, intermarrying, passing, etc. Negroes, or at least the overwhelming majority of them, do not have this option. There is also a fourth, vulgar reason. If the Jewish and Negro communities are not comparable in terms of education, family structure, and color, it is also true that their respective economic roles bear little resemblance.

This matter of economic role brings us to the greater problem—the fact that we are moving into an era in which the natural functioning of the market does not by itself ensure every man with will and ambition a place in the productive process. The immigrant who came to this country during the late 19th and early 20th centuries entered a society which was expanding territorially and/or economically. It was then possible to start at the bottom, as an unskilled or semi-skilled worker, and move up the ladder, acquiring new skills along the way. Especially was this true when industrial unionism was burgeoning, giving new dignity and higher wages to organized workers. Today the situation has changed. We are not expanding territorially, the western frontier is settled, labor organizing has leveled off, our rate of economic growth has been stagnant for a decade. And we are in the midst of a technological revolution which is altering the fundamental structure of the labor force, destroying unskilled and semi-skilled jobs—jobs in which Negroes are disproportionately concentrated.

Whatever the pace of this technological revolution may be, the *direction* is clear: the lower rungs of the economic ladder are being lopped off. This means that an individual will no longer be able to start at the bottom and work his way up; he will have to start in the middle or on top, and hold on tight. It will not even be enough to have certain specific skills, for many skilled jobs are also vulnerable to automation. A broad educational background, permitting vocational adaptability and flexibility, seems more imperative than ever. We live in a society where, as Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz puts it, machines have the equivalent of a high school diploma. Yet the average educational attainment of American Negroes is 8.2 years.

Negroes, of course, are not the only people being affected by these developments. It is reported that there are now 50 per cent fewer unskilled and semi-skilled jobs than there are

high school dropouts. Almost one-third of the 26 million young people entering the labor market in the 1960's will be dropouts. But the percentage of Negro dropouts nationally is 57 per cent, and in New York City, among Negroes 25 years of age or over, it is 68 per cent. They are without a future.

To what extent can the kind of self-help campaign recently prescribed by Eric Hoffer in the *New York Times Magazine* cope with such a situation? I would advise those who think that self-help is the answer to familiarize themselves with the long history of such efforts in the Negro community, and to consider why so many foundered on the shoals of ghetto life. It goes without saying that any effort to combat demoralization and apathy is desirable, but we must understand that demoralization in the Negro community is largely a common-sense response to an objective reality. Negro youths have no need of statistics to perceive, fairly accurately, what their odds are in American society. Indeed, from the point of view of motivation, some of the healthiest Negro youngsters I know are juvenile delinquents: vigorously pursuing the American Dream of material acquisition and status, yet finding the conventional means of attaining it blocked off, they do not yield to defeatism but resort to illegal (and often ingenious) methods. They are not alien to American culture. They are, in Gunnar Myrdal's phrase, "exaggerated Americans." To want a Cadillac is not un-American; to push a cart in the garment center is. If Negroes are to be persuaded that the conventional path (school, work, etc.) is superior, we had better provide evidence which is now sorely lacking. It is a double cruelty to harangue Negro youth about education and training when we do not know what jobs will be available for them. When a Negro youth can reasonably foresee a future free of slums, when the prospect of gainful employment is realistic, we will see motivation and self-help in abundant enough quantities.

Meanwhile, there is an ironic similarity between the self-help advocated by many liberals and the doctrines of the Black Muslims. Professional sociologists, psychiatrists, and social workers have expressed amazement at the Muslims' success in transforming prostitutes and dope addicts into respectable citizens. But every prostitute the Muslims convert to a model of Calvinist virtue is replaced by the ghetto with two more. Dedicated as they are to maintenance of the ghetto, the Muslims are powerless to affect substantial moral reform. So too with every other group or program which is not aimed at the destruction of slums, their causes and effects. Self-help efforts, directly or indirectly, must be geared to mobilizing people into power units capable of effecting social change. That is, their goal must be genuine self-help, not merely self-improvement. Obviously, where self-improvement activities succeed in imparting to their participants a feeling of some control over their environment, those involved may find their appetites for change whetted; they may move into the political arena.

III

Let me sum up what I have thus far been trying to say: the civil rights movement is evolving from a protest movement into a full-fledged *social movement*—an evolution calling its very name into question. It is now concerned not merely with removing the barriers to full *opportunity* but with achieving the fact of *equality*. From sit-ins and freedom rides we have gone into rent strikes, boycotts, community organization, and political action. As a consequence of this natural evolution, the Negro today finds himself stymied by obstacles of far greater magnitude than the legal barriers he was attacking before: automation, urban decay, *de facto* school segregation. These are problems which, while conditioned by Jim Crow, do not vanish upon its demise. They are more deeply rooted in our socio-economic order; they are the result of the total society's failure to meet not only the Negro's needs, but human needs generally.

These propositions have won increasing recognition and acceptance, but with a curious twist. They have formed the common premise of two apparently contradictory lines of thought which simultaneously nourish and antagonize each other. On the one hand, there is the reasoning of the New York *Times* moderate who says that the problems are so enormous and complicated that Negro militancy is a futile irritation, and that the need is for "intelligent moderation." Thus, during the first New York school boycott, the *Times* editorialized that Negro demands, while abstractly just, would necessitate massive reforms, the funds for which could not realistically be anticipated; therefore the just demands were also foolish demands and would only antagonize white people. Moderates of this stripe are often correct in perceiving the difficulty or impossibility of racial progress in the context of present social and economic policies. But they accept the context as fixed. They ignore (or perhaps see all too well) the potentialities inherent in linking Negro demands to broader pressures for radical revision of existing policies. They apparently see nothing strange in the fact that in the last twenty-five years we have spent nearly a trillion dollars fighting or preparing for wars, yet throw up our hands before the need for overhauling our schools, clearing the slums, and really abolishing poverty. My quarrel with these moderates is that they do not even envision radical changes; their admonitions of moderation are, for all practical purposes, admonitions to the

Negro to adjust to the status quo, and are therefore immoral.

The more effectively the moderates argue their case, the more they convince Negroes that American society will not or cannot be reorganized for full racial equality. Michael Harrington has said that a successful war on poverty might well require the expenditure of a $100 billion. Where, the Negro wonders, are the forces now in motion to compel such a commitment? If the voices of the moderates were raised in an insistence upon a reallocation of national resources at levels that could not be confused with tokenism (that is, if the moderates stopped being moderates), Negroes would have greater grounds for hope. Meanwhile, the Negro movement cannot escape a sense of isolation.

It is precisely this sense of isolation that gives rise to the second line of thought I want to examine—the tendency within the civil rights movement which, despite its militancy, pursues what I call a "no-win" policy. Sharing with many moderates a recognition of the magnitude of the obstacles to freedom, spokesmen for this tendency survey the American scene and find no forces prepared to move toward radical solutions. From this they conclude that the only viable strategy is shock; above all, the hypocrisy of white liberals must be exposed. These spokesmen are often described as the radicals of the movement, but they are really its moralists. They seek to change white hearts—by traumatizing them. Frequently abetted by white self-flagellants, they may gleefully applaud (though not really agreeing with) Malcolm X because, while they admit he has no program, they think he can frighten white people into doing the right thing. To believe this, of course, you must be convinced, even if unconsciously, that at the core of the white man's heart lies a buried affection for Negroes—a proposition one may be permitted to doubt. But in any case, hearts are not relevant to the issue; neither racial affinities nor racial hostilities are rooted there. It is institutions—social, political, and economic institutions—which are the ultimate molders of collective sentiments. Let these institutions be reconstructed *today*, and let the ineluctable gradualism of history govern the formation of a new psychology.

My quarrel with the "no-win" tendency in the civil rights movement (and the reason I have so designated it) parallels my quarrel with the moderates outside the movement. As the latter lack the vision or will for fundamental change, the former lack a realistic strategy for achieving it. For such a strategy they substitute militancy. But militancy is a matter of posture and volume and not of effect.

I BELIEVE that the Negro's struggle for equality in America is essentially revolutionary. While most Negroes—in their hearts—unquestionably seek only to enjoy the fruits of American society as it now exists, their quest cannot *objectively* be satisfied within the framework of existing political and economic relations. The young Negro who would demonstrate his way into the labor market may be motivated by a thoroughly bourgeois ambition and thoroughly "capitalist" considerations, but he will end up having to favor a great expansion of the public sector of the economy. At any rate, that is the position the movement will be forced to take as it looks at the number of jobs being generated by the private economy, and if it is to remain true to the masses of Negroes.

The revolutionary character of the Negro's struggle is manifest in the fact that this struggle may have done more to democratize life for whites than for Negroes. Clearly, it was the sit-in movement of young Southern Negroes which, as it galvanized white students, banished the ugliest features of McCarthyism from the American campus and resurrected political debate. It was not until Negroes assaulted *de facto* school segregation in the urban centers that the issue of quality education for *all* children stirred into motion. Finally, it seems reasonably clear that the civil rights movement, directly and through the resurgence of social conscience it kindled, did more to initiate the war on poverty than any other single force.

It will be—it has been—argued that these by-products of the Negro struggle are not revolutionary. But the term revolutionary, as I am using it, does not connote violence; it refers to the qualitative transformation of fundamental institutions, more or less rapidly, to the point where the social and economic structure which they comprised can no longer be said to be the same. The Negro struggle has hardly run its course; and it will not stop moving until it has been utterly defeated or won substantial equality. But I fail to see how the movement can be victorious in the absence of radical programs for full employment, abolition of slums, the reconstruction of our educational system, new definitions of work and leisure. Adding up the cost of such programs, we can only conclude that we are talking about a refashioning of our political economy. It has been estimated, for example, that the price of replacing New York City's slums with public housing would be $17 billion. Again, a multi-billion dollar federal public-works program, dwarfing the currently proposed $2 billion program, is required to reabsorb unskilled and semi-skilled workers into the labor market—and this must be done if Negro workers in these categories are to be employed. "Preferential treatment" cannot help them.

I am not trying here to delineate a total program, only to suggest the scope of economic reforms which are most immediately related to the plight of the Negro community. One could

speculate on their political implications—whether, for example, they do not indicate the obsolescence of state government and the superiority of regional structures as viable units of planning. Such speculations aside, it is clear that Negro needs cannot be satisfied unless we go beyond what has so far been placed on the agenda. How are these radical objectives to be achieved? The answer is simple, deceptively so: *through political power.*

There is a strong moralistic strain in the civil rights movement which would remind us that power corrupts, forgetting that the absence of power also corrupts. But this is not the view I want to debate here, for it is waning. Our problem is posed by those who accept the need for political power but do not understand the nature of the object and therefore lack sound strategies for achieving it; they tend to confuse political institutions with lunch counters.

A handful of Negroes, acting alone, could integrate a lunch counter by strategically locating their bodies so as *directly* to interrupt the operation of the proprietor's will; their numbers were relatively unimportant. In politics, however, such a confrontation is difficult because the interests involved are merely *represented.* In the execution of a political decision a direct confrontation may ensue (as when federal marshals escorted James Meredith into the University of Mississippi—to turn from an example of non-violent coercion to one of force backed up with the threat of violence). But in arriving at a political decision, numbers and organizations are crucial, especially for the economically disenfranchised. (Needless to say, I am assuming that the forms of political democracy exist in America, however imperfectly, that they are valued, and that elitist or putschist conceptions of exercising power are beyond the pale of discussion for the civil rights movement.)

Neither that movement nor the country's twenty million black people can win political power alone. We need allies. The future of the Negro struggle depends on whether the contradictions of this society can be resolved by a coalition of progressive forces which becomes the *effective* political majority in the United States. I speak of the coalition which staged the March on Washington, passed the Civil Rights Act, and laid the basis for the Johnson landslide—Negroes, trade unionists, liberals, and religious groups.

THERE ARE those who argue that a coalition strategy would force the Negro to surrender his political independence to white liberals, that he would be neutralized, deprived of his cutting edge, absorbed into the Establishment. Some who take this position urged last year that votes be withheld from the Johnson-Humphrey ticket as a demonstration of the Negro's political power. Curiously enough, these people who sought to demonstrate power through the non-exercise of it, also point to the Negro "swing vote" in crucial urban areas as the source of the Negro's independent political power. But here they are closer to being right: the urban Negro vote will grow in importance in the coming years. If there is anything positive in the spread of the ghetto, it is the potential political power base thus created, and to realize this potential is one of the most challenging and urgent tasks before the civil rights movement. If the movement can wrest leadership of the ghetto vote from the machines, it will have acquired an organized constituency such as other major groups in our society now have.

But we must also remember that the effectiveness of a swing vote depends solely on "other" votes. It derives its power from them. In that sense, it can never be "independent," but must opt for one candidate or the other, even if by default. Thus coalitions are inescapable, however tentative they may be. And this is the case in all but those few situations in which Negroes running on an independent ticket might conceivably win. "Independence," in other words, is not a value in itself. The issue is which coalition to join and how to make it responsive to your program. Necessarily there will be compromise. But the difference between expediency and morality in politics is the difference between selling out a principle and making smaller concessions to win larger ones. The leader who shrinks from this task reveals not his purity but his lack of political sense.

The task of molding a political movement out of the March on Washington coalition is not simple, but no alternatives have been advanced. We need to choose our allies on the basis of common political objectives. It has become fashionable in some no-win Negro circles to decry the white liberal as the main enemy (his hypocrisy is what sustains racism); by virtue of this reverse recitation of the reactionary's litany (liberalism leads to socialism, which leads to Communism) the Negro is left in majestic isolation, except for a tiny band of fervent white initiates. But the objective fact is that *Eastland and Goldwater* are the main enemies—they and the opponents of civil rights, of the war on poverty, of medicare, of social security, of federal aid to education, of unions, and so forth. The labor movement, despite its obvious faults, has been the largest single organized force in this country pushing for progressive social legislation. And where the Negro-labor-liberal axis is weak, as in the farm belt, it was the religious groups that were most influential in rallying support for the Civil Rights Bill.

The durability of the coalition was interestingly tested during the election. I do not believe that the Johnson landslide proved the "white backlash" to be a myth. It proved, rather, that

economic interests are more fundamental than prejudice: the backlashers decided that loss of social security was, after all, too high a price to pay for a slap at the Negro. This lesson was a valuable first step in re-educating such people, and it must be kept alive, for the civil rights movement will be advanced only to the degree that social and economic welfare gets to be inextricably entangled with civil rights.

The 1964 elections marked a turning point in American politics. The Democratic landslide was not merely the result of a negative reaction to Goldwaterism; it was also the expression of a majority liberal consensus. The near unanimity with which Negro voters joined in that expression was, I am convinced, a vindication of the July 25th statement by Negro leaders calling for a strategic turn toward political action and a temporary curtailment of mass demonstrations. Despite the controversy surrounding the statement, the instinctive response it met with in the community is suggested by the fact that demonstrations were down 75 per cent as compared with the same period in 1963. But should so high a percentage of Negro voters have gone to Johnson, or should they have held back to narrow his margin of victory and thus give greater visibility to our swing vote? How has our loyalty changed things? Certainly the Negro vote had higher visibility in 1960, when a switch of only 7 per cent from the Republican column of 1956 elected President Kennedy. But the slimness of Kennedy's victory—of his "mandate"—dictated a go-slow approach on civil rights, at least until the Birmingham upheaval.

Although Johnson's popular majority was so large that he could have won without such overwhelming Negro support, that support was important from several angles. Beyond adding to Johnson's total national margin, it was specifically responsible for his victories in Virginia, Florida, Tennessee, and Arkansas. Goldwater took only those states where fewer than 45 per cent of eligible Negroes were registered. That Johnson would have won those states had Negro voting rights been enforced is a lesson not likely to be lost on a man who would have been happy with a unanimous electoral college. In any case, the 1.6 million Southern Negroes who voted have had a shattering impact on the Southern political party structure, as illustrated in the changed composition of the Southern congressional delegation. The "backlash" gave the Republicans five House seats in Alabama, one in Georgia, and one in Mississippi. But on the Democratic side, seven segregationists were defeated while all nine Southerners who voted for the Civil Rights Act were re-elected. It may be premature to predict a Southern Democratic party of Negroes and white moderates and a Republican Party of refugee racists and economic conservatives, but there certainly is a strong tendency toward such a realignment; and an additional 3.6 million Negroes of voting age in the eleven Southern states are still to be heard from. Even the *tendency* toward disintegration of the Democratic party's racist wing defines a new context for Presidential and liberal strategy in the congressional battles ahead. Thus the Negro vote (North as well as South), while not *decisive* in the Presidential race, was enormously effective. It was a dramatic element of a historic mandate which contains vast possibilities and dangers that will fundamentally affect the future course of the civil rights movement.

The liberal congressional sweep raises hope for an assault on the seniority system, Rule Twenty-two, and other citadels of Dixiecrat-Republican power. The overwhelming of this conservative coalition should also mean progress on much bottlenecked legislation of profound interest to the movement (e.g., bills by Senators Clark and Nelson on planning, manpower, and employment). Moreover, the irrelevance of the South to Johnson's victory gives the President more freedom to act than his predecessor had and more leverage to the movement to pressure for executive action in Mississippi and other racist strongholds.

NONE OF this *guarantees* vigorous executive or legislative action, for the other side of the Johnson landslide is that it has a Gaullist quality. Goldwater's capture of the Republican party forced into the Democratic camp many disparate elements which do not belong there, Big Business being the major example. Johnson, who wants to be President "of all people," may try to keep his new coalition together by sticking close to the political center. But if he decides to do this, it is unlikely that even his political genius will be able to hold together a coalition so inherently unstable and rife with contradictions. It must come apart. Should it do so while Johnson is pursuing a centrist course, then the mandate will have been wastefully dissipated. However, if the mandate is seized upon to set fundamental changes in motion, then the basis can be laid for a new mandate, a new coalition including hitherto inert and dispossessed strata of the population.

Here is where the cutting edge of the civil rights movement can be applied. We must see to it that the reorganization of the "consensus party" proceeds along lines which will make it an effective vehicle for social reconstruction, a role it cannot play so long as it furnishes Southern racism with its national political power. (One of Barry Goldwater's few attractive ideas was that the Dixiecrats belong with him in the same party.) And nowhere has the civil rights movement's political cutting edge been more magnificently demonstrated than at Atlantic City, where the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party not

only secured recognition as a bona fide component of the national party, but in the process routed the representatives of the most rabid racists—the white Mississippi and Alabama delegations. While I still believe that the FDP made a tactical error in spurning the compromise, there is no question that they launched a political revolution whose logic is the displacement of Dixiecrat power. They launched that revolution within a major political institution and as part of a coalitional effort.

The role of the civil rights movement in the reorganization of American political life is programmatic as well as strategic. We are challenged now to broaden our social vision, to develop functional programs with concrete objectives. We need to propose alternatives to technological unemployment, urban decay, and the rest. We need to be calling for public works and training, for national economic planning, for federal aid to education, for attractive public housing—all this on a sufficiently massive scale to make a difference. We need to protest the notion that our integration into American life, so long delayed, must now proceed in an atmosphere of competitive scarcity instead of in the security of abundance which technology makes possible. We cannot claim to have answers to all the complex problems of modern society. That is too much to ask of a movement still battling barbarism in Mississippi. But we can agitate the right questions by probing at the contradictions which still stand in the way of the "Great Society." The questions having been asked, motion must begin in the larger society, for there is a limit to what Negroes can do alone.

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CORE - position papers

POLITICAL ACTION ON THE COMMUNITY LEVEL: Part 1

By: Karin Berg - Staff Associate
Community Relations Department

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
(212) CO 7-6270

This paper is to serve for discussion purposes and as an initial guide for chapter use. Your chapter may already be experienced in political action, but this is to serve those chapters who would like some concrete ideas before going into their community. Of course, there are variables but most locales will find the following applies to them. This paper should be used in conjunction with other material which the National Office has regarding community organization.

Why political action? An organized community is the most effective pressure group that can be created at the local level; it can form a lobby for legislation, can break a corrupt political machine, can improve community conditions through political pressure and through self-help programs, and can set up cooperative community projects.

What is political action? The definition of political that would fit our context would be "of or pertaining to the organization or action of individuals, parties, or interests that seek to control the appointment or action of those who manage the affairs of a state." Therefore, when a CORE chapter pickets to seek redress and change, it is taking political action. When we ask that laws be changed or existing laws be enforced, we are taking political action.

As your community organization program develops, there are some things which always must be kept in mind. CORE is working to develop leadership within the community. This means that whenever you go to the Traffic Commissioner to negotiate for a stoplight on an intersection, you should be accompanied by mothers who will stress the need for their children's safety and tell the commissioner about the accidents which have occurred due to the lack of a traffic light. When you go to the mayor or housing commissioner to negotiate demands for better housing, you should be accompanied by the leaders of tenants councils which you have helped to organize. You should not attempt to negotiate on such a level until you have organized the tenants councils. Always try to let the members of the community do the talking. You will benefit by an acting out of the situation before the appointment with members of CORE acting as the civil authorities and the members of the community acting as the negotiators. Then discuss weaknesses in the negotiation before going to your meeting. You will have to speak at some points in the discussion to point up or underline pertinent issues. Never underestimate the power of this method of negotiation. When officials see CORE with community leadership behind the organization, they are more likely to be impressed than with CORE negotiating alone.

When choosing your first targets, pick areas of prime vulnerability. Choose those areas that indicate obvious discriminatory practice. When you go to the Sanitation Commissioner to protest that areas of your community do not have garbage collected from one to two weeks at a time, have the figures that show the white community gets garbage collection more often. The street lighting may be better in the white neighborhoods, etc. If you receive no satisfaction in negotiations and finally have to go into direct action, the issue will be a clear one when you present it to the press. Also, if the community is involved in your demonstration, the issue will be pointed up even more. It is often better to stage your demonstration directly in the

community, where you have a chance for greater numbers, more unity and authenticity, rather than inside your city hall. This, of course, depends on your local conditions.

We also must never make the mistake of <u>using</u> the community to back up demands which are largely our own. <u>We are there to back up the community</u>. There will be national projects where we will present the case to the community for their support and CORE will provide the direction for other projects, but we need the community just as much as the community needs us. In fact, we have more to lose without it -- a ghetto area has nothing to lose, so they will be skeptical and large portions of it will be unmoving at your first attempts. Only by thorough and repeated follow-up will you begin to gain their confidence. Don 't expect the name of CORE to make vast inroads...you'll have a head start and they'll open doors for you that they wouldn't for others, but it won't be easy.

When working with the community, sooner or later appeals and demands must be addressed directly to legislators and the chapter then becomes involved in the legislative process. The widening of the scope of CORE's voter registration programs has necessarily brought involvement in political education. Voter registration must be directed towards an end. CORE's end has been the full involvement of the Negro community in the structure which governs; only through this involvement can our goals be achieved.

The "how to's" of any chapter's program will vary with the locale of the chapter: urban, suburban, rural, North, South, etc. A few basics to follow as you begin your program are:

<u>A. Study of local election laws</u>: Members of the chapter should be educated in these laws; workshops could be conducted and inquiries made as to how members of CORE might serve as poll-watchers at registration and elections. Those long lines, which usually occur in the minority communities, are almost always due to stalling on the part of those working the election boards to support an incumbent machine or inefficiency and lack of knowledge concerning procedures or both. The Board of Elections is chosen through patronage of the machine in power, so a hostile beauracracy is faced when attempting a breakthrough. A little patience has to be exercised when dealing with situations which result when beauracracy proves most frustrating, but if you know your facts, you can usually spot errors and abuses. When your group is confident of what it's doing, alert the press. Report all abuses and inaccuracies to the Board of Elections, the police officers at your polling place (get badge number) and report the results of your investigation and complaints to the press (and to the Department of Justice where appropriate). Always have copies of the local election and registration procedures with you and check for slip-ups before making your complaint. (Simplified copies of these procedures are given to members of most local boards before they serve and they should be available at your Municipal Board of Election). If you can, get assistance from reputable attorneys.

<u>Corrupt political machines always benefit by low registration and a low percentage of voting</u>. Higher percentages mean the community is becoming informed and wants change and action.

B. Study the precincts in the minority community. See which precincts the state senators and representatives come from. Find out which precincts the U.S. Senators and Representatives come from. (Each precinct will be dependent on the other for support and endorsement, etc.) Do those holding office represent the community's needs? How does the system of patronage work in the community? Who controls the patronage? In the courts? In the housing boards, etc.? What is the racial make-up of the precincts? Which areas are the most depressed?

C. Study the local political clubs. Often you will find two clubs of one party in the same precinct -- one white and one Negro. Or you will find that Negroes are discouraged from joining the club -- annual membership is prohibitive, etc. Does the club have a constitution? Is it a good one? Does the community ever use the club? The local political club is supposed to serve the community in which it's situated.

In the process of finding out some of the things listed above, you will find that many ideas will occur to you. Some of them will be unprintable and some you could go to jail for, but remain non-violent. You may be discouraged and remain steadfast in your belief that "all politicians are alike." But they aren't. Every now and then, you'll find a man of principle trying to keep his head above water. It's very difficult for him to do so without support, which brings up our next point...

D. Study legislation in municipal and state bodies that fall in line with your chapter's program and then discuss the relevant legislation with knowledgeable members of your community -- perhaps in a forum. The discussion will raise new ideas and from all of the above, you will find those members of the community who will evidence capabilities of potential leadership. Find the authors of the legislation that fall in line with your chapter's program -- after investigating their past records, you can determine if this is the type of representative that you can contact in the future for assistance. You will also probably want to contact him to support other legislation which will benefit the needs of the community. In the process, you can learn further details of the political situation in your locale from a reliable source.

Some chapters have already become involved in local elections; some have supported candidates for office. But if your chapter ventures into this area, some basics must be kept in mind. The most important is that the candidate you support must stay clear of ties with the leadership of corrupt political machines...the problem of political patronage has too many pitfalls. Many "reform" movements have come full circle back to the old corrupt practices in such rapid order, that a few local political clubs in the major cities have found it necessary that all those in leadership positions take pledges of accepting no patronage positions whatsoever while serving in office, due to the conflict which arises.

Chapters should not run candidates until their programs have been underway for some time and are smoothly functioning -- this does not mean that you can't support a candidate if a top-notch one comes along. But there should be full discussion within the chapter before doing so.

The problem of patronage is an area of politics filled with quicksand; the novice can go under because he is not aware of what he's getting into. Patronage is defined as "the right or control of nomination to political office;" also "the offices, contracts, honors, etc. which an official may bestow by favor."

One type of patronage is commonly called "no-show" jobs. This is the type of job whereby a politician will put someone on his payroll, but the person doesn't have to report for work. A corrupt machine will use this method to buy loyalty.

Another type of patronage is that which is legitimate appointment to a public office. The problem which arises in this area is that when a good leader, who is principled, is appointed to public office, conflicts will arise if he continues to serve on his post in the local club or local organization. Perhaps the organization doesn't support a city program or will want alterations to be made on the city program, and the leader of the group is in conflict -- if he represents his group's position, he is subject to pressure from the city administration. It might be necessary for him to resign his post in the local group when taking the city job so that he can represent an independent viewpoint and the group can function more independently.

Under the system of "no-show" jobs, the public is bilked of money. Our answer should be found in our programming, which demands public work projects to take up the slack in employment. This can even be carried on in the community, such as rehabilitation of housing. We are there to serve community needs, and the community is not served by getting jobs for one or two individuals while others could be served by the building of more and better schools, public housing, playgrounds and recreation centers. We should press for these positive measures along with an effective and responsive police department, a meaningful health program including nutrition and family planning.

If your chapter has no strong community organization program going on very steady legs, messing in the local political set-up will produce major setbacks, trouble and sometimes disaster. Just approach with caution, examine thoroughly before you act, and your chapter can become a vital force in the community.

4 March 1964

Mrs. Murray H. Bingham
Sturgeon Bay
Wisconsin

Dear Mrs. Bingham:

I am replying to your February 24 letter to Mr. Farmer. I want to take this opportunity to thank you for your continued financial support.

Let me begin by stating that they column written by William S. White grossly misinterprets CORE's position and activity. You will remember that the only action to implement the "extensive demonstrations" mentioned by White was a mass march to the post office to post letters to Dirksen. There obviously can be no argument with this tactic, since letter writing is acknowledged by all Americans as a legitimate lobbying activity.

The rest of Mr. White's column I can only interpret as an intentional misinterpretation of CORE's activity and intent. There is simply no basis for the charge that Negro organizations are going launch "the most extraordinary demonstrations against a single public office-holder in the United States since those of a century ago..." Mr. White also refers to a "naked attempt to intimidate a United States senator." I know of no plans to intimidate nor of any actions planned which could be interpreted as intimidation.

I am happy that you went to the trouble of writing us in order to verify the allegations made by Mr. White rather than accepting them as they were reported. While CORE expends less than 1% of its annual budget in lobbying activities, we do, of course, intend to work very hard for the passage of the civil rights bill. Even if we decide to picket the Senate or a particular senator, I do not see how picketing, a Constitutionally protected form of free speech, can be interpreted as intimidation. Picketing and other forms of protest have historically, in these United States, been a traditional means of expressing hard felt opinions.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:lp

Washington

Dirksen Is Under Powerful Pressure on Rights Position

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

WASHINGTON — The United States has, in the old phrase, now seized the issue of civil rights. A long and bitter struggle over that bill, as already passed by the House of Representatives, now opens.

Now opens, too, the most powerful and open pressure upon a single senator—Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois — ever applied in the memory of old Washington hands.

White

Dirksen, the Republican leader of the Senate, has long been an advocate of civil rights in general. He has, however, been opposed to any unqualified grant of power to the federal government to compel privately owned businesses to serve Negro customers against their will. He does not like or support discrimination by private businesses. But he honestly questions whether federal compulsion would not be an unconstitutional intrusion on the right of private property.

Heart of Bill

All the same, the proposed ban on this form of discrimination is the heart of this whole bill, as the Negro organizations now see it. To oppose it is to be looked upon as "against civil rights."

The Negro organizations frankly intend to drive Dirksen from his position of resistance on principle by the most extraordinary demonstrations against a single public office-holder in the United States since those of a century ago against senators not willing to vote for impeachment of President Andrew Johnson in the Reconstruction aftermath of the Civil War.

James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality has publicly declared that there will be "extensive demonstrations" in Illinois against the senator personally. He has added that "people will march en masse to the ..."

This sort of naked attempt to intimidate a United States senator is not a part of anybody's civil rights. It is, instead, a profound civil wrong. This is not the way of fair men in a free society. This is moral and intellectual mobism. And those who condone it, either out of confused motives or a lack of courage, will live to regret a shameful surrender to hysteria and demagoguery.

What happens to Dirksen personally is important in itself. For he has behaved with civility and honor in a high post in a forum whose whole tradition is based on the belief that great public issues are to be settled in the minds of men and not by crude menace, in whatever form it might take.

But what happens to Dirksen as a symbol is even more important. If pressure groups, however earnestly motivated, can picket a senator in the exercise of his duty and conscience, as though he were some industrial plant refusing a wage increase, where does the picketing stop?

A Real Threat

Can a judge be terrorized to turn from an unpopular to a popular decision in a case at law? Can a jury be swayed in the very courtroom by the chants of pickets under the courthouse windows, or thrust from its convictions by physical pressures of marching men shouldering and elbowing it as it goes out to lunch?

Can a somber and infinitely complicated national issue be decided by the simple process of selecting a single man of responsibility and pouring out upon him, day and night, the angry demands of one set of partisans in the dispute? Is this "legislation"? Or is this the thin and terrible end of a wedge that might one day be driven the whole fabric of orderly responsibility in this nation?

Gordon

Sturgeon Bay, Wis.
Feb. 24, 1964

Enc. 5.00

Mr. James Farmer
National Director, CORE
New York City

Dear Mr. Farmer,

Enclosed please find check for five dollars as evidence of good faith, in recognition of significant past accomplishments, and in hope for the future. However, if the attached article is true, I must protest.

For months now, I have carried on a personal "crusade" for civil rights and the C.R. bill via letters to the Peoples' Column in the Green Bay (Wis.) Press Gazette. My latest letter urged advocates of the bill to write to Sen. Dirksen, urging his support. I have written to him myself several times. But writing to him, presenting arguments to him, urging and exhorting him is one thing; demonstrating against him is quite another. Did it ever occur to you that being an intelligent man, and as far as we know emotionally uninvolved, he may already have made up his mind that "Public Accomodations" must pass? This may be only wishful-thinking, I realize, but if it were true, he would be risking at the very least severe loss of face in any attempt to influence favorable passage of the bill. Wouldn't you be stubborn enough to deeply resent this kind of bullying?

I have a wealth of sympathy for the Negroes' so-called impatience, believing it is high time for the white man to exhibit a little of that unbelievable patience which the black man has shown for 100 years. Impatience is not only understandable, it is normal and right and necessary, but what you are proposing, according to Mr. White, is none of these things. It is everything Mr. White says it is: unethical, immoral, dangerous. This is no longer non-violent protest; this is

vindictive, revengeful intimidation. It is unworthy of you. Please,- do not do it!

Sincerely,
Dorothy H. Bingham
(Mrs. Murray H.)

Poverty Prog.
Econ. Opp. Act.
(check with me)?

April 7, 1964

The Honorable Adam Clayton Powell
House Office Building
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Powell:

I understand that the House Committee on Education and Labor is now considering the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. CORE would welcome the opportunity to testify before the Committee in support of this bill.

I look forward to hearing from you as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

cc: Norman Hill

April 7, 1964

House Document Room
The Capitol
Washington 25, D.C.

Gentlemen:

I would be grateful to receive six copies of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Your prompt attention would be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

MAR 20 1964

with

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

March 18, 1964

MEMORANDUM

national board

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CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS ON "ANTI-POVERTY" PROPOSALS

The proposals made to the Congress by President Johnson in his Special Message on Poverty on March 16, 1964, are embodied in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. (Copies of the bill may be obtained from the House Document Room, The Capitol, Washington 25, D. C.)

Hearings were opened by the House Committee on Education and Labor, headed by Representative Adam Clayton Powell, in Washington on March 17, 1964. First to testify was Sargent Shriver, the person expected to direct the program if it is adopted. After the testimony of government officials this week, the hearings will be adjourned until April 7th and are then expected to continue through April 24th. During this time concerned organizations and individuals will have an opportunity to appear and testify or to submit a statement for the record.

We consider this bill an important first step in the government's "war on poverty." Strong opposition to it, however, is already developing. Strenuous efforts by all of us will be needed to secure its passage. We suggest the following actions:

1. Urge your members to promptly let the President, the House Committee on Education and Labor, their Senators and Representative, and their local newspaper know of their strong support of these proposals.

2. Write or wire now to Representative Adam Clayton Powell (House Office Building, Washington 25, D. C.) requesting an opportunity for your organization to testify before the Committee in support of the bill. (While direct testimony is preferable, if it is not possible for you to send a representative to the hearings, you may request that you be permitted to submit a statement for incorporation into the record.)

3. Promote a large attendance at the Committee hearings.

(SEE PAGE 2 FOR HIGHLIGHTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.)

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE:

President Johnson's billion dollar "war against poverty" program would cost $962.5 million the first year. Among other things, it calls for:

*Helping 380,000 underprivileged young people to break out of the cycle of poverty through job training and education in about 100 civilian camps and training centers ($412.5 million requested).

*Authorizing work and training in home communities for up to 200,000 boys and girls, aged 16 through 21. Young persons would be put to work in hospitals, libraries, playgrounds and other non-profit facilities ($150 million requested).

*Authorizing a work-study program for 140,000 young people from low-income families to help pay their college expenses through part-time jobs on campus or through public or non-profit agencies off-campus ($72.5 million requested).

*Stimulating local communities to organize their own anti-poverty programs with federal assistance ($315 million requested).

*Authorizing federal loans to non-profit corporations for acquisition of rural land to develop into family-size farms for sale to low-income farmers ($50 million requested).

*Authorizing grants of up to $1,500 and loans of up to $2,500 to low-income families for acquiring, improving or operating family-size farms or to supplement their income; and authorizing loans to cooperatives to provide services not otherwise available.

*Authorizing loans of up to $1,500 to small businessmen on more liberal terms than are provided under the regular loan provisions of the Small Business Administration.

*Granting a total of $150 million to states for job training and basic education programs for parents of children receiving welfare payments under aid-to-dependent-children programs.

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

File: Poverty

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination.

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CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, EXECUTIVE SECTY 38 PARK ROW

NYK

TO MOBOLIZE AND FOCUS NATIONAL SUPPORT FOR THE ADMINISTRATION'S ANTI-POVERTY BILL, I AM CALLING AN EVENING ASSEMBLY AT CITY HALL OF ALL NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS WITH HEADQUARTERS IN NEW YORK CITY TO HEAR MR. SARGENT SHRIVER GIVE AN EXPOSITION OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROGRAM AND TO HEAR DESCRIPTIONS OF THE NEED FOR ACTION FROM OTHER LEADERS IN THIS FIELD. I HOPE YOU OR AN APPROPRIATE REPRESENTATIVE OF YOUR ORGANIZATION CAN COME. WE WILL ASSEMBLE AT 8:15 P. M. IN THE CITY COUNCIL CHAMBER AT CITY HALL ON TUESDAY APRIL 21ST. PLEASE ADVISE ME PROMPTLY BY LETTER OR TELEGRAM OF YOUR ACCEPTANCE. THIS WIRE WILL SERVE AS YOUR ADMISSION

ROBERT F WAGNER MAYOR OF CITY OF NEW YORK CITY HALL NEW

File: Poverty Campaign

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
NSF
SINCE 1937

FRANK P. GRAHAM
chairman
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
vice-chairman
ELIOT D. PRATT
secretary-treasurer

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FAY BENNETT
executive secretary

APR 20 1964

April 15, 1964

Dear Jim:

I think you will be interested in seeing the enclosed statement which was presented on behalf of NSF to the House Labor Committee in support of the Anti-Poverty Bill. I'm also enclosing copies of some newspaper clippings which indicate that our farmer stole the show.

We brought Mr. Canty to Washington to participate in the Hearing. His straight-forward and earnest presentation made a great impression on the Congressmen who were present. Passage of this bill, along with the necessary administrative reforms to ensure that its provisions are made available to the people who need them, can save an awful lot of people in the South from being forced off the land.

Sincerely,

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:jk
enc.

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NEW YORK POST, MONDAY, APRIL 13, 1964

Needy Farmer Testifies for Poverty Bill

Washington, April 13 (AP)—A 56-year-old Negro farmer from South Carolina, who said he was too poor to buy glasses, read aloud in halting tones today his statement to Congress describing his rural life and his support for President Johnson's anti-poverty bill.

The farmer, Willie Preston Canty of Pinewood, told the House Labor subcommittee that he was $9,887 in debt and ineligible under present law to get a loan from any federal farm agency.

He said the Johnson bill's provision for grants up to $1,500 to poor farmers would put him back on his feet.

A different view of such grants came from Dr. Harry L. Brown, a director of the American Farm Bureau Federation, who was the first witness to testify against the bill.

Brown, who was Assistant Secretary of Agriculture under Henry A. Wallace in the 1930s, said that grants and loans to poor farmers would, "Whatever the intention may be, operate to perpetuate subsistence farming and rural slums."

"The concept that low-income families should be settled and maintaine don little farms is an old and reactionary idea," Brown said. "The result would be stabilized, government-directed and subsidized poverty."

Brown said the Farm Bureau Federation supported "the farm loan program of the Farmers Home Administration, which is primarily designed to provide assistance to those farmers who can enlarge their enterprises to become economic-sized operators."

Farmer Canty was brought before the subcommittee by Fay Bennett, executive secretary of the National Sharecropers Fund. He read his statement so slowly and haltingly that Rep. Martin (R-Neb.) questioned whether he had written it himself.

Miss Bennett said that, although Canty did have help in the statement, the main reason why he read poorly was that he couldn't afford glasses.

Canty's statement said that because of three bad crop years and the need to pay hospitalization costs for his father, he had to mortgage his farm of 55 cleared acres and 57 uncleared acres.

"My total debt, including the mortgage and cost of machines, is $9,887," he said.

Canty said he had to support his wife and three unmarried sons. The oldest of these boys, an 18-year-old, has been working in a New York barber shop but will come home next week to help on the farm, Canty said.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, Tuesday, April 14, 1964

FARM UNIT FIGHTS POVERTY PROGRAM

Bureau Leader Asserts Bill 'Does Violence to Budget'

By MARJORIE HUNTER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 13—An assistant Secretary of Agriculture during the Depression said today that the American Farm Bureau Federation was solidly opposed to the Administration's antipoverty program.

"This program does violence to a balanced budget," Dr. Harry L. Brown of Georgia, a spokesman for the farm bureau, told a special House subcommittee.

He was the first witness to voice opposition to the anti-poverty bill during the two weeks of hearings held so far by the subcommittee.

Two other farm groups—the National Farmers Union and the National Grange—were scheduled to testify today in support of the bill but were asked to come back later.

The subcommittee wanted to adjourn in time for the annual Congressional exodus to the ball park to witness the opening of the major league baseball season—a game between the Washington Senators and the Los Angeles Angels.

"Maybe this describes the mood of the country today," Representative Edith Green, Democrat of Oregon, said dryly as the subcommittee prepared to adjourn, "For heaven's sakes, don't let poverty interfere with the baseball game."

Earlier, one of the nation's poverty statistics appeared in person before the subcommittee to describe his plight. Haltingly, at times painfully, Willie Preston Canty of Pinewood, S.C., read his prepared statement.

Mr Canty, a 56-year-old Negro explained that he was $9,887 in debt because of three bad crop years and his father's extended illness. He said he needed glasses but could not afford them.

Mr. Canty said that he and his family—a wife and three children—lived on their 112-acre farm, raising four crops from which they cleared $1,200 last year. He could not get credit from farm agencies, he said, and borrowed money at 7 per cent interest from a private individual.

Mr. Canty said he thought he could get back on his feet if he could obtain a $1,500 grant under the proposed antipoverty program. With the money, he said, he would buy some cattle, a planting machine and perhaps try to raise sweet potatoes.

The American Farm Bureau Federation, in opposing the en-

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TESTIMONY OF FAY BENNETT
PRESENTED TO THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR
ON H.R. 10440, THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964
April 13, 1964

national board

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L. S. JAMES
South Carolina representative

ART EMERY
Tennessee representative

JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER
administrative assistants

My name is Fay Bennett. I am Executive Secretary of the National Sharecroppers Fund, an organization which has been working for more than a quarter of a century to bring economic and social justice to sharecroppers, tenants, small farmers, and farm workers. I appreciate the opportunity to appear before this Committee to testify to the necessity for a broad federal program to end rural poverty. We support H.R. 10440 as an important step in that direction. We are particularly interested in Title III of the Bill, in the section to help young people through the work-study, work-training, and job corps programs, and in the rural community action programs.

There is much talk about the exodus from the land. We all know that in the last few decades millions of Americans have left the farm and have gone to the city. We know that American research and know-how have made possible the production of a super-abundance of food and fiber, with fewer and fewer people. Just the other day, the financial pages of the New York Times (April 10) told of new developments to harvest prunes and lettuce mechanically. Machines are replacing men on the farm as they are in the factories.

It almost seems as though people are becoming obsolete. When machinery becomes obsolete, we scrap it. Are we also to put our jobless people on the scrap heap? It seems that this is what happens when we offer the jobless the alternative of starving or seeking relief checks.

A nation's human resources are its most important component. This is why the Economic Opportunity Bill is such a necessary and hopeful first step in the war on poverty. It offers hope that a civilized nation with a highly developed technology, educational system, and culture can do the necessary providing and planning to rescue its poor, its unemployed, and its underemployed from despair.

How will it do this?

Here is how the bill will work to help the rural poor. Title III provides for grants of up to $1,500 and loans of up to $2,500 to low-income rural families who have a reasonable possibility of bringing about a permanent increase in their income. They could do this by improving their land or acquiring more land, improving their operations, participating in cooperative associations, paying off debts, and generally "getting on their feet." They would also get technical assistance and help in planning for a better income-producing operation. Those who do not own any land of their own could buy a family-size farm from a nonprofit corporation which, under the Bill, could acquire available land and develop it for resale to low-income farm families. Its cost is slight and can mark the difference between remaining independent and being reduced to relief. This is the realistic help that many of these persons need to gain self-sufficiency.

By now this Committee is well aware of the fact that one out of three rural families (over 15 million in all) has a cash income of less than $3,000 a year. Yet $3,000 would seem like great wealth to the more than five million farm families (some of whom are hired farm workers) whose yearly income may be a few hundred dollars, or perhaps $1,000, but less than $2,000. These are the people who do not have enough to eat, whose children go to bed hungry and often do not have a pair of shoes. Their houses are unsafe, and the wind and rain blow through. They sleep four and five to a bed. They are in despair. They must have help.

Many people in these situations write to our office and ask what they can do to help themselves. Here is one such case: Mrs. C. is a sharecropper in north

Leflore County in the Mississippi Delta. She has eleven children. Her two oldest sons, aged 15 and 17, help her work the farm. They raised 24 bales of cotton last year, but all she got in the settlement was $500, on which all twelve are barely surviving. "In severe need of clothes and food," the report to our office says.

What will happen if Mrs. C. finally gives up this seemingly hopeless struggle to survive on the land? Or, what is more likely, if she is forced off by her landlord's decision to fully mechanize his cotton crop? She will probably not find work to feed, clothe, and house her family of twelve in the country or in the city. They most probably will all be reduced to complete dependence upon welfare, at a tremendous cost to her dignity, her children's future, and the economy of the community. If they come to New York City, they will join the 470,000 persons who were on the Department of Welfare's rolls in January, 1964--six per cent of the population. This welfare cost $34,668,000 for the month, for an average of $180.62 for each of the over 190,000 family cases on the rolls. If Mrs. C.'s family were paid only the average, it would come to $2,167.44 for the year.

Will the Economic Opportunity Bill help Mrs. C.? Probably not directly, and not much. But it could give her children a chance to break out of this pattern, through the work-study, work-training, and job corps programs. And it could and will help many rural families whose situation is not so extreme.

Here is the case of Mrs. D., a South Carolina widow: She and her sons, aged 27, 18, and 14, work her 109-acre farm, 70 acres of which are cleared. She raises cotton, soybeans, and tobacco. Her debts amount to $2,500, and her income is insufficient to warrant a Farmers Home Administration loan to help her improve her situation. Under Title III of this Bill, she might be eligible for a grant or a loan from FHA, along with help in planning for a more efficient and profitable farming operation. Other provisions of the Bill would help her sons prepare for a better future.

Another story comes from Mr. W. P. Canty, who is here today. He writes as follows:

"I am Willie Preston Canty. I live in Pinewood, Clarendon County, South Carolina. I have lived and worked on a farm all my life. I am still anxious to stay on a farm. I am now 56 years of age. I have a wife and three children to support. I have been operating a farm for 36 years. I raise four crops in addition to raising hogs and vegetables for my family as well as for sale.

"Last year, I was able to raise 20 bales of cotton which grossed $3,000, $400 worth of tobacco with an allotment of one acre, and $100 for soybeans. I also raise some corn. My gross income from the farm was $3,500. After paying all expenses, I had about $1,200 left. There has been a gradual decrease in the tobacco allotment which has helped to decrease my income. I was forced to mortgage my farm, which is composed of 112 acres with 55 acres clear land. My total debt including the mortgage and cost of machines is $9,887.

"Many of my relatives and friends have left the farm because of heavy indebtedness and poor crop yield plus inability to get credit. I have found it very difficult to get proper credit from agencies which lend to other farmers. My friends who have gone to cities bring back some disturbing stories about the conditions in which they have to live in some areas. I should like to stay on my farm and raise my children in the country where I feel it is best for all of us; in fact, at my age changing from the farm would <u>not</u> be <u>easy</u> nor <u>helpful</u>."

Mr. Canty will gladly answer any questions the Committee may wish to ask him.

I think that legislators from the urban areas should be deeply interested in supporting the part of Title II of the Bill which calls for community action programs in the rural as well as the urban areas. Our cities are already overcrowded and staggering under the almost crushing burden of trying to meet the needs of millions of uneducated, poorly educated, and untrained people who have already

been cast off the land. We dare not add to this intolerable burden. Many of our urban centers are potentially explosive because of the unmet needs of the millions of rural cast-offs.

The community action programs could spark the efforts needed to improve rural health and social services, education, job training and counseling, economic development, and housing. Other programs already authorized will gain greater impetus through a joint community effort aided by federal financing. All of this could bring about a rebirth in our rural areas, relieve the overcrowding in our cities, and help the nation along the road to economic prosperity and social health.

The Bill's loan program to local cooperatives to help low-income farmers would provide essential production, processing, purchasing, marketing, and other services and facilities which may make the difference between survival and going under. This is not a new idea. This kind of program literally saved thousands of small farmers during the thirties. Many of these small and struggling farmers of the thirties have become big and prosperous through their cooperatives. They aren't interested in the little fellow who today is struggling to survive as they struggled to survive thirty years ago. The government of the people in a democracy must care. It must now offer the seed money, along with the technical assistance needed, the guidance, and the intelligent planning to reawaken and renew rural communities.

Of course I am not suggesting that this Bill will bring about the millennium. Lots more is needed in the way of public works programs, extending the minimum wage and unemployment insurance to farm workers, etc.

The provisions of H.R. 10440 will help to make a family self-sufficient, able to provide its members with adequate food, clothing, and shelter. It will bring new dignity and new hope to the mothers and fathers of these families. It will save the taxpayers millions of dollars in relief and welfare payments, which

often perpetuate poverty because they do not give a family the basic help needed for a new start.

In addition, it will give local leadership the opportunity to work hand in hand with local government, state government, and federal government to take advantage of the many programs available for education, vocational training, health, and welfare. It will spur cultural development and spiritual growth.

Who can say what kind of new awakening can come from giving those now left out a chance to be included in the promise of the American dream? Who can say what new musicians will develop, new writers and composers, new orchestras and choral and theater groups, and new strength for Americans to think and work and plan together for a better country for all?

CABLE: "UAW DETROIT"

Solidarity House
8000 EAST JEFFERSON AVE.
DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48214
PHONE 926-5000

INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA-UAW

WALTER P. REUTHER.....PRESIDENT
LEONARD WOODCOCK..VICE-PRESIDENT
EMIL MAZEY .....SECRETARY-TREASURER
PAT GREATHOUSE.....VICE-PRESIDENT

File: Poverty

April 17, 1964

Mr. James Farmer, Director of Organization
Committee on Racial Equality
34 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

Dear Jim:

This is an appeal to you and your organization to join in an all-out effort to mobilize a National Citizens Crusade Against Poverty.

President Johnson has won universal commendation for his call to action for an unconditional war against poverty. The President's program is an historic step in a long road we must travel before millions of American families are liberated from the tragic plight of poverty which robs them economically, culturally and spiritually and denies them the opportunity to live useful and meaningful lives.

Dimensions of Poverty

The dimensions of human poverty in our supposedly affluent society are shocking. Millions of American families live in the sub-basements of our social structure. These are America's "have-not" people. They are the denied and disadvantaged. They are the dispossessed and the discriminated against. They are the old, the young, the Negroes and other minorities. They are the sick and handicapped. They are the sharecroppers and the migratory workers. They are the unemployed, the under-employed and the under-privileged. Not only are they denied employment and opportunities for adequate income, decent housing, good education, medical care; they are robbed of any sense of worth or of human dignity for they are cut off and live apart from the rest of our society and are denied any sense of belonging or any sense of participation.

No nation in the world is as richly blessed as is America in both human and material resources, in technological development and productive power. Yet despite a Gross National Product in excess of Six Hundred Billion Dollars, millions of our people live in abject poverty and the vicious cycle of poverty continues to breed more poverty in the face of social and economic neglect and national indifference.

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The dimensions of the problem of poverty are so staggering as to necessitate bold and adequate action at every level of government -- federal, state and local -- in a comprehensive, coordinated approach. Imperative as bold and adequate governmental action is, we must recognize, that government cannot do the job alone. What is needed is the full mobilization and cooperation and commitment of citizens groups; church, labor, industry, civil rights, civic organizations, student and others if our nation's effort to fight poverty effectively is to be successful.

Needed: A National Citizens Crusade Against Poverty

We must mobilize for a National Citizens Crusade Against Poverty by building a coalition more broadly based than the National Coalition of Conscience, which is committed to the civil rights struggle. The National Coalition of Conscience represents a powerful and dedicated army of American citizens drawn from church groups -- Protestant, Catholic and Jewish -- civil rights and civic and student groups and labor and fraternal organizations. To this broad Coalition of Conscience we can win new allies in the National Citizens Crusade Against Poverty.

The leadership of the National Coalition of Conscience is confident that justice and morality will prevail and that a meaningful civil rights bill will be enacted by the United States Senate and will become the law of the land by the signature of President Johnson. But all of us realize that the civil rights bill is not an end unto itself. It will solve no problems automatically. It will provide us with a new set of tools with which to bring to fulfillment the bright promise of first class citizenship to all Americans.

We Must Join The National Citizens Crusade Against Poverty
With The Struggle For Civil Rights

To achieve the purpose of equal opportunity and first class citizenship, the civil rights struggle must be joined with the total fight against poverty, against unemployment, against under-employment, against slums and poor housing, inadequate education and all of the other evils which mean denial and discrimination against those who are dispossessed and disinherited.

Neither the struggle for civil rights nor the crusade against poverty can be won except as they are waged and won together. The National Coalition of Conscience represents the kind of broadly based citizens organization needed for an all-out assault on poverty. The churches, civil rights groups, civic, fraternal, veterans, student and labor organizations have contacts, organization, manpower and facilities in every community, large and small, where the pockets of poverty persist.

In building the National Citizens Crusade Against Poverty we can call upon and secure the participation of other groups, including industry, farm, veterans, educators and others who can immeasurably strengthen our efforts to effectively support and supplement the meaningful implementation of programs on a community, state and federal basis.

Organize The Unemployed, The Under-Employed And The Under-Privileged

The poor are not only invisible, they are inarticulate and they are without a voice. They must be organized so that they can make their voices heard and so that they may participate in the struggle to free themselves from the poverty that imprisons them. Only as the unemployed and the under-privileged are drawn actively into this total effort can we release the full dynamics of the economic and social forces needed to do the job.

The fight against poverty must not develop along the lines of a well-intentioned social welfare program of the rich doing favors for the poor. The unemployed, the under-employed and the under-privileged must share the sense of dignity and belonging that only their active participation in this struggle can provide. So long as the unemployed, the under-employed and the under-privileged are unorganized, they will continue to be lost and their voices will not be heard. Organized they can contribute a new dynamic dimension to the struggle to wipe out the pockets of poverty.

New Bold Approach Needed

None of the organizations that make up the National Coalition of Conscience has the resources, the manpower or the organizational contacts to take on this task of organizing the unemployed, the under-employed and the under-privileged single handedly. The organizations making up the National Coalition of Conscience, supported by participation from industry, agriculture, education, veterans and other groups, would make up the National Citizens Crusade Against Poverty and together they do have the resources to do the job.

Proposal For Action

It is proposed the national leadership of the ninety-odd organizations that make up the National Coalition of Conscience, plus representation from other organizations, including industry, agriculture, education, veterans, student groups, etc., be called into a national conference at the earliest possible date for the purpose of launching a National Citizens Crusade Against Poverty. Such a one-day national conference would give consideration to:

A. Setting up a representative provisional steering committee charged with the responsibility of following through on all matters related to the launching of a National Citizens Crusade Against Poverty.

B. Setting up a representative task force committee charged with the responsibility of discussing and developing recommendations on structure, program and policies needed to effectively mobilize citizens groups and to make the greatest possible contribution in the war against poverty.

C. Setting a date for the calling of a broad citizens conference to hear and act upon the report and recommendations of the task force committee and of the provisional steering committee and to formalize the creation and launching of a National Citizens Crusade Against Poverty.

At the recent 19th Constitutional Convention of the UAW, the enclosed program, entitled "Full Mobilization for a Total War on Poverty," was adopted by the unanimous action of the approximately 2,400 delegates. The leadership and the membership of the UAW are deeply committed to the war against poverty and we are most desirous of joining and cooperating with other groups so that we might together make our maximum contribution in the war against poverty.

As a token of our commitment to this effort, the UAW International Executive Board, following the recent UAW Convention, authorized a contribution of One Hundred Thousand Dollars as seed money to be used to help launch the National Citizens Crusade Against Poverty. The UAW International Executive Board authorized an additional One Million Dollars as a pledge against the operating budget of the National Crusade Against Poverty when such a group is formed.

The purpose of this letter is to ask if you and your organization would be willing to participate in a representative national conference called for the purpose of discussing and exploring the setting up of a National Citizens Crusade Against Poverty.

I would appreciate your sympathetic consideration of this idea and I look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Walter P. Reuther

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Enc.

Walter P. Reuther, President
International Union, U A W

APR 7 1964
File

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Thacher Longstreth
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Archbishop Robert E. Lucey
San Antonio, Texas
Rabbi Julius Mark
New York, New York
Newton Minow
Chicago, Illinois
Dr. Robert Pitchell
Bloomington, Indiana
David Rabinowitz
Miami, Florida
Mrs. Ernest R. Rector
Tulsa, Oklahoma
Victor Reuther
Washington, D. C.
Bruce B. Selkirk
St. Louis, Missouri
David Shiverick Smith
Greenwich, Conn.
Mrs. Martin Vogel
Miss Betty Ward
Miami, Flordia
Marvin Weinstein
Los Angeles, California
Mrs. Paul Dudley White
Belmont, Mass.
Mrs. Hubert Wyckoff
Watsonville, California

Citizens Committee
For A
National Service Corps

1426 G Street, N.W.—Room 412
Washington 5, D. C.
Telephone 638-1854

April 2, 1964

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Program and Training Dept.
Congress on Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Carey:

The National Service Corps concept has been included in new legislation providing for a broad antipoverty program which President Johnson sent to Congress on March 16. If Congress approves this bill (Economic Opportunity Act of 1964; H.R. 10440 - S. 2642), the proposed National Service Corps program would then become one of six inter-related efforts in the legislation to eradicate the causes of human need in this nation.

Since the National Service Corps idea has been incorporated in an over-all program for the underprivileged, the purpose for which our Committee was organized no longer exists. Therefore, the Committee is disbanding.

We who have worked on behalf of the National Service Corps, whether as members of the Committee, as organizations, or as individuals, can derive considerable satisfaction in the possibility that the National Service Corps concept may yet be realized. We want to thank you for your interest and support which have helped bring this program much closer to a reality.

Very sincerely,

Malcolm Forbes
Malcolm Forbes
Co-Chairman

Mrs. Oscar Chapman
Mrs. Oscar Chapman
Co-Chairman

Poverty Program

Resolutions Committee

REPORT NUMBER FOUR

19th Constitutional Convention

UAW

MARCH 20-27, 1964

CONVENTION HALL

ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY

3

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

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19th UAW Constitutional Convention

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

Name	Local
Warren Jennings, Chairman	998
Wayne Schultz, Secretary	412
Hildred Dangerfield	372
Joseph Gioffredi	75
Frank Quinlan	200
James Ramey	652
Howard Smith	424
Art Vega	1290
Frank Wallenmann	25

Resolutions Committee Resolutions

FULL MOBILIZATION FOR A TOTAL WAR ON POVERTY

We applaud President Johnson for his pledge to lead the nation in an "unconditional war, here and now, on poverty." With forthrightness and courage he has forced millions of more affluent Americans to face up to the fact that one-fifth of the families in the richest and most productive nation of the world still live in poverty. Even more important, he has challenged us to end this ugly blight, "here and now."

The UAW responds to the President's call to action by enlisting in the war against poverty for the duration.

President Johnson's program is a good beginning but it is only a beginning. If we are to deal effectively with the problem of poverty, then the effort we make and the resources we commit must be equal to the dimensions of the problem. President Johnson's call to action has made millions of Americans for the first time realize the dimensions of poverty in a society that has enjoyed increasing affluence.

Dimensions of Poverty

Millions of American families live in the sub-basements of our social structure. These are America's "have-not" people They are the denied and disadvantaged. They are the dispospossed and the discriminated against. They are the old, the young, the Negroes and other minorities. They are the sharecroppers and the migratory workers. They are the unemployed, the underemployed and the underprivileged. Not only are they denied employment and opportunities for adequate income, decent housing, good education, medical care; they are robbed of any sense of worth or of human dignity and they are cut off and live apart from the rest of our society and are denied any sense of belonging or any sense of participation.

In reporting on poverty, the President's Council of Economic Advisers found that ". . . one-fifth of our families and nearly one-fifth of our total population are poor."

Of these 30-odd million people, 22 per cent are nonwhite; and nearly half of all nonwhites live in poverty.

. . . The heads of over 60 per cent of all poor families have only grade school educations. Of all nonwhite families headed by a person with such limited education, 57 per cent are poor.

. . . One-third of all poor families are headed by a person over 65, and almost one-half of families headed by such a person are poor.

. . . The poor are not confined to any area. Fifty-four per cent live in cities, 16 per cent on farms, and 30 per cent are rural nonfarm residents.

. . . Over 40 per cent of all farm families are poor. More than 80 per cent of nonwhite farmers live in poverty.

. . . With only one-third of all families, the South contains almost half of the poor.

. . . One-quarter of all poor families are headed by a woman, but nearly one-half of all families headed by a woman are poor.

. . . About one-third of all the poor are children under 18. The children of poverty are deprived not only of the material things of life, including an adequate diet and medical care, but are also robbed of much of their potential for development as human beings.

. . . To be born nonwhite in America is an economic tragedy. In 1962 the median income of nonwhite families was $3,330 compared to $6,237 for white families. Forty-five per cent of all nonwhite families have incomes below $3,000 per year.

. . . One-third of all American youth are unqualified for military service, and one-half of these are disqualified on mental grounds, largely the result of illiteracy which has its root in a cycle of poverty, public and private.

There is little need to add to this catalog of American poverty. Its dimensions are broad, deep, and visible to all who have eyes to see. The great need in American life is to stir the conscience of the people who too often in the past have manifested only a casual and sluggish concern with poverty in the land.

Mobilize America for a Total War Against Poverty

We must mobilize America for a total war against poverty. Nothing less will do the job. There is no simple solution to this tragic human problem and to the effects of years of social neglect to which the staggering problem of human poverty gives testimony. Many things must be done on many fronts. We must be prepared to fight an all-out war against the persistent pockets of poverty with the same national commitment and with an allocation of our resources comparable to the effort and the resources that we committed when a foreign enemy threatened our security. A continuation of neglect of the broad social, economic and political aspects of human poverty represents an internal threat to our future of equal gravity.

The future of our way of life can be made secure only as we afford every person the opportunity to live a secure and good life and enjoy a sense of worth and human fulfillment.

Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Great Depression

In the depth of the great depression, Franklin D. Roosevelt called a nation to arms against poverty, against the problem of a nation one-third ill clothed, ill housed and ill fed. We have made some progress since the dark and desperate days of the depression. Measured by the standards of social justice, however, we have not done as well as we must do if the increasing wealth made possible by our developing technology is to be shared more equitably.

Franklin D. Roosevelt correctly said:

> "The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little."

The lessons of the years leading to the great depression — of growing economic concentration at the top of our social structure and growing pockets of poverty at the bottom need heeding today. The shift toward a more equitable distribution of national income that resulted from the policies of the New Deal under Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Fair Deal under Harry S. Truman, were reversed during the eight years of the Eisenhower Administration.

The share of all personally held wealth owned by the richest one per cent of U. S. adults declined from 36.3 per cent in 1929 to 20.8 per cent in 1949, but then increased to 28.0 per cent in 1961.

The key to an all-out effort to wipe out the persistent pockets of poverty is the full mobilization of the nation's economic potential through full employment and full production and the relating of the abundance of automation to the unmet needs, public and private, of all the people in the fields of education, housing, health care and living standards.

Needed: A Comprehensive Program in the War Against Poverty

There are many facets to the poverty problem, none of which can be dealt with in isolation. What is needed is a comprehensive, over-all, coordinated program that attacks the problem on many fronts at the same time.

The problems of civil rights, inadequate education, school drop-outs, slums, poor neighborhoods, unemployment, underemployment, obsolete skills, the aged and the handicapped — these are all inseparably bound together with the total problem of poverty.

The Government Must Act Boldly

The dimensions of the poverty problem are so staggering that bold and affirmative action is needed at every level of our governmental structure. Abraham Lincoln stated,

> "The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all or cannot do so well for themselves, in their separate individual capacities."

The fight against poverty will be won only as we as a free people act together with common purpose and with a common will.

In launching all-out war on poverty, adequate measures to immediately alleviate human suffering are imperative. The food-stamp plan and other measures to provide an adequate diet for all needy families should be improved and extended. But at the same time that such humanitarian efforts are being pursued, fundamental measures must deal with the basic causes of poverty at their roots. In planning these actions, three major areas of responsibility in which the federal government must lead — but in which state and local governments and private groups must cooperate — are evident.

1. Since a majority of our lowest-income families have members in the labor force, it is self-evident that the long and persistent trend of rising unemployment and underemployment must be reversed, if any significant progress is to be made in eradicating proverty. Achievement of the national goal of a job at decent pay, a minimum wage of at least $2 an hour) for all Americans who are able to work and seeking work must underlie any realistic antipoverty program.

2. A meaningful attack on the causes of want must deal effectively with the need for adequate income maintenance when unavoidable hardships destroy a family's ability to be self-supporting. This is particularly true in the case of most of the aged, broken families generally headed by a woman with children in her care, and families in which the breadwinner has died, is incapacitated or unemployed.

3. In the effort to conquer poverty, a substantially greater effort also must be launched to meet special problems of the poor in the areas of health, education and personal adjustment. Particularly, increased and improved opportunities for educa-

tion must be made available for the children of the poor, if the cycle of poverty is to be broken.

Full Employment Key

The stubborn persistence of poverty since the mid-1950s — during a period in which the majority of Americans have continued to improve their living standards — is substantially rooted in the rising trend of unemployment and part-time work. What is more, if this deplorable situation is allowed to continue — as a consequence of labor displacement at a time when new job-seekers are increasing faster than ever before — we will experience spreading poverty rather than its reduction. If national economic policy enthrones greater productive efficiency and higher profits as the top-priority goals, rather than fulfillment of the promises of the Employment Act of 1946, a crusade against poverty — no matter how well intended — will show only scant results.

The nation's war against poverty must focus mainly on eradicating its causes and not on relief for its symptoms. Obviously, the poor need immediate assistance and should receive it. But above all, they need help in lifting themselves and their children out of poverty.

National policies to sharply increase employment — for the jobless and underemployed, for the victims of discrimination, for the young people flocking into the labor force and for those who will be displaced by automation — are the essential foundations of an antipoverty program. Through the rest of this decade at least, the American economy must create over 4 million job opportunities a year — 80,000 a week — in order merely to keep unemployment from growing. To the extent that we fail, want will grow.

On the basis of the record, this objective will not be reached without bold, far-reaching leadership by the federal government.

Expanded Public Works Projects

One of the major needs at this time—in addition to other long-range job-expanding actions — is a vast increase in federal outlays for job-creating public works. This will quickly create jobs — including substantial employment opportunities for unskilled and semiskilled workers on and off the site — and at the same time provide vitally needed public improvements of

permanent worth. Towards this end, the now expiring Accelerated Public Works program should be extended, with a minimum $2 billion appropriation, and similar measures should be enacted which would create jobs, in building schools, hospitals, housing, in urban redevelopment and in making other improvements that all communities urgently need. In addition special programs must be enacted to provide jobless young people with useful employment opportunities.

These and other job-creating measures can succeed in sustaining full employment only if they are accompanied by effective procedures for adjustment to the labor-displacement and community disruption of automation, defense cutbacks, and, frequently, foreign imports.

In addition, many related special programs to assist low-paid workers and the jobless are essential parts of the campaign to eliminate poverty.

Priorities Needing Government Action

1. Speed the passage of the civil rights bill as an essential step in the crusade against segregation, discrimination, and the denial of basic rights of citizenship to the Negroes and other minorities with resulting poverty and injustice.

2. Creation of a broad program to assure a decent education to every child or adult who is capable of absorbing the knowledge, including not only federal aid to education, manpower training, and other oft-urged aids, but training and scholarship programs which will enable the children of the poor to dress decently, eat properly and provide themselves with the minimum essentials required to attend school — at all levels — with supplementation of inadequate family income while children and youth are in school.

3. Launch an attack on the special problems that poverty creates for young people through enactment of the Job Corps, urban work and student work programs called for by President Johnson in his special "War on Poverty" message to Congress. Poverty grinds with terrible severity upon the young. We need to take them off the streets. The provisions of the President's Economic Opportunities Bill would assist in achievement of this goal. Many deprived citizens need the help and counsel of a knowledgeable and understanding fellow human. The Volunteers for America Program provided for in the President's Bill would lend this kind of succor.

4. Move immediately to enact new legislation in the field of health and education to enable every old person and child to secure the medical care necessary to health and comfort and the education essential to leading a full life and enjoying equality of opportunity.

5. Broaden the Fair Labor Standards Act to cover all possible workers and increase the minimum wage to $2.00 per hour. The present coverage and wage standards prescribed by FLSA are far too meager to properly safeguard against poverty income for low-wage workers.

6. Liberalize Old Age Assistance, Aid to Dependent Children, and other insurance and welfare programs so that we will not be underwriting what is publicly admitted to be a state of poverty.

7. Pursue programs placing a floor under the incomes of family farmers, but provide also that hired farm workers be granted the rights long since granted to industrial workers, including minimum wages, protection in the right to organize, and unemployment compensation. And, above all, allow P. L. 78 — the Mexican contract labor program — to die this year.

8. Create a more adequate and up-to-date unemployment compensation system through the application of adequate federal standards. To provide decent safeguards for the families of those who are injured or killed at work, federal standards are also needed to upgrade the archaic workmen's compensation systems of the states.

9. Bring up to date the benefit and coverage levels of all state social insurance and welfare programs. Moreover, public assistance payments must be increased to meet the family needs of the 1960s, and improvements of community welfare programs are required.

10. We urge the President to create a small full-time Commission on Poverty, in the nature of the Civil Rights Commission, to assist him as a "watch dog" organization constantly observing, prodding, and reviewing the programs and the administration of the programs dealing with poverty.

Full employment is a condition precedent to any meaningful attack on poverty. Joblessness is a basic cause of poverty, and the productivity of now jobless workers and unused plants can

go far in providing the slum clearance, housing, hospitals, schools, resources development, and other things which are absolutely essential if poverty is to be reduced or eliminated. Therefore, we urge that consideration be given to every productive means of reducing unemployment to a minimum and the provision of a decent level of income for the unemployed in the interim.

National Coalition of Conscience Against Poverty

The struggle for civil rights and equal opportunity and for first class citizenship is being waged by a powerful and dedicated army of American citizens of every race, creed, color and political persuasion. The leadership of civil rights organizations, civic and fraternal groups, church groups, including Protestant, Catholic and Jewish, and the labor unions have joined to form a great National Coalition of Conscience. This National Coalition of Conscience sponsored the historic March for Jobs and Freedom on August 28, 1963. This National Coalition of Conscience has aroused the moral conscience of America and has worked effectively to secure passage of President Kennedy's Civil Rights bill by the House of Representatives. The National Coalition of Conscience is currently mobilizing support to break the filibuster in the Senate and to assure passage of the Civil Rights bill enacted by the House of Representatives. We are determined to win on the civil rights front. We are confident that justice and morality will prevail.

The Civil Rights bill is not the end of our efforts. It will solve no problems automatically. It will provide America with a new set of tools with which to work to bring to fulfillment the bright promise of first class citizenship to all Americans. To achieve the purpose of equal opportunity and first class citizenship, the civil rights struggle must be joined with the total fight against poverty, against unemployment, against under-employment, against slums and poor housing, inadequate education and all of the other evils which mean denial and discrimination against those who are dispossessed and disinherited.

A Call to Action — Labor, Churches, Civil Rights, Civic Groups

Let us take the lessons learned and the new structure we have formed in the National Coalition of Conscience and fully mobilize its forces for an all-out crusade against poverty parallel to our crusade for civil rights. These two struggles must be joined for neither can truly be won except as they are waged together.

The National Coalition of Conscience represents the kind of broadly based citizens organization needed for the all-out assault on poverty. The organized churches, civil rights groups, civic, fraternal and labor organizations have contacts, organization and facilities in every community, large and small, where the pockets of poverty persist.

These broadly based organizations can most effectively support and supplement the meaningful implementation of governmental programs on a community, state and federal basis.

Organize the Unemployed, the Under-Employed and the Under-Privileged

The poor are not only invisible, they are inarticulate and they are without a voice. They must be organized so that they can make their voices heard, so that they will have the organization through which they may participate in the struggle to free themselves from the poverty that imprisons them. Only as the unemployed and the under-privileged are drawn actively into this total effort can we release the full dynamics of the economic and social forces needed to do the job.

The fight against poverty must not develop along the lines of a well-intentioned social welfare program of the rich doing favors for the poor. The unemployed, the under-employed and the under-privileged must share the sense of dignity and belonging that only their active participation in this struggle can provide. So long as the unemployed, the under-employed and the under-privileged are unorganized, they will continue to be lost and their voices will not be heard. Organized they can contribute a new dynamic dimension to the struggle to wipe out the pockets of poverty.

New Bold Approach Needed

None of the organizations that make up the National Coalition of Conscience has the resources, the manpower or the organizational contacts to take on this task of organizing the unemployed, the under-employed and the under-privileged single handedly. The organizations making up the National Coalition of Conscience, however, together do have the resources, the manpower, and the organizational structure and the contacts to do the job. It is proposed that the national leadership of the 90 odd organizations that make up the National Coalition of Conscience be called into a National Conference at the earliest possible date for the purpose of:

1. Discussing the joining together of the struggle for civil rights and the struggle to wipe out the pockets of poverty.

2. Setting up a special task force charged with the responsibility of discussing and developing recommendations on the structure and program at the national, state and national levels needed to effectively organize the unemployed, the under-employed and the under-privileged so that their voices can be heard and so that they might be actively drawn into the struggle to wipe out poverty and discrimination.

3. Giving special attention in the structure and program to youth, the problems of school dropouts and training, the problems of retired citizens, and of older workers denied employment because of age.

4. Assuring that the organization of the unemployed, underemployed and the under-privileged will be a nonpolitical basis and shall work with any person, program or group committed to democratic principles and the programs and policies developed by the National Coalition of Conscience.

5. Directing that the special task force be prepared to report back to a National Conference called by the organizations making up the National Coalition of Conscience for the purpose of hearing the report and recommendations of the special task force and initiating action. Now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That this Convention commend President Johnson for his declaration of "unconditional war against poverty" and pledge its fullest cooperation in support of his efforts. And be it further

RESOLVED: That this Convention call upon the labor unions, religious groups, civil rights, civic and fraternal organizations to participate in such a National Conference and to cooperate in developing and implementing an effective program. And be it finally

RESOLVED: That the UAW pledge its full support, organizationally, financially and morally to the launching of such a great moral crusade through the grand alliance of the National Coalition of Conscience. And be it further

RESOLVED: That this Convention mandate the International Executive Board and the International Officers of the UAW to take immediate, practical steps to implement this comprehensive, coordinated attack against poverty.

Reproduced by Michigan Welfare League

file Poverty-program

SUMMARY OF

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964

As passed the House and Senate

(Note: Italicized type indicates amendments to H.R. 11377.)

TITLE: To mobilize the human and financial resources of the Nation to combat poverty in the United States.

The bill is entitled the "Economic Opportunity Act of 1964." Section 2 of the bill declares that it is the policy of the United States to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this Nation by opening to everyone opportunities for education, training, work, and a life of decency and dignity, and that the purpose of the act is to strengthen, supplement, and coordinate efforts in furtherance of that policy.

TITLE I—YOUTH PROGRAMS

Title I provides for three separate programs for youth—a Job Corps, Work-Training Programs, and Work-Study Programs.

Part A—Job Corps

Section 101 declares that the purpose of this part is to increase the employability of young men and young women aged 16–21 by providing them in rural and urban residential centers with education, vocational training, useful work experience, and other appropriate activities.

Section 102 establishes a Job Corps within the Office of Economic Opportunity created by title VI.

Section 103 authorizes the Director of the Office to (a) enter into agreements with public or private organizations for the establishment and operation, in rural and urban areas, of conservation camps and training centers and for the provision of necessary facilities and services, including agreements relating to conservation and managing public natural resources and public recreational agencies, including agreements for botanical survey programs; (b) provide education and vocational training to enrollees in the Corps, except, that where practicable, such programs must be provided through local public educational agencies or by private vocational or technical institutes; (c) provide useful work experience; (d) furnish health services; and (e) prescribe rules and regulations to govern the Corps.

Section 104 provides that the Corps shall be composed of males and females aged 16 through 21 who are permanent residents of the United States. Participation in the Corps shall not relieve an enrollee of his Selective Service obligations. Enrollment shall be for a maximum of 2 years except as the Director may determine in special cases. *Each enrollee must file with the Director an affidavit that he does not belong to or support a subversive organization or believe in the doctrines of such an organization.*

Section 105 provides for living allowances and maintenance of enrollees. Upon termination of enrollment, each enrollee shall receive a readjustment allowance amounting to not more than $50 per month for each month of satisfactory participiation in the Corps. However, under circumstances determined by the Director, up to $25 of the $50 may be paid directly to a member of his or her family during the period of service in the Corps, and any such payments shall be matched by the Director.

Section 106 contains technical material concerning the application to enrollees of provisions of the Internal Revenue Code, Social Security Act, Federal Employees' Compensation Act, and the Federal Tort Claims Act.

Section 107 (a) protects enrollees from discrimination due to political beliefs, other than those specifically authorized by law; (b) prohibits officers, employees, or enrollees in the Corps from participating actively in political activities or soliciting funds from members of the Corps for political purposes; and (c) gives the United States Civil Service Commission authority to instruct the Director to take punitive measures if the purposes of this section are violated.

Section 108 authorizes the Director to assist States in operating their own programs which carry out the purposes of this part. The Director may pay part or all of the costs of such programs.

Section 109 declares that no Job Corps camp or training center may be established in a State unless a plan has been submitted to the Governor of the State and has not been disapproved by him within 30 days.

Section 110 establishes within the Job Corps a Youth Conservation Corps to which no less than 40 percent of the enrollees under this part shall be assigned. The work activities shall be directed primarily toward conserving public natural resources of the United States and developing public recreation areas. Such work shall be under the direction of agencies primarily concerned with conservation of natural resources and development of recreation areas.

Part B—Work Training Programs

Section 111 declares that the purpose of the part is to provide useful work experience opportunities for unemployed young men and women through participation in State and community work-training programs.

Section 112 authorizes the Director to assist and cooperate with State and local public agencies and private nonprofit organizations (*other than political parties*) in developing programs for the employment of young people in State and community activities.

Section 113 authorizes the Director to enter into agreements to pay part or all of the costs of such programs if he determines that they meet the statutory standards. Those standards are: (1) the participants will be employed on publicly owned and operated facilities or projects, or projects sponsored by private nonprofit agencies, *other than political parties or so much of any facility used for sectarian purposes;* (2) the program will increase the employability of participants in fields where job openings are likely to exist, or will enable them to resume or maintain school attendance; (3) the program will permit or contribute to an undertaking or service in the public interest that would not otherwise be provided, or to conservation work; (4) the program will not displace employed persons; (5) appropriate and reasonable compensation and working conditions will be provided; (6) to the maximum extent feasible, the program will be coordinated with local public vocational training and educational services; and (7) the program includes selection standards and procedures. The Director is required to give priority to projects with training potential.

Section 114 provides that participation in work-training programs shall be limited to young men and women aged 16 through 21 who are permanent residents of the United States. Participants shall be deemed not to be Federal employees. The section also authorizes the Director to provide for testing, counseling, job development, and referral services to youths.

Section 115 sets limits on the amount the Director can pay to work-training programs. Payments for the period ending 2 years after the enactment of the act, or June 30, 1966, whichever is later, shall not exceed 90 percent of the costs of such programs, and thereafter shall not exceed 75 percent of such costs, unless the Director determines, pursuant to objective criteria, that greater percentages are required. Non-Federal contributions may be in cash or kind.

Section 116 requires the Director to establish criteria to achieve an equitable distribution of assistance among the States, considering among other relevant factors the ratios of population, unemployment, and family income levels. Not more than 12½ percent of the sums appropriated or allocated for any fiscal year to assist work-training programs may be used within any one State.

Part C—Work-Study Programs

Section 121 declares that the purpose of work-study programs is to stimulate and promote the part-time employment of students in institutions of higher education who are from low-income families and need such earnings to continue their education.

Section 122 (a) provides that of the sums appropriated or allocated for any fiscal year to assist the work-training programs, not more than 2 percent shall be allotted by the Director to Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, *the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands,* and the Virgin Islands, and the remainder of the sums shall be allotted as in (b) which provides that of the sums allotted, (1) one-third shall be on the basis of the total number of persons enrolled full time in institutions of higher education in each State; (2) one-third on the basis of the number of high school graduates in the State, and (3) one-third on the basis of the number of children under 18 living in families with annual incomes of less than $3,000. Provision is made for reallocation by the Director of sums not granted to an institution of higher learning by the end of the fiscal year.

Section 123 authorizes the Director to enter into agreements with such institutions to pay part of the compensation of students employed under such work-study programs.

Section 124 requires that such agreements shall provide that (a) such programs shall be operated by the institution for the part-time employment of its students in work (1) for the institution itself, or (2) for a public or private nonprofit organization if (A) work related to the student's educational objective, or (B) is in the public interest and is work which would not otherwise be provided and will not result in displacement of employed workers; (b) funds granted under section 123 are used only for payments to students participating in work-study programs, except that not more than 5 percent of such funds may be used for administrative expenses; (c) such employment shall be furnished only to a full-time student from a low-income family who needs the work to stay in the institution; (d) such employment shall not exceed 15 hours a week while classes are in session; (e) the institution shall continue to expend for student employment an amount not less than its average annual expenditure for such employment during the 3 preceding fiscal years; (f) payments under section 123 shall not exceed *90 percent of the total compensation of such students during the period ending 2 years after the enactment of the act, or June 30, 1966, whichever is later, and 75 percent thereafter;* and (g) such work or like work shall be reasonably available to all needy eligible students.

Section 125 provides that the bill not be construed to restrict the source of the matching funds from which the institution pays its share.

Section 126 provides that the Director establish effective criteria for distribution under this part.

Part D—Authorization of Appropriations

Section 131 authorizes an appropriation for this title for the fiscal year of 1965 of $412,500,000, and for the fiscal years of 1966 and 1967 such sums as Congress appropriates thereafter.

TITLE II—URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

Part A—Community Action Programs

Section 201 declares that the purpose of this part is to provide stimulation and incentive for communities to mobilize their resources to combat poverty through community action programs.

Section 202 defines a "community action program" as one (1) which mobilizes and utilizes public or private resources of any urban or rural, or combined urban and rural, geographical area (termed a "community"); (2) which provides services, assistance, and other activities of sufficient scope and size to give promise of progress toward eliminating poverty; (3) which is conducted with the maximum feasible participation of members of the areas and groups served; and (4) which is conducted by a public or private nonprofit agency (*other than a political party*) or a combination thereof.

Section 203 (a) provides that of the sums appropriated or allocated for any fiscal year to assist the community action programs, not more than 2 percent shall be allotted by the Director to Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, *the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands,* and the Virgin Islands; 20 percent of such amount shall be reserved to be used as the Director shall determine; and the remainder shall be allotted as provided in subsection (b) which provides that of the sums allotted (1) one-third shall be on the basis of the number of public assistance recipients in each State; (2) one-third shall be on the basis of the number of unemployed persons in each State; (3) one-third on the basis of the number of children under 18 living in families with annual incomes of less than $1,000. Subsection (c) authorizes the Director to reallocate unused funds. Subsection (d) provides that the term "State" for the purposes of this part does not include Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, *the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands,* and the Virgin Islands.

Subsection 204 authorizes the Director to make grants or contracts to pay part or all of the costs of development of community action programs.

Section 205 deals with Federal assistance for the conduct and administration of community action programs. Subsection (a) authorizes the Director to make grants or contracts to pay part or all of the costs of conducting and administering such programs or components of such programs. Such components shall be focused upon the needs of low-income individuals and families and shall be concerned with such fields as education, employment, job training and counseling, health, vocational rehabilitation, welfare, special remedial and other noncurricular educational assistance for the benefit of the poor. Subsection (b) prevents any grant for general aid to elementary or secondary education in any school or school system. Subsection (c) lists factors to be considered by the Director to give special consideration to programs which give promise of effecting a permanent increase in the capacity of those aided to deal with their problems without further assistance.

Section 206 authorizes the Director to provide technical assistance to communities in developing and administering community action programs and training for specialized personnel.

Section 207 authorizes the Director to conduct or contract for research, training, and demonstrations pertaining to the purposes of title II, but expenditures for such activities in any fiscal year shall not exceed 15 percent of the sums appropriated or allocated to title II for such year.

Section 208 sets limits on the amount of Federal assistance that can be extended under sections 204 and 205. Such assistance paid for the period ending 2 years after the enactment of the act, or June 30, 1966, whichever is later, shall not exceed 90 percent of the costs referred to in these sections, and thereafter shall not exceed 75 percent of such costs, unless the Director determines, pursuant to objective criteria, that greater percentages are required. Non-Federal contributions may be in cash or in kind. The non-Federal expenditures or contributions for a community action program or component thereof shall be in addition to the aggregate expenditures or contributions from non-Federal sources being made for similar purposes before Federal assistance was extended.

Section 209 requires the Director to establish procedures for effective State participation in community action programs. *Each plan under titles I and II of this act must be submitted to the Governor of the State and may not be effected unless the Governor has not disapproved of the plan within 30 days. This does not apply to contracts, agreements, or assistance to any institution of higher education in existence on the date of approval of this act. Furthermore, no private organization may participate under this part unless it has in the past been concerned with problems of poverty, or is sponsored by a public agency, or is an institution of higher education.*

Section 210 requires the Director to establish criteria to achieve an equitable distribution of assistance under title II among the States and between urban and rural areas and sets forth certain factors to be considered.

Section 211 requires the Director, in extending assistance *under the act* to give preference, to the extent feasible, to programs and projects which are components of an approved community action program.

Part B—Adult Basic Education Programs

Section 212 provides that the purpose of this part is to initiate programs for instructing *individuals 18 years or older* in reading and writing so that they will be able to obtain employment commensurate with their real ability, and make them less dependent on others for their well-being.

Section 213 (a) authorizes the Director to make grants to States where plans have been approved by him under this section; and (b) provides that grants under (a) may be used for (1) pilot projects by local educational agencies relating to instruction in public schools, taking into account local needs; (2) supplementing the costs of local educational agency programs for adult education; and (3) assisting in developing State adult basic education programs.

Section 214 (a) requires that the Director shall approve the plan of a State which provides for State administration, assures reports to keep the Director informed of the carrying out of such programs, assures adequate fiscal control and fund accounting procedures to afford efficient disbursement of Federal funds, assures adequate health procedures for the carrying out of these programs; and (b) prevents the Director from disapproving any such State plan without notice and hearing.

Section 215 (a) provides that, of the sums appropriated or allocated under section 212 for any fiscal year, no more than 2 percent shall be allotted by the Director to Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, and the Virgin Islands, and the remainder of the sums shall be allotted on the basis of the number of adults in each State who have not completed more than five grades of school or its equivalent. No State shall receive less than $50,000 and, to assure that each State shall receive at least that amount, the sum to all other States shall be proportionately reduced. The term "State" shall not apply to Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, and the Virgin Islands for the purposes of this subsection; (b) provides that if any State's allotment under (a) is not used in any fiscal year, it may be reallocated to the other States in proportion to their original allotment under (a); and (c) provides that any State's allotment under (a) for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, except as provided under (b), shall remain available until June 30, 1966, for the carrying out of its plan.

Section 216 (a) provides for the payment of the Federal share of State adult basic education plans. Such payments shall be made in advance on the basis of estimates by the Director and in installments; and (b) provides that, for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1965, and June 30, 1966, the Federal share for each State shall be 90 percent and thereafter 50 percent.

Section 217 (a) provides that, whenever the Director determines, after notice and hearing, the State plan has been changed so as to not comply with section 213, the Director shall notify the State agency that no further payments will be made until he is satisfied that there will no longer be failure to comply; and (b) provides that such State agency dissatisfied with the final action of the Director under this section or section 213 may appeal to the United States court of appeals. The court's finding shall be subject to review by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Section 218 defines *(1)* the term "State educational agency" to mean the State board of education or other agency responsible to the State for the supervision of public elementary and secondary schools, or if different, responsible for the supervision of adult basic education, whichever may be designated by the Governor or by statute; *(2)* "local educational agency" as a board of education or other local school authority having administrative control and direction of public elementary or secondary schools in a locality.

Part C—Voluntary Assistance Programs for Needy Children

Section 219 declares that the purpose of this part is to allow individual Americans to participate in the war on poverty by voluntarily assisting needy children.

Section 220 authorizes the Director to establish an information and coordination center within the Office of Economic Opportunity. The center will collect information about children needing assistance and those individuals wishing to give financial aid. The center will in no way interfere with local welfare agencies.

Part —Authorization of Appropriations

Section 221 provides that, for the purposes of carrying out this title, $340 million is authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and for fiscal years 1966 and 1967 such sums as may be appropriated hereafter by Congress.

TITLE III—SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO COMBAT POVERTY IN RURAL AREAS

Section 301 declares that the purpose of the title is to meet some of the special problems of rural poverty and thereby to raise and maintain the income and living standards of low-income rural families and migrant agricultural employees and their families.

Part A—Authority to Make Grants and Loans

Section 302 authorizes the Director to make 15-year loans not exceeding $2,500 in the aggregate to any low-income farm family where there is reasonable possibility that such loan will affect a permanent increase in the income of such families by helping them to improve real estate and the operation of family-sized farms and to participate in cooperatives. Loans will be given under this section only if the family does not qualify under an existing program.

Section *303* authorizes loans to cooperative associations furnishing essential services, supplies, or facilities predominantly to low-income rural families.

Section *304* conditions assistance under this part upon a determination by the Director that such assistance will materially further the purposes of this part and, in the case of a corporation or cooperative, that the applicant will fulfill a need not otherwise being met.

Section *305* provides that loans under tne title shall have such terms and conditions as the Director determines, subject to (a) reasonable assurance of repayment, (b) credit not otherwise being available on reasonable terms, (c) assurance of completion of the project for which the loan is made, (d) interest at a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, plus a possible additional charge to cover costs, (e) terms of not more than 30 years (except for the 15-year loans provided for in section 302), and (f) no assistance shall be given to corporations or cooperatives for the production of agricultural commodities or manufacturing purposes.

Part B—Assistance for Migrant Agricultral Employees and Their Families

Section 311 provides that the Director shall assist the States in programs to meet some of the problems of migrant *and other seasonally employed agricultural* workers with respect to housing, sanitation, education, and the day care of children, the assistance to be provided by direct loans.

Part C—Authorization of Appropriations

Section 321 authorizes an appropriation to the Director for the fiscal year 1965 of *$35 million* and for the fiscal years 1966 and 1967 such sums as may be authorized by Congress hereafter, and provides that *not more than $15 million* of funds *appropriated under other titles of this act* may be utilized for the migrant employees and their families.

Part D—Indemnity Payments to Dairy Farmers

Section 331 authorizes the Director to make payments to dairy farmers who have been directed, since January 1, 1964, to remove their milk from the market because it contains chemicals approved by the Federal Government at the time of use. These payments shall continue until each dairy is reinstated and is again allowed to sell milk. Such sums as necessary to carry out the purposes of this part are authorized, the authority granted under this part to expire on January 31, 1965.

TITLE IV—EMPLOYMENT AND INVESTMENT INCENTIVES

Section 401 declares that the purpose of the title is to assist small business concerns and improve the managerial skills used therein; and to mobilize for these objectives private as well as public managerial skills and resources.

Section 402 authorizes the Director to make or guarantee 15-year, *$25,000 loans* to small business concerns or to persons seeking to establish such concerns, where such loans will assist in carrying out the purposes of title IV with particular emphasis on employment of long-term unemployed. The Director may require a borrower to participate in a management training program as a condition of the loan.

Section 408 provides that no assistance may be provided under section 421 in a community with an approved community action program unless consistent with that program.

Section 404 provides that loans under this part (including participations and guarantees) shall have such terms and conditions as the Director shall determine subject to the following limitations: If there is reasonable assurance of repayment, financial assistance is not otherwise available from other sources, and the amount of the loan and other available funds is sufficient to complete the project for which the loan is sought, the loan is subject to the rate of interest determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, plus a possible additional charge to cover costs and the right on loan guarantees to require fees to cover administrative expenses and probable losses.

Section 406 prohibits establishments from relocating for the purpose of undertaking work theretofore performed by other establishments.

Section *407* provides that the Director shall carry out the programs provided for in this title during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the 2 succeeding fiscal years.

TITLE V—WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAMS

Section 501 declares that the purpose of the title is to expand the opportunities for work and training for those who are unable to support or care for themselves or their families.

Section 502 provides that in order to stimulate States to adopt programs to help unemployed fathers and other needy persons to secure employment or otherwise attain capability for self-support, the Director is authorized to transfer to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare funds to make payments for experimental, pilot, or demonstration projects under section 1115 of the Social Security Act.

Section 503 authorizes an appropriation to the Director for the fiscal year 1965 of $150 million; and for the succeeding 2 fiscal years such sums as may be authorized by Congress hereafter.

TITLE VI—ADMINISTRATION AND COORDINATION

Part A—Administration

Section 601 establishes the Office of Economic Opportunity in the Executive Office of the President. After 1 year the President may provide for the transfer of the office else-

where in the executive branch by complying with the procedures of the Reorganization Act of 1949. The Office shall have a Director, *a Deputy Director, and three Assistant Deputy Directors,* who shall be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. *The rate of compensation for the Director will be at a comparable level to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, for the Deputy Director at a comparable level to the Deputy Director of the Bureau of the Budget, and for the Assistant Deputy Directors at a comparable level to the Assistant Secretaries of the Executive Departments.*

Section 602 authorizes the Director to: (a) appoint personnel in accordance with the civil service laws and fix their compensation; (b) employ experts and consultants; (c) appoint and compensate members of an advisory committee; (d) with the approval of the President, arrange for other Federal agencies to carry out functions under the act and, as necessary, delegate his powers; (e) utilize, with their consent, the services and facilities of other Federal, State, and local agencies, without reimbursement; (f) accept, use, and dispose of gifts and bequests; (g) accept voluntary services; (h) allocate and expend, or transfer to other Federal agencies for expenditure, funds made available under the act; (i) disseminate data and information without regard to certain postal restrictions; (j) adopt an official seal; (k) deal with property acquired on loans and guarantees; (l) collect and compromise obligations; (*m*) *use funds for printing, binding, and rent and upkeep of buildings;* (*n*) establish policies, prescribe rules and regulations, and generally take such steps as are appropriate to carry out this act.

Section 603 authorizes the Director to recruit, select, and train Volunteers in Service to America. Upon request of State and local agencies or private nonprofit organizations he may refer volunteers to work on programs combating poverty at a local level. He may assign volunteers to work (a) in meeting the health and education needs of Indians, migratory workers, and residents of certain areas under Federal jurisdiction, (b) in nonprofit mental health facilities assisted by Federal funds, and (c) in federally operated programs or activities under titles I and II of the act. No volunteer may work in any State without the consent of the Governor. The Director may provide to all volunteers during training and to assigned volunteers a stipend up to $50 a month, together with living allowances and maintenance. Volunteers shall be deemed not to be Federal employees to the same extent as enrollees in the Job Corps.

Section 604 establishes an Economic Opportunity Council to consult with and advise the Director on his functions, including that of coordinating all Federal antipoverty efforts. The Council shall include the Director and appropriate Cabinet officers and agency heads.

Section 605 establishes a National Advisory Council to consist of the Director and not more than 14 additional members, appointed by the President, to represent the general public and fields of endeavor related to the act. At the Director's request, the Council shall review the operations of the Office and make recommendations.

Section 606 establishes a revolving fund for loans and guarantees under titles III and IV and contains provisions for its operation.

Section 607 provides that all laborers and mechanics employed by contractors or subcontractors under this act shall be paid wages not less than those prevailing in the locality as determined by the Secretary of Labor in accordance with the Davis-Bacon Act.

Section 608 provides that within 120 days after each fiscal year, the Director shall submit a report for transmittal to the Congress.

Section 609 defines the terms "State," "United States," and "agency" as used in the act and the term "family" as it applies to Job Corps enrollees.

Part B—Coordination of Antipoverty Programs

Section 611 contains provisions to insure that all Federal antipoverty programs are carried out in a coordinated manner. The Director may call on Federal agencies for assistance and the agencies are required to cooperate.

Section 612 directs each Federal agency head administering any Federal program to give preference to applications for assistance made under an approved community action program.

Section 613 provides for the dissemination of information about Federal antipoverty programs.

Section 614 declares that nothing in this act authorizes Federal control of administration of education or of curriculum.

Section 615 authorizes an appropriation to the Director for the fiscal year 1965 of $10 million; and for the fiscal years 1966 and 1967 such sums as may be authorized by Congress hereafter.

Section 616 prohibits making payments in conjunction with this act to any individual who does not file with the Director an affidavit that he does not believe in, belong to, or support a subversive organization.

TITLE VII—TREATMENT OF INCOME FOR CERTAIN PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PURPOSES

Section 701 provides that funds received under this act shall not be regarded as income in determining need under State plans or public assistance under the Social Security Act.

25-183-h U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

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DE LLK276 LLZ22 LLZ22 PD WUX ZXM DETROIT MICH 14 NFT
AMES FARMER, DIRECTOR CARE 34 PARK ROW
NYK

JUL 15 1964

AT THE JUNE 24TH MEETING OF THE CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY IN WASHINGTON D C YOU WERE DESIGNATED TO BE INVITED TO SERVE ON THE TEMPORARY POLICY AND PROGRAM COMMITTEE TO DRAW UP RECOMMENDATIONS ON POLICY STRUCTURE AND PROGRAM TO BE PRESENTED AT A FOUNDING CONFERENCE OF THE CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY TO BE SCHEDULED IN LATE SEPTEMBER THE FIRST MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE WILL BE HELD AT 1:00 PM THURSDAY JULY 30 AT THE ROOSEVELT HOTEL IN NEW YORK CITY SHORTLY A WORKING PAPER WILL BE SENT TO YOU SO THAT YOU WILL HAVE OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW IT BEFORE THE MEETING

I SINCERELY HOPE YOU WILL FIND IT POSSIBLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS MEETING OR SEND A REPRESENTATIVE AND I LOOK FORWARD EAGERLY TO WORKING WITH YOU IN THIS IMPORTANT ENDEAVOR TO ELIMINATE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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POVERTY FROM OUR MIDST. KINDEST REGARDS

WALTER P REUTHER.

Poverty Act

THIS IS A DRAFT FOR DISCUSSION ONLY

GUIDE TO THE PROGRAM OF GRANTS TO STATES FOR PROVIDING TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO COMMUNITIES

Authorized under Sections 204 and 205 of Title II-A, Economic Opportunity Act of 1964

Community Action Program
OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY
Washington, D. C.

November 6, 1964

GUIDE TO THE PROGRAM OF GRANTS TO STATES FOR PROVIDING TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO COMMUNITIES

TABLE OF CONTENTS

A. GRANTS TO STATES FOR TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

1. Contents of this guide
2. Purpose of the program
3. Federal Assistance available
4. Allotment of grant funds
5. Submission to the Governor
6. Non-discrimination

B. ELIGIBILITY OF APPLICANT AGENCIES

1. Designation by the Governor
2. Eligible agency
3. Relation to the Governor
4. Coordination with other State agencies

C. ELIGIBILITY OF ACTIVITIES

1. State initiative
2. Examples of eligible activities
3. Means of providing assistance
4. Ineligible expenditures

D. PREPARATION OF APPLICATION FOR TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE GRANTS

1. Application procedure
2. Application instructions

EXHIBIT I. Allotment of FY 1965 Technical Assistance Grant Funds To States Under Section 209(b)

EXHIBIT II. Suggested Form of Letter from Governor Consenting to Plan for Assistance to State Under Section 209(b)

THIS IS A DRAFT FOR DISCUSSION ONLY

November 6, 1964

GUIDE TO THE PROGRAM OF GRANTS TO STATES FOR PROVIDING TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO COMMUNITIES

Authorized under Section 209(b) of the
Economic Opportunity Act of 1964

A. GRANTS TO STATES FOR TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

1. Contents of this guide. This guide sets forth policies and application procedures of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) in providing financial aid to States under Section 209(b) of Title II-A of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

2. Purpose of the program. In order to facilitate the effective participation of the States in community action programs as defined in Title II-A, Section 209(b) authorizes the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to make grants to appropriate State agencies for the payment of the expenses of such agencies in providing technical assistance to communities in developing, conducting, and administering community action programs.

3. Federal assistance available. Grants to State agencies for the provision of technical assistance may cover up to 90 percent of the total cost of providing such assistance. The remainder, or non-Federal share, may be provided by any public or private agency, but may not include assistance provided directly or indirectly through another Federal program, nor may any portion of the non-Federal share under any other Federal program be used to meet matching requirements under this technical assistance program.

   The non-Federal share may be provided either in cash or in kind, fairly evaluated. In kind contributions may include the services of staff engaged in the technical assistance program and in necessary supporting or "over-head" activities. Other eligible contributions may include the use of office space, vehicles, office equipment, and other facilities and equipment necessary to the effective operation of the technical assistance program. Contributions shall be valued for this purpose at their actual or depreciated cost or fair value, but may not include any monetary value attributed to volunteer services.

   No credit will be given toward the non-Federal share for costs incurred prior to the date of approval of a grant by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

4. Allotment of grant funds. Federal funds for technical assistance grants will initially be allotted among the 50 States generally in accordance with the formula for allotment of community action program funds set

forth in Section 203(b) of the Economic Opportunity Act, except that a minimum amount will be established to be allotted in each fiscal year to any State.

The current amount of these allotments is set out in an attachment to this guide. (See Exhibit I.)

Grant requests in excess of the allotment formula amounts may be submitted, and will be considered on their merits and in relation to such factors as: (a) evidence of requests from communities for technical assistance which cannot be met from the initial allotment, (b) the extent to which the applicant is in a position to utilize efficiently and expeditiously the assistance for which application is made, and (c) availability of Federal funds, taking into account requirements for other programs authorized under Title II-A.

No specific allotment of grant funds for technical assistance under Section 209(b) will be made for the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, or the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Requests for technical assistance grants under Section 209(b) may be made by these jurisdictions and will be considered in relation to the factors cited just above.

5. Submission to the Governor. Section 209(c) of the Act provides that no assistance shall be provided under Titles I and II, except to an institution of higher education, unless a plan setting forth the proposed assistance has been submitted to the Governor of the appropriate State, and is not disapproved by him within 30 days after the submission. The provisions of Section 209(c) apply to grants for programs of technical assistance under Section 209(b) as well as to the other parts of Titles I and II. When an application for a technical assistance grant has been received and found to be acceptable, OEO will submit a plan setting forth the proposed grant to the Governor, pursuant to the provisions of Section 209(c).

   The Governor may signify his approval or disapproval of the proposed grant at any time after receipt of the plan, or he may await the expiration of the 30-day period. If the Governor wishes to signify his approval of the plan prior to the expiration of the 30-day period, he should so notify the Director of OEO. (A sample letter which may be used for this purpose is included as Exhibit II.)

6. Non-discrimination. No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance under Title II-A of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

B. ELIGIBILITY OF APPLICANT AGENCIES

1. Designation by the Governor. The Governor of each State shall determine the appropriate State agency to apply for technical assistance funds and to carry out the State's program of technical assistance. The Governor shall designate a single State agency to administer the technical assistance program and a single official to be his authorized representative to the Office of Economic Opportunity with regard to the technical assistance program.

2. Eligible agency. The State agency designated as responsible for the technical assistance program may be a new agency, specifically established for this purpose, or it may be an existing State agency. For example, the Governor may choose to create a new agency, which may become a part of the Office of the Governor, much as the Office of Economic Opportunity is a part of the Executive Office of the President. Or he may designate an existing agency with a broad area of concern, such as a central administrative agency or a statewide planning agency. Or he may designate a functional agency, such as one responsible for education, health, welfare, employment, housing, or other activities included in the scope and content of a community action program.

   Private organizations, whether non-profit or otherwise, or public agencies other than State agencies, may not be applicants for technical assistance grants under Section 209(b). Such organizations may, however, be retained under contract or agreement by the designated State agency to assist in the provision of technical assistance to communities.

3. Relation to the Governor. Whatever State agency is designated should have a direct and close relation to the Office of the Governor. This is to ensure that the operation of the technical assistance program is coordinated with the exercise of the responsibility of the Governor under Section 209(c) of the Economic Opportunity Act and is closely related to the coordination of State agencies in an attack on poverty.

4. Coordination with other State agencies. Whatever State agency is designated, provision shall be made for coordination of the program with all State agencies that administer programs directly related to an attack on poverty. This may be achieved through use of an existing mechanism, such as a Governor's Cabinet, or through establishment of an inter-agency advisory or policy-making council with representation from such agencies. Appropriate private organizations with statewide interest may also be represented on such a body.

C. ELIGIBILITY OF ACTIVITIES

1. State initiative. The applicant State has considerable flexibility in determining what technical assistance activities will be undertaken, the manner in which assistance will be provided, and the types of communities to be assisted, subject to the policies and procedures set forth in this guide and to such further policies and procedures as may be issued by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

2. Examples of eligible activities. Among the activities which may be undertaken as part of an eligible technical assistance program are:

   a. Assistance to local public and private nonprofit agencies in the establishment of agencies designed to develop, conduct, and administer community action programs.

   b. Assistance to communities in the preparation of applications for Federal aid in the development, conduct, and administration of community action programs (as provided under Sections 204 and 205 of the Act). Such assistance may relate to any component of a community action program, whether financed under Title II-A, or any other Title of the Act, or under any other appropriate Federal program.

   c. Assistance to communities in carrying out program development activities and in the conduct and administration of a community action program.

   d. Increasing the knowledge and effectiveness of local personnel and officials engaged in community action programs through such means as conferences and workshops and the distribution of published information and reports.

   e. Assistance to communities in securing the coordinated aid of State agencies in the development, conduct, and administration of community action programs and in obtaining financing for such programs.

   f. Conduct of surveys, analyses, and studies of problems of poverty, deprivation, dependency, and other matters within the scope of the Economic Opportunity Act for use by local public and private nonprofit agencies in developing, conducting, and administering community action programs.

3. Means of providing assistance. Among the means that may be utilized to conduct a technical assistance program are:

   a. Performance of services by full-time staff of the State agency designated by the Governor to administer and coordinate the program.

   b. Use of personnel from other State agencies on a part-time or full-time basis, under working agreement, to perform specialist or technical functions.

c. Retaining the services of qualified consultants from universities, local communities, or private organizations to perform services under contract on a per diem or other compensation basis. No third party contract or agreement may be entered into for the provision of consultant services as part of a technical assistance program until a copy of the proposed third party contract or agreement has been submitted to OEO for information purposes. Prior approval by OEO of third party contracts or agreements is not necessary--unless specifically required by OEO at the time of grant approval--provided that the third party contract or agreement is subject to all of the conditions of the technical assistance grant.

The designated State agency will ordinarily be expected to use its own staff to perform the major portion of the technical assistance activities. Major or exclusive dependence upon personnel from other State agencies or on consultants is permissible if appropriately justified and if staff resources of the designated agency are adequate for program supervision and coordination.

4. Ineligible expenditures. The following activities may not be financed as part of a technical assistance program:

a. Any expenditure made or cost incurred prior to the date of approval of a grant by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

b. Any aspect of the review, consideration, or handling of an application for assistance under the Economic Opportunity Act incident to action by the Governor in accordance with the provisions of Section 209(c) of the Act.

c. Purchase of real property, motor vehicles, or other property or equipment costing in excess of $500.

D. PREPARATION OF APPLICATION FOR TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE GRANTS

1. Application procedure. Applications for technical assistance grants under Section 209(b) shall be submitted by the designated State Agency to Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D. C. An application shall consist of Forms TA-1 and TA-2, accompanied by attachments containing the information requested on those forms.

   Four copies of each application, including all attachments, shall be submitted. Only two copies, however, need to contain the actual signature of the authorized representative and of the Governor.

2. Application instructions. The following checklist refers to items as numbered on Forms TA-1 and TA-2 and provides information for use of applicants in completing those forms.

Item No.	Information to be submitted
1.1	Type of application. An amendment is any type of application except the initial submission.
1.2	Designated agency and representative. Attach a copy of the executive order establishing or designating the State agencywhich is to undertake the technical assistance program and the authorized representative of the Governor for liaison with OEO. If the designation has been made in a form other than by executive order, attach a letter from the Governor setting forth the designation of State agency and authorized representative.
1.3	Payee. Insert the name of the State agency or account to which payment of the technical assistance grant should be made by the Treasury.
1.4	Description of program. Attach a statement describing the technical assistance program the applicant proposes to undertake, using the following outline: 1. Scope and content. a. Describe the activities to be undertaken to assist communities, including the means by which technical assistance will be provided (such as staff visits, aid by consultants, publications, conferences, meetings, loan of personnel, etc.) b. Indicate how the communities to be assisted will be selected, and how consideration will be given to aiding rural as well as urban communities.

2. Organization

a. Describe the nature of the State agency designated to administer the technical assistance program. Include organization charts showing (1) the relation of the designated agency to other State agencies and (2) the internal organization of the designated agency.

b. Describe the relationship of the designated agency to the Governor and how this relationship will operate to ensure coordination of activities of all State agencies.

If the Governor has designated another State agency or official to assume responsibility either for review of applications for Federal assistance under the Economic Opportunity Act incident to action by the Governor under Section 209(c) or for coordination of State activities under the Act, indicate the relationship of the designated technical assistance agency to such other agency or official.

c. Describe the relationship of the designated State agency to other State agencies and what means will be utilized to achieve the cooperation of other State agencies in the assistance program.

3. Program conduct

a. Describe the ways in which the staff of the designated agency will be selected and the qualifications that have been established for the various staff positions.

b. Describe the ways, if any, in which personnel from other State agencies will be utilized in carrying out the program.

c. Describe the ways, if any, in which consultants will be utilized in carrying out the program and the ways in which such consultants will be selected. Where consultant organizations have already been selected, indicate the name and nature of the organization to be utilized, and its prior experience in the fields in which it is to work.

1.5 Time period. Federal assistance is limited by statute to not more than 24 months after the date of grant approval. Except in special circumstances, however, grant periods will be limited to not more than 12 months.

Initial applications should cover the period from anticipated date of grant approval to September 1, 1965.

2.1 Attach a statement justifying the salaries to be paid to personnel engaged in the technical assistance program in terms of salaries for comparable positions in other State agencies and/or in other public or private agencies, where appropriate.

EXHIBIT I

ALLOTMENT OF FY 1965 TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE GRANT FUNDS
TO STATES UNDER SECTION 209(b)

STATE	AMOUNT
Alabama	$ 149,000
Alaska	25,000
Arizona	40,000
Arkansas	76,000
California	437,000
Colorado	46,000
Connecticut	51,000
Delaware	25,000
Florida	132,000
Georgia	135,000
Hawaii	25,000
Idaho	25,000
Illinois	229,000
Indiana	75,000
Iowa	59,000
Kansas	42,000
Kentucky	118,000
Louisiana	139,000
Maine	25,000
Maryland	63,000
Massachusetts	116,000
Michigan	173,000
Minnesota	87,000
Mississippi	138,000
Missouri	127,000
Montana	25,000
Nebraska	26,000
Nevada	25,000
New Hampshire	25,000
New Jersey	131,000
New Mexico	30,000
New York	405,000
North Carolina	178,000
North Dakota	25,000
Ohio	213,000

EXHIBIT I (continued)

STATE	AMOUNT
Oklahoma	79,000
Oregon	35,000
Pennsylvania	302,000
Rhode Island	25,000
South Carolina	102,000
South Dakota	25,000
Tennessee	133,000
Texas	267,000
Utah	25,000
Vermont	25,000
Virginia	96,000
Washington	73,000
West Virginia	91,000
Wisconsin	69,000
Wyoming	25,000

EXHIBIT II

SUGGESTED FORM OF LETTER FROM GOVERNOR CONSENTING TO PLAN FOR ASSISTANCE TO STATE UNDER SECTION 209(b)

Director
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C.

Re: _____
(Program Number)

Dear Sir:

I have your letter of _____ with respect to Federal assistance to the _____ in carrying out a program of technical assistance under the provisions of Section 209(b) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, Public Law 88-452. I hereby consent to the carrying out of the plan described in that letter.

(Date)

(Name of State Agency)

Sincerely,

_____
(Governor)

file
Poverty Act

December 23, 1964

Mr. Sam Vernoff
U. S. Department of Labor
Manpower Administration
Washington, D.C. 20210

Dear Sam:

I very much appreciate your comments in your letters of November 10th and December 2nd. I am leaving the country for a month and have passed your suggestions on th the CORE staff for study and implementation.

I look forward to talking with you soon after my return in February.

Sincerely,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:nm

MEMORANDUM

TO: Marvin Rich and James T. McCain **DATE:** December 16, 1964

FROM: Gordon Carey

He has an excellent point. We should gather together whatever information we have in order to supply our chapters with as much information as possible, about how they can participate in the poverty programs.

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

Answer this letter

DEC 4 1964

December 2, 1964

Jim:

Received Miss Mutarelli's reply in your behalf to my November 10 letter. As a starter, let me tell you just that the story, as I see it, is like so - as you may know: CORE groups are not being involved or involving themselves in the poverty program to the extent they could - from the point of view of the law, willingness of communities to work with them, etc. I realize that from the point of view of their own resources, they may not, in all instances, be able to do much, if anything. There is some evidence, however, that Negro communities aren't always buying the "excuse" of the unfortunate weakness of local CORE resources - a weakness more often than not beyond CORE's control - and will, in fact, strike out on their own, i.e., without CORE leadership; indeed without any leadership.

It is my view - which I give you personally, unofficially, informally, etc., for what it may be worth - that there is an unspeakably great urgency for CORE to educate at least CORE people on the program and its implications - specifically, in terms of what CORE groups could and should do. If I can be of any help in any way in this connection, please let me know.

Sam Vernoff

Sam Vernoff

cc Mc Mann

November 20, 1964

Mr. Sam Vernoff
U. S. Department of Labor
Manpower Administration
Washington, D.C. 20210

Dear Mr. Vernoff:

Thank you for your letter of November 10th addressed to Mr. Farmer. Mr. Farmer is out of town and he has asked me to reply.

Mr. Farmer will be delighted to discuss the matter of "work-training" for youth any time you are in New York that is mutually convenient. Please let him know in advance and he will try to arrange a meeting.

Otherwise, when Mr. Farmer will be in Washington he will contact you. In the meantime, if it would be useful to discuss some of the items by phone, please feel free to call.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Staff Associate

NM:LP

November 10, 1964

NOV 12 1964

Mr. James Farmer
Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Jim:

This is by way of follow-up on our all-too-brief conversation at the airport in D. C. some weeks ago.

I realize that you couldn't possibly have had the opportunity to get together with me prior to the elections in regards to how we may be able to be of mutual assistance in promoting the program for so-called "work-'training'" for youth under Title 1-B of the Poverty Act. (I must limit my official concern, of course, to the Mid-Atlantic Region - Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky and North Carolina - of which I am at least tentatively "Regional Supervisor.") I wish to be sure, however, that you know that I have some specific, concrete things in mind to discuss with you, officially and formally, as well as unofficially and informally.

I am not sure, however, that a special trip to New York - or on your part to D. C. - for the expressed purpose of talking to you in the above connections is warranted, at this time. For the present, I should like to leave it this way: If other business brings me to New York, I will try to add to the agenda my business with you; if other business brings you this-a-way, I would hope that you would add this business to your agenda. Alternatively, we can try to do at least some business by phone. I'm not sure how effective this would be, however.

Best wishes,

Sam Vernoff
a.w.

U.S. Dept. of Labor
Manpower Administration
Washington D.C.
20210

POVACT

January 5, 1965

Mr. Edward Wynne
Office of Economic Opportunity
Executive Office of the President
Room 510
Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Mr. Wynne:

One of our chapters has raised several questions about the literature of the Job Corps that was distributed by you with a covering letter from us. I feel that two of these points are important and require serious consideration.

The first is in regard to the location of Job Corps Centers in southern states. These training centers will be interracial in character as they should be. However, we feel that it is important that the local community be given some awareness of its responsibility to treat all Job Corps members equally and with consideration.

The second concerns the statement, "Youth displaying 'serious anti-social behavior', as evidenced by a criminal record, are not accepted.". While certainly we agree that those displaying certain anti-social behavior necessarily create problems, and in some cases should be excluded, it is not certain that a criminal record should be a bar. Clearly, many people who have had a criminal record would make admirable members of the Job Corps and would contribute to the pool of talent that the country so desperately needs.

I do hope that the Job Corps will find ways of extending its benefits to the greatestenumber of those who can be helped by the program. It would be most unfortunate if the Job Corps were simply to skim the cream and accept only those who have the most likelihood of success, for these are the ones who least need the program.

I would welcome your comments.

Sincerely yours,

Marvin Rich
Community Relations Director

MR:mm

a national organization with affiliated local groups

CONGRESS OF RHODE ISLAND CORE
RACIAL EQUALITY

to abolish racial discrimination by direct nonviolent methods

Rev. Arthur L. Hardge
chairman
William Silvert
vice chairman
Roberta Slavit
secretary
Leo Laporte
corr. secretary
Irving Espo
treasurer
P. O. Box 2395
Providence, Rhode Island 02906

James Farmer
national director
Richard Haley
assistant to the director
Carl Rachlin, Esq.
general counsel

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secretary
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treasurer
James Peck
CORElator editor
Gordon Carey
program director
James T. McCain
director of organization
Marvin Rich
community relations director

DEC 30 1964

December 28, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer,

We received the covering letter and material on the Job Corps and agree to concentrate much of our energy in implementing this program. We are making plans to give the film a wide distribution and are starting to interest unemployed youth and high-school dropouts in joining the Job Corps.

A newspaper article on the Job Corps which appeared in the (Providence) Evening Bulletin, Wednesday December 9, raised a few criticisms and comments in our minds. We are quite concerned about the statement that: "Youth displaying 'serious anti-social behavior,' as evidenced by a criminal record, are not accepted." Since the object of this program is to fight poverty and rehabilitate those who can not make a decent living in our society because they come from a deprived background, the very victims of poverty and slum conditions -- young people with criminal records -- should certainly be covered by the Job Corps.

The second point relates to rural locations in Southern states for Job Corps centers. Since these camps will be interracial, we feel that preparation is necessary in the communities surrounding these camps to unsure equal treatment and service to the Negro job corpsmen. If this program is to be a real sucess, it is crucial that the government makes sure that community leaders understand that there will be no discrimination.

The third point concerns mention of some 18,000 applicants for staff positions in the Job Corps centers and the necessity of some screening. We feel that it is essential that the screening process eleminates all those who are otherwise qualified but do not have sufficient understanding of the conditions which produced these young people and the special problems they are facing.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Mason

Robert Mason, Chairman
Community Services Project

December 5, 1964

Mr. Edward Wynne
Office of Economic Opportunity
Executive Office of the President
Room 510
Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Mr. Wynne:

As agreed in our telephone conversation this morning, I am enclosing two original copies of the covering letter to be included with the materials that will be sent to our chapters.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Staff Associate

NM/m

December 1, 1964

Mr. Edward Wynne
Office of Economic Opportunity
Executive Office of the President Rm 510
Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Mr. Wynne:

Thank you for your letter of November 30, detailing the ways in which you would like CORE to cooperate with the Job Corps in recruiting young people for the program.

We will be very glad to assist in whatever way we can. Enclosed you will find a list of all the CORE chapters. We suggest that initially you send fifty copies of each of the materials to each chapter.

As soon as we receive the sample copies of the materials we will send you a covering letter for you to include with the mailings.

We look forward to hearing from you and receiving the copies of the materials.

Sincerely yours,

James McCain
Director of Organization

JMcC:nm
Enclosure

December 5, 1964

Dear Chapter Chairman:

I am writing to you about the Poverty Act of 1964, which has offered us an excellent challenge to help young people. One phase of the Act established the Job Corps. The Corps aims to help poorly educated and unskilled youth throughout the country of all races from ages 16 through 21. Often these youths are unemployed. They will be placed in Job Corps Centers where they will live and can develop skills and self confidence. We are enclosing with this letter recruiting materials to interest these young people in the Corps.

Some of these young people have not finished high school; others are weak in reading or arithmetic or cannot find a satisfactory job. The Centers will provide training and work programs and will give these young people a chance to prepare themselves for a better future.

Corps members will get a training allowance of $50 a month. They will also receive pocket money, room, board, clothing and medical and dental care. If the Corpsmen want to send part of their money home, the Government will match their contribution up to $25 a month.

I am sure you will agree that this program fits in perfectly with CORE's objectives. Certainly there are many young people in your area who need just such help. I am therefore asking your help in spreading these recruiting materials throughout your immediate area. They will give these young men and women a chance to express their interest in the Job Corps and to be considered for selection by the Corps.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:mm

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

DEC 1 1964

November 30, 1964

CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Attention: Gordon Carey

Gentlemen:

This contains the substance of our telephone conversation today.

The Job Corps requests that CORE assist in recruiting young men and women for the program who live in areas served by staff of CORE. Specifically, we request that the following materials be distributed through your normal channels:

1. Fliers
2. Posters
3. Picture Booklets
4. Sound film strips
5. Post Cards
6. Pamphlets for Staff

These materials will be ready for mailing in about 5-10 days. As soon as copies are available, I shall send several copies of each to you. We shall not distribute any item until you have had a chance to see it.

We request that you provide us with an estimate of the number of copies of each of these items which should be distributed through your agency.

The Job Corps will prepare a covering letter and instructions to go with these materials. We request that you also provide us with a covering letter to go with the materials. We shall provide the actual mailing services.

If you agree to assist us in this, please send to us a list of addresses to which materials should be mailed and a recommendation as to the number of each item that each addressee should receive.

After materials have been distributed, we shall keep you informed of the results of their use. In our instructions we shall request that local agencies using these materials evaluate their effectiveness and notify us by letter of their evaluations. We shall share this information with you.

Sincerely,

Edward Wynne

Enclosure

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
NSF
SINCE 1937

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • GRamercy 3-0284

November 25, 1964
30,

national board

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L. S. JAMES
South Carolina representative
ART EMERY
Tennessee representative
JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER
administrative assistants

Dear Friend:

I am writing to you about the Poverty Act of 1964, which offers us an excellent chance to help the ~~deprived~~ young people with whom we work.

One phase of the Poverty Act establishes a Job Corps. The Corps aims to help poorly educated and unskilled young people of all races from 16 through 21. Often these youths are unemployed. They will be placed in Job Corps Centers, where they will live, and can develop skills and self-confidence. We are enclosing, with this letter, recruiting materials to interest these young people in the Corps.

Some of these young men and women haven't finished high school. Others are weak in reading or arithmetic, or can't find a satisfactory job. The Centers, ~~with all day work and training~~ programs will give ~~these~~ young people a chance to ~~remember better and faster~~ prepare themselves for a better future.

Corps members will get a training allowance of $50 a month. They will also receive pocket money, room, board, clothing, and medical and dental care. If the Corpsmen want to send part of their money home, the government will match their contribution up to $25 a month.

~~I hope you will~~ spreading these recruiting materials throughout your immediate area. They will give these young men and women a chance to express their interest in the Job Corps and to ~~have their names~~ be considered for selection by the Corps.

Sincerely,

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

will provide training and work

I'm sure you agree ~~with me~~ that this is an opportunity which many young people in your area need and will not want to miss. I am therefore asking your help in

252

file
Pov Act

12 January, 1963

Mr. Glenn W. Ferguson
Director of VISTA
Office of Economic Opportunity
Executive Office Of The President
Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Mr. Ferguson:

Since Mr. Farmer is in Africa, I am taking the liberty of answering your letter to him.

We would be very happy to do whatever we can to be of assistance to VISTA. We would appreciate your sending 225 copies of "Questions and Answers About Vista" for distribution to our chapters.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Matarelli
Staff Associate

NM/mt

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

JAN 13 1966

Mr. James Farmer
Executive Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

In response to President Johnson's request, the Office of Economic Opportunity has been created to wage the "War on Poverty". Through community and business groups, through national organizations, through action in our towns and counties, a good start has now been made to provide training that will help Americans to attack the causes of poverty. The Job Corps and the Community Action Program are designed to combat important aspects of the poverty problem. In addition, through VISTA we will use a time honored institution, the Volunteer, to fight poverty at its sources.

VISTA Volunteers will serve in many ways in urban and rural communities. They will assist local groups and agencies. They will live and work with our less fortunate Americans. America needs VISTA Volunteers, and all of us will benefit from their efforts. Through them, we can help to overcome the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty.

We would certainly welcome your assistance in recruiting VISTA Volunteers. We are looking for skilled workers and for those who would like to gain experience in new fields. We are looking for dedication, enthusiasm and energy.

Will you help us bring our message to potential VISTA Volunteers?

Sincerely,

Glenn W. Ferguson

Glenn W. Ferguson
Director of VISTA

Form approved
Budget Bureau No. 116-R013

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

VOLUNTEERS IN SERVICE TO AMERICA
PRELIMINARY APPLICATION

Do not write in this space

INSTRUCTIONS: Read reverse side. Please answer all questions. Use typewriter or print.

1. NAME *(Last name, first name, middle initial, maiden name, if any)*	2. SEX	3. HEIGHT	4. WEIGHT
	A ☐ Male B ☐ Female		

5. DATE OF BIRTH *(month, day, year)*	6. PLACE OF BIRTH *(City, state, country)*

7. AVAILABILITY FOR VISTA SERVICE *(Notify VISTA immediately if this date changes)*

I will be available for VISTA service A ☐ Immediately B ☐ after _____ *(month and year)*

8. PRESENT ADDRESS *(where VISTA correspondence should be sent. If this address changes, notify VISTA immediately)*	9. PERMANENT ADDRESS *(Name and address of person through whom you can always be reached when not at your present address. If both addresses are the same, check here ☐)*

10. HOW LONG DO YOU EXPECT TO BE AT PRESENT ADDRESS?	11. TELEPHONE NUMBERS	
A ☐ Indefinitely B ☐ Plan to move on _____ *(month and year)*	Home	Business or other

12. MARITAL STATUS *(check one)*

A ☐ Single, never been married

B ☐ Single, but plan to marry

(date) _____

Name of future wife or husband

C ☐ Married, living with wife or husband

D ☐ Married, not living with wife or husband

E ☐ Widowed

F ☐ Divorced

(date) _____

G ☐ Legally separated

(date) _____

NOTE: Married couples and those planning to marry before entering VISTA service should complete individual Preliminary Applications and should mail them together.

13. LEGAL DEPENDENTS

A ☐ None B ☐ Number under 18 years C ☐ Number over 18 years

14. CITIZENSHIP *(check one)*

A ☐ I am a citizen of the United States

B ☐ I am not a citizen of the United States but have filed papers to become a citizen *(show date filed and application number)*

C ☐ I am not a citizen but plan to file papers. *(show approximate date)*

D ☐ I am a resident alien of *(indicate country)*

E ☐ Other *(explain)*

15. EMPLOYMENT *(check one)*

A ☐ Now employed full time

B ☐ Now employed part time

C ☐ Unemployed

D ☐ Retired

E ☐ Student - do not work

F ☐ Student - work part time during school year

G ☐ Other *(explain)*

16. EDUCATION *(check one)*

A ☐ Less than 12 years completed

B ☐ High school graduate

C ☐ 1st year college completed

D ☐ 2nd year college completed

E ☐ Junior college or equivalent completed

F ☐ 3rd year college completed

G ☐ College graduate *(degree received)*

H ☐ Graduate study *(no degree received)*

I ☐ Graduate study *(show degree received)*

SIGNATURE	DATE

VOLUNTEERS IN SERVICE TO AMERICA
PRELIMINARY APPLICATION

The purpose of this **PRELIMINARY APPLICATION** is to inform **VISTA** of your interest in the program and to provide us with some background information about you.

Please note that this is not a final application. Within a week after receiving this **PRELIMINARY APPLICATION** we will advise you further.

All persons 18 years old and over may apply for service.

Married couples and those planning to marry before entering VISTA service should complete individual **PRELIMINARY APPLICATIONS** and should mail them together.

Please print or use a typewriter and answer all questions on the form.

Mail completed forms to: VISTA
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C. 20506

QUESTIONS & ANSWERS ABOUT VISTA

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. VISTA

II. VISTA VOLUNTEERS

III. RECRUITMENT OF VOLUNTEERS

IV. SELECTION OF VOLUNTEERS

V. TRAINING OF VOLUNTEERS

VI. VOLUNTEER ASSISTANCE

VII. VISTA VOLUNTEER PROJECTS

VISTA

WHAT IS VISTA

VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) is one of the major anti-poverty programs established by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

WHAT DOES VISTA DO

VISTA recruits
selects
trains
assigns and helps maintain Volunteers in communities which have requested their services to combat poverty and its effects by living and working with people in poverty areas.

VISTA offers each man and woman in the United States and its territories the chance to take a personal stand against the destructive forces of poverty that now erode the lives of 1/5 of our population.

By living and working for a year or more within an environment of poverty, Volunteers will lend their energies and understanding, their skills and services to the fight for full opportunity for all our citizens.

They will help develop indigenous leadership within depressed areas to continue Volunteer projects and initiate further programs.

By their presence and with their skills, VISTA Volunteers will personify the spirit of the war against poverty.

VISTA VOLUNTEERS

WHO ARE VISTA VOLUNTEERS

VISTA Volunteers are people with the spirit, ability, and determination needed to overcome poverty. They are specially trained men and women who live and work within poverty using their skills and understanding to help break the poverty cycle.

WHO CAN BECOME A VOLUNTEER

Anyone who wishes to make a personal contribution to the war against poverty. Any United States resident or resident of a United States territory who is 18 or over is eligible to become a VISTA Volunteer.

Married couples and those planning to marry before entering VISTA service must complete individual Preliminary Applications and mail them together in order to be considered as Volunteers. At present, we are unable to accept married couples with dependent children under 18.

WHAT ARE THE EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS FOR VOLUNTEERS

There are no educational requirements. Emphasis is placed on personality qualifications, adaptability, leadership ability, and skills.

WHERE DO VOLUNTEERS SERVE AND WHO MAY REQUEST VOLUNTEERS

VISTA Volunteers will serve wherever a recognition of need exists and a request for their services has been made. Any neighborhood, larger community, local or state organization, agency or institution, be it public or private, may request Volunteers.

Volunteers will serve in rural and urban areas, on Indian Reservations, and among migrant workers, in mental health programs, and among the uneducated and unemployed--in any area within the United States and its territories that needs personal assistance and requests it.

WILL VOLUNTEERS BE ASSIGNED TO THEIR OWN COMMUNITY OR STATE

Though Volunteers may state a preference, the chances are slight that they would be assigned to their home communities.

Both mobility and adaptability are required of Volunteers since they will be sent where they are most needed, which may often be unfamiliar territory.

HOW LONG WILL VOLUNTEERS SERVE

The term of service is for one year. Enlistment for further service is possible.

WHAT WILL VOLUNTEERS BE DOING

While living within poverty, a Volunteer may be working on one or more of a wide variety of projects. He or she may be working:

with non-English speaking people
as a recreation leader
in a mental hospital
with homemakers
on an Indian Reservation
with functional illiterates

with very young children
with youth groups
with the mentally ill or mentally retarded

in a social agency or settlement house

as a tutor
in an urban (over 50,000) area

with migrant workers
with elderly people
providing knowledge of existing service agencies so families and individuals might make use of them
as a teacher or teacher's aide in community mental or public health centers
in a rural (small town or farm) area in a U.S. territory in the Atlantic or Pacific Ocean area

in setting up a new program, and in many other programs and projects that can lead to the elimination of poverty.

RECRUITMENT OF VOLUNTEERS

HOW ARE VOLUNTEERS RECRUITED

Volunteers are recruited from the general public and through educational institutions, community organizations, state organizations, national organizations, religious groups, industry, labor unions, and other agencies, both public and private.

WHO RECRUITS VISTA VOLUNTEERS

VISTA is responsible for the recruitment of all Volunteers.

WHO ARE THE PEOPLE VISTA WANTS TO RECRUIT

The people VISTA wants to recruit range from young people 18 and over to senior citizens--any Americans or residents of a U.S. Territory who want to see action in the war against poverty; people of spirit, ability, and determination.

HOW MANY PEOPLE CAN VISTA RECRUIT

During its first year VISTA is authorized to recruit 5,000 Volunteers. Depending upon the need and the number of requests for Volunteers, the number may increase in the future.

SELECTION OF VOLUNTEERS

HOW ARE VOLUNTEERS SELECTED

There are 4 steps in the selection of Volunteers:

* Anyone who wishes to become a Volunteer may send VISTA a completed preliminary application which asks for basic information such as name, age, marital status and availability.

* If the basic information in the preliminary application shows a person qualified to go on, the applicant is next asked to complete a detailed application form. Along with the application form, at least 5 references are required.

* All the information supplied by the applications and references is evaluated by a selection staff to determine whether the applicant is qualified to become a VISTA Volunteer.

  (No tests of any kind will be given to applicants. Selection will be made solely on the information provided by the applicant and the references.)

* If qualified, an applicant is then invited to become part of the training program for VISTA Volunteers.

TRAINING OF VOLUNTEERS

WHO TRAINS VISTA VOLUNTEERS

With the cooperation of local organizations and institutions, including colleges and universities, VISTA will supervise the training of Volunteers. At special training sites, people who have lived and worked in poverty, as well as teachers, specialists, and advisors from the social science and related fields will provide the trainees with a comprehensive knowledge of poverty--its history, current problems and needs, and methods of overcoming it.

WHERE AND HOW ARE VOLUNTEERS TRAINED

Volunteers will be trained at sites similar to those areas in which they eventually will serve. Part of their training may take place on or near a college campus. Another part of their training may be field work in

rural or urban areas, among migrants or in mental health programs to acquaint the Volunteers with the physical environment of poverty and the problems they will face there.

HOW LONG IS THE TRAINING PERIOD

The training period will last from four to six weeks.

ARE VOLUNTEERS PAID DURING TRAINING

The living, travel, and medical expenses will be paid the Volunteer during training.

VOLUNTEER ASSISTANCE

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE VOLUNTEER DURING THE TERM OF SERVICE

VISTA is ultimately responsible for the Volunteer, but the local sponsor will share this responsibility with VISTA and provide direct supervision of the Volunteer's service.

WHAT ARE THE PLANS FOR EVALUATING THE WORK OF VOLUNTEERS

VISTA and the sponsoring agencies will carefully evaluate the performance of Volunteers.

WHAT IS THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN VISTA VOLUNTEERS AND PAID PERSONNEL WITHIN THE SERVICE AGENCIES AND OTHER PROGRAMS

A VISTA Volunteers is not a highly trained specialist or professional. He is a trained Volunteer.

WHERE WILL THE VOLUNTEER LIVE

The Volunteer will live within the area of need where he works in order to be available to the people there at any time.

HOW ARE VOLUNTEERS FINANCED

All the Volunteers' rent, food, medical care, travel, insurance, and other living expenses will be paid for by VISTA and local sponsors. In addition, each Volunteer will receive a $50 per month stipend. The stipend will be received in full at the end of the term of service. Funding will be arranged by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

VISTA VOLUNTEER PROJECTS

WHO MAY SPONSOR A LOCAL VISTA PROJECT

Any bonafide organization at any level--any neighborhood, larger community, local or state organization, agency, or institution, be it public or private, may sponsor a VISTA Project.

WHAT FACTORS MAKE UP A VISTA PROJECT

* A local community need and a request from the community for a project to overcome the causes and effects of poverty.

* A desire for extensive personal contact between Volunteers and the people with whom they will be working.

* A responsible sponsoring organization.

* Available support from established agencies and the community.

* The Governor's consent.

* The involvement and consent of people with whom the Volunteer will work.

* The fact that Volunteer services will not duplicate, replace, or displace existing services or personnel.

HOW MAY A POTENTIAL SPONSOR OBTAIN VISTA VOLUNTEERS

Any group interested in becoming a sponsor for a VISTA Project makes an inquiry to VISTA.

A Letter of Intent is sent to the potential sponsor from VISTA to determine the eligibility of the sponsor and feasibility of the project.

If the outlined proposal seems feasible and worthwhile, the potential sponsor will be asked to complete a Project Proposal Form which asks for a detailed description of the nature, scope, and objectives of the project. At this point, the decision is made whether the proposal is acceptable as a VISTA Project.

After project approval, VISTA staff members and members of the sponsoring groups will discuss the project, answer question in depth, obtain additional information, and make arrangements for Volunteer support.

Upon approval of the project by the Director of VISTA and with the consent of the Governor, a contract will be drawn up between VISTA and the sponsoring organization.

Volunteers will then be assigned to the project.

HOW IS IT DECIDED IN WHAT AREAS AND ON WHAT PROJECTS VISTA VOLUNTEERS WILL WORK

The qualifications of the Volunteers are matched to needs of the areas. On this basis, Volunteers are assigned to specific areas and projects.

CAN A VISTA VOLUNTEER PROJECT BE PART OF A COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

In many instances a VISTA Project may be part of a Community Action Program if the community and VISTA so desire. But VISTA Projects are also set up as separate, unique programs in areas that have no Community Action Program or have requested VISTA services exclusively.

WHO WILL PAY FOR THE VOLUNTEERS

VISTA will be responsible for the recruitment, selection, training, and assignment of all Volunteers. Where Volunteers are assigned to Youth Centers, Community Action Programs, or referred to local sponsors, the sponsors will be responsible for arranging the support of Volunteers through the program grant or other sources. The Volunteer Support will include food, housing, a small living allowance and a readjustment allowance of $50 per month to be paid at the end of service.

WHAT WILL BE THE YEARLY COST OF A VOLUNTEER

The average cost to the local sponsor is estimated at $2,500 to $3,000 per Volunteer each year. Costs may be paid in cash or kind.

HOW DOES A SPONSOR PAY FOR VOLUNTEERS

Volunteers costs can be paid for from private donations, foundation grants, community council aid, local and state funds, other federal programs, and many other available resources. A sponsor may also submit a request for Volunteers as part of its Community Action Program. In this way, VISTA Volunteers are financed out of the grant provided by CAP.

CAN VISTA EVER PAY THE ENTIRE COST OF A VOLUNTEER PROJECT

In five areas specified by Congress in the Economic Opportunity Act, VISTA may pay the entire cost of a project: in mental health and retardation, on Indian Reservations, in migrant labor communities, in the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

For further information write: VISTA
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C. 20506

December 29, 1964

GSA-WASH DC 65-9545

file - Poverty Act

CORE
38 Park Row
New York, NY

M E M O R A N D U M

January 28, 1965

TO: Mr. Marvin Rich, Mr. George Miley

FROM: Mrs. Newman Levy

SUBJECT: Government Participation in financing community centers

From the material distributed in New Orleans, and the speech on government participation, it would appear that to apply for funds for the proposed community center in Meridian, the local community would have to be involved on a broad scale. If you have any information on how to get around this provision will you let me know?

While it is probably possible to line up Negro churches and leadership, white support would be extremely limited if at all possible. Nevertheless, I understand money has been made available for community centers and we should benefit if possible, and certainly the government will not exclude Southern Negro communities.

If you have information as to whether an application can be made by a national organization rather than the local community, I would appreciate knowing it.

I will try a friendly person in Washington, when I go down there the weekend of February 6-7. If there is someone you know to be contacted here or there do let me know.

War on Pov- Complaints

January 29, 1965

Miss Ruth Turner
CORE
1740 Crawford Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Ruth:

As I indicated to you on the telephone yesterday, I have just talked to Buchbinder, Vice President Humphrey's assistant who specialises in the poverty program. The jist of his remarks to me is as follows: I am to relax and everyone is to relax. Everyone there, from the vice president on down is committed to working it out right. No representations from Mayor Locher will change their attitude Mr. Locher will see Sargent Shriver in the next few days. But they all recognize the weakness of the Cleveland committee and that the committee will be enlarged to include the poor, community groups and civil rights groups.

I think that is about as explicit a statement as we are liable to get from a government official at this stage. Obviously, he may mean something different from what we mean by "working it out all right". Mr. Buchbinder was not willing to commit himself as to the number of additional peroples to be included, but I do believe this is a hopeful sign.

You have Mr. Buchbinder's permission to quote his remarks to the committee, but not to the press. I hope this is helpful.

Sincerely yours,

Marvin Rich, Director
Community Relations

cc: George Wiley

Pov. Progra

FACTS as of 2-4-65 WHY IS PHILADELPHIA SO FAR BEHIND IN THE "WAR AGAINST POVERTY?"

In March, 1964 the City Administration indicated planning for at least "two more recreational projects in the area "of North Philadelphia which allegedly was getting much less than a proportionate share of expenditure in recreation--while at the same time it was widely recognized that the area needed "more than the average in the city. For here is the city's worst concentration of juvenile crime, low incomes, poor housing, and other evils and ills of hard-core poverty." Here then may have been the beginning of concern to attack the conditions of poverty.

During April and May of 1964, City Departments were developing Community Action Programs which were to become a part of Philadelphia's War on Poverty as soon as federal legislation was enacted for a National War on Poverty. In May, the Mayor of Philadelphia supported the Economic Opportunity Act during Congressional activity around the Bill. Also in early May, Mr. Wise and others of the Philadelphia City Administration were sent to Washington to gegin talking with the Federal people IN ORDER TO HAVE ADEQUATE ADVANCE INFORMATION ABOUT DEVELOPING PROGRAMS SUITABLE FOR FUNDING UNDER THE PROPOSED LEGISLATION.

Was this trip successful in establishing relationships with officials in Washington? Were such relationships maintained and fully exploited? During May the City appointed a Youth Commission headed by Recreation Commissioner Crawford and composed of other City Commissioners. This group presented to a meeting of North Philadelphia Citizens a program entitled "Project Human Renewal" which was rejected by the Community Leaders because the planning had involved no residents (leaders or beneficiaries of the proposed program); there was no evidence of policy-making involvement of such essential people; nor was there indication that the program would be responsive to the real needs as known to such residents of the Community being served. Among those who respectfully requested the City to plan with the citizens instead of for them were: Rev. Michael Jordan of the GESU, Rev. Joshua Licorish of Zoar Methodist Church, the late Dr. Eugene Waymon Jones of Heritage House and North City Congress, Mr. Louis Smith of the Congress of Racial Equality, Mr. Roy Kennix of North City Congress, Rev. John Custis, Jr., Mr. Wilson Long of Wharton Centre Neighborhood Council, two young men of the "Valley Neighborhood". Of the Community people who spoke to the Commissioners, only Attorney Charles Bowser stated that the Project Human Renewal was entitled to serious consideration by the people of the Community. He was apparently unfamiliar with the efforts which citizens had made to participate in the planning of the program. Meanwhile the City Administration and the daily press promoted the attitude that "Philadelphia is 'way out in front, compared to other cities, in planning for the War on Poverty and fighting juvenile delinquency, starting in the North Philadelphia area". Mayor Tate was being congratulated

for "attacking these problems". Few other cities have grapped the nettle in advance of federal participation" stated an editorial of a local daily on June 5, 1964. With this inflated arrogance about the War on Poverty and the Community Action Programs which would be necessary to secure federal funds for same...the City of Philadelphia proceeded to send Council Members throughout the country looking at Baseball Stadiums. Energies of the City Administration were dissapated in this way while other city governments around the country were taking substantial steps to involve their community leaders and residents of disadvantaged areas in actual planning for a War on Poverty. So determined were the municipal experts of Philadelphia that they did their planning without the Health & Welfare Council and without the Philadelphia Council for Community Advancement (these two agencies were in the business of community research, planning and program developments). The Manpower Utilization Commission staff meanwhile were trying to assess the availability of Title I A and B opportunities which could be undertaken in Philadelphia when the Bill became Law. What happened to the efforts and recommendations of this City Department? They made calls to many hospitals and other non-profit agencies which would be able to enroll youth from low income families into training positions for pay.

During June and July frequent newspaper stories indicated that Project Human Renewal was successfully enrolling many deprived youngsters and was establishing a basis for increased and expanded services in this area. Leaders of North Philadelphia were questioning the PCCA expenditures for social planning and were wondering why none of these expenditures had borne fruit in the actual realization of broad programs. What had happened to the Ford Foundation Funds which were to serve the residents of that community? With several City Commisioners as well as the Mayor on the Board of PCCA, it seemed incredible that some utilization of PCCA productivity was not being considered by the City.

It was not until after the middle of July 1964 when Jack Conway and others came from Washington that the City Administration requested the help of PCCA in the Poverty Program Development for the City. This was curious to many who (although their organizations were represented on PCCA Board of Directors) felt that their particular organization would be better as the Human Services Arm of the Mayor's War on Poverty. The only problem here was that there was no clear indication of the role of whatever agency would be in that "box". Nevertheless, many groups engaged in in-fighting "to represent the impoverished community". In the absence of any clear cut authority and responsibility delegated to this Human Services Arm, the powers that be at Ford Foundation began to assess the potential of PCCA for useful involvement within the framework of the Mayor's Program.

Meanwhile, the City, The School Districts, and PCCA were busily developing Title I programs. Apparently Project Human Renewal was being considered by some of the City Administration as a Community Action program suitable for funding by the Federal Government. However, at the same time another City Official was telling community groups about PEP (Poverty Elimination Program) being developed to serve as the Community Action Program of Philadelphia under the Economic Opportunity Act. So even within the City Administration there appeared to be significant cleavage as regards the War Against Poverty, how it should be fought and by whom. : The actual conflict seemed to be as to what agency or individual would be the Poverty CZAR or CULT rather than as to what would be the concept and philosophy of the program.

Meanwhile, neighborhood people were educating themselves to the legislation and what the intent of the act could mean to them. They kept knocking on the doors of City Hall with their comments and suggestions for meeting the requirements of the legislation and they were ignored. The administration went blithely along trying to resolve the monumental problems of who would run the City's War on Poverty....refusing to participate in the Federal War on Poverty and at the same time refusing to spend any City money for a City War on Poverty. When this situation persisted through August, September, and October with no sensible resolution in sight, the responsible people withdrew PCCA staff and funds from providing any further subsidy to the Philadelphia War on Poverty. Since the City intended to plan and administer the program (without any other community agency being given real authority and/or responsibility for grass-roots involvement) then it was natural that Ford Funds be withdrawn and somehow recommitted to the original purpose of involving indigenous talents in the solution of social and economic ills in the disadvantaged community--and providing financial assistance for such ventures. Hopefully, we will soon hear someghing constructive about the future role of PCCA in the Philadelphia Community.

During October several grass-roots groups began to question the apparent confusion around Poverty Planning in Philadelphia. Especially concerned were the newer, smaller groups, such as the Northern Student Movement, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Philadelphia Friends of SNCC, the Freedom Library, Jobs or Income Now (Students for a Democratic Society), the Our Neighbors Association, the Glenwood Block Council, The Independent Citizens Committee, The Philadelphia Tutorial Project, the Progressive Block Association, the Seybert Street Club, the Morocco Club, and Mary Richardson of Youth for Community--a group of North Philadelphia Youth who were telling the neighborhood people how they could develop and use Title I-B of the Economic Opportunity Act. The more established groups (Urban League, NAACP, Commission on Human Relations, LAbor Unions, Etc. in the City)were not so noticeable among those who saw early and clearly that the City War on Poverty was not fulfilling the requisements of the Federal Legislation.

Therefore, early in November representatives from some of those grass-roots groups mentioned above went to Washington to learn exactly what the EOA could do for them. What they learned was that residents of the disadvantaged community including poor people themselves must be involved in the planning, administration, and specific job functions of any action program under the EOA. They were given copies of the guidelines for Title I-B and for Title II-A which have to do with Neighborhood Youth Corps and Community Action Programs respectively.

The first thing obviously missing in Philadelphia was and is a Concept of the Act. Implicit in that deficiency is a failure to develop an appropriate Title II Program withing the framework of which other Titles including Title I-B could operate. Because the CAP (Community Action Programs) should conceptually precede the Title I-B programs the OEO was reluctant to permit funding to any Title I-B programs which had no Title II program to relate to. In other words, because the City (CAP) War on Poverty Structure was not an approvable program under the EOA, the Title I programs submitted by the City and by the School District were not funded when first submitted. In addition these programs had small technical problems to be worked out,,.but this was not the major deterrent. The major problem was lack of approved Community Action Program and absence of involvement of the poor.

Shortly after the group of North Philadelphia youth leaders met with a number of Washington officials there were granted to a dozen states (including the District of Columbia) funds for Anti-Poverty projects. Pennsylvania was represented by the City of Pittsburgh which received approved Community Action Program ($1,230,000. and $300,000. to train men and women from relief families).

At this point (November 25, 1965) the Administration of Philadelphia told the people that their program was unfunded because PCCA withdrew from the program. However, City Planning for the program dates back to March and was very keen from May through July whereas July 21, 1964 was the date that PCCA services were sought and committed to the to assist in the War on Poverty...an arrangement which was never really clearly documented nor realized in a manner consistent with the course the City had already set and at the same time amenable to the professed role of PCCA in the Community of Philadelphia.

Meanwhile, public feeling was still mounting against Project Human Renewal...no mention was heard during this period of PEP (Poverty Elimination Program) and PCCA was providing only the technical function of informing community members about the Act and how it could benefit Philadelphia. The decisions of policy procedure, etc. were being established at the Task Force Level. It is not clear

what this group has done, what information has been provided members upon which to base any action, or what this group is currently doing....

In December representatives of West Philadelphia strongly rejected Project Human Renewal (now renamed Community Action Proposal for Coordinated City Services) which according to a local daily (12-14-64) was presented to that Community as the City Poverty Plan. On the following day, the same Daily recognized that the City War on Poverty was dragging in an editorial statement as follows: "The Mayor's Anti-poverty Task Force has been broadeded into a Human Services Committee since its original concept last July, and efforts are being made to show the private and civic agencies why they should join the City in its program...the Tate Administration has been trying to run the whole show, while the individual organizations were shamping at the bit to get into a joint program....It is not necessarily so that the Civic and Charitable groups did not respect the efforts of the City. They were not able to mesh with it; there was a lack of coordination; a lack of a focal point to which the groups could rally.

"What is needed"...the editorial continues, "and what Washington wants, is a quasi-public body, incorporated and with a broad representation of civic and charitable as well as governmental interests. This would be tighter than the somewhat loose federation of the Human Services Committee".

At this point the Office of Economic Opportunity granted a request from Philadelphia for a Development Fund ($105,000.) to hire staff and begin to work on the problem of developing a program for a local War against Poverty. On that occasion Mr. Tate was quoted as stating that Washington officials had given Philadelphia "the runaround" on larger grants. According to reports, he continued "The trouble with Washington now, is that it's engaged in the great game of bureaucracy."

Also according to reports the Mayor stated "Our staff has been down there two weeks without getting much cooperation",..."I don't think Philadelphia is getting a fair shake"...Regarding complaints about politics being involved, Mr. Tate reportedly stated that "if it's politics, it's on the part of some people in community groups."

When City Council complained early in December about the progress of the War on Poverty in Philadelphia through a Councilmanic Committee which met with Fred Corleto, Randolph Wise, Paul Hardenstein and Tina Weingraub, members were told that the delay was because of PCCA's action rather than any inherent shortcoming of the City's approach to the program outlined by the Ovvice of Economic Opportunity.

A few days later a group of residents of South Philadelphia criticized and rejected a proposed Tot Lot which was included in a plan brought to them on behalf of the City by Commissioner Crawford of the Department of Recreation.

Again early in January, Councilmen raised the vital questions about the conduct of the Philadelphia War on Poverty...and received no answers. Reportedly Councilman Foglietta asked Councilman Schwartz to call "a public meeting to hear representatives of the Archbishop's Committee, and other groups, and individuals involved in anti-poverty projects....". Mr. Foglietta reportedly stated "Let us not waste any more time, let us remove the cloak of secrecy and move vigorously ahead against this rapidly spreading disease of poverty". The head of the Roman Catholic ArchDiocese's Anti-poverty program reportedly said on December 13, 1964 that an "absence of proper City machinery' is keeping Philadelphia from joining other cities in participating in the national war on poverty".

$401.9 million of Poverty Funds allocated January 17, 1965 did not include funds for Philadelphia. Again local press and a few more concerned citizens became excited. An editorial stated "most of the interested citizens outside the city government have been acutely aware that what this city needs to get off the ground in its anti-poverty drive is a broad-based nonprofit community committee or corporation. It is increasingly evident that the City must have such a group if it is to get any real consideration from the Office of Economic Opportunity...." "Philadelphia citizens and officials who have had contact with the various federal departments agree that there has been some confusion and contradictory rulings coming from Washington, suggesting a lack of coordination. The emphasis on Community Action, however, has been fairly consistent" continuted the penetrating editorial.

Again in West Philadelphia on January 18, 1965, neighborhood citizens commented that "City Hall wants a lot of war-on-poverty money so it can create high paying political patronage jobs. Well, out in this part of West Philadelphia we're not going to let them get away with it". During the same week Mr. Echols of North City Congress announced the formation of the Federation of Needy Neighborhoods, organizaed for Community Action; it consists of 27 groups from the City's poor areas, and it is willing to meet with City Officials at any time; it's announced purpose was "to oppose any anti-poverty plan which excludes the local poor from the policy strategy and operational levels." This contrasts with the objectives of another group (started by Youth Leaders of North Philadelphia in November) which include the following: to inspire leadership in the people of North Philadelphia; to provide unlimited opportunties for youth and adults as they shape their thought toward more constructive ends;

to promote youth development in North Philadelphia by instilling in our children and teen-agers self-respect, pride, and a useful purpose in life; to develop a cultural, economic, social and political awareness in the people so that each individual of North Philadelphia can contribute to the cooperative well-being of the community; to break through the existing barriers of discrimination by a concerted effort on the part of youth and adults to achieve a proper place among people. These are the goals of Operation Focus (an ongoing Community Action Program being conducted by these youth who have started incorporation procedures as the Intra-City Community Corporation. Currently they are receiving technical help documenting their activities for expansion and possible funding. Contributions from concerned citizens have been given to this group mostly through professional services (but occasionally through cash money). Late in January, a city employee reportedly told some businessmen that "You have to exert excessive and continual pressure on the City Government before they will isten to you"....You've got to find a way to keep yourself involved in government while the planning for certain projects is still going on"....We need more government of the people, as well as by and for the people"...Ypu've got to insist on being heard or you'll never be heard". Without a comment from the Commission on Human Relations (for whom this employee functions as a Community Relations Supervisor) it appears that this is the official policy of the City's Commission on Human Relations. On the same day the AFL-CIO strongly criticized the Mayor's handling of the War on Poverty (January 28, 1965). One official further commented that the City Administration had not allowed PCCA to be the representative agency in Philadelphia and had thereby "put PCCA out of Business."

On Thursday, February 4, 1965 officials from the Office of Economic Opportunity were to again meet with the City Officials regarding the War on Poverty. Since then two more visits have been scheduled. How did our elected and appointed representatives respons? Will we be further ahead than we were last fall? What is the situation now? What will it be in six months?...in one year?

What defective barometer has the Mayor used in dealing with the people of the impoverished community? Who steered him wrong? Who in his Cabinet? Who in his staff? WHO IN THE NEGRO COMMUNITY?

Prepared for members of
INTRA-CITY COMMUNITY CORPORATION

file - Poverty Program

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

FEB 19 1965

OPy - GW

February 17, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
37 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Jim:

Sorry for the delay in following through on my call to you, but things have been hectic, as you might guess.

I'm serving as Acting Assistant Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity and as Inspector General. While we are concerned about fraud, etc., we are equally concerned that all recipients of government poverty assistance fulfill all terms and conditions of their grants and contracts. We are particularly interested in assuring that the full community is involved in local programs. The same standards hold true north and south, east and west. Since many of the poor are also members of minority groups, we are anxious to make sure that they are involved not only in the execution of programs, but in their planning. As you know from your own experience, some communities are more equipped than others to provide this participation, therefore, a valuable product of our program has been to arouse the communities served to find and train this leadership and make plans for its involvement.

Here's how CORE can help? We need to know, on a confidential basis, your evaluations of poverty programs throughout the country. Are the programs meeting the community needs? Are minority groups involved? Are there conflicts?

Each chapter with a problem can write to me directly and their confidence will be respected. In emergency situations, they can call me (202-382-3000, my private line).

If you prefer, they can report to your office and you can be in touch with me.

Try pass info also to chaps
to try to keep us info'd

We are asking several groups to provide us this help. I know this may be an imposition, but we'd really like your help. In return we will provide the direct channel to the top level of this operation.

Right now, I have an urgent need for an evaluation from your viewpoint of minority participation in southern programs.

Thanks again.

Sincerely,

Bill

Bill Haddad
Acting Assistant Director
OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

BH/ag

Pov Prog

THE WAR ON POVERTY:

PERSPECTIVES AND PROSPECTS

S. M. Miller
Syracuse University
Syracuse, N. Y. 13210

Martin Rein
Bryn Mawr College
Bryn Mawr, Pa.

(To be published in Ben B. Seligman, ed., Poverty as A Public Issue, Free Press, 1965)

February, 1965

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Perspectives 1

Fundamentalism and Incrementalism 1

Highlights of the Economic Opportunity Act 3

The Setting - A Battle Without Supporters 5

Perspectives 8

The Concept of Poverty 11

The Poverty Line 14

Characteristics and Causes 15

The Non-Comprehensive War 18

The Concentration on Youth 20

Education - - The Opportunity Vehicle 22

Inviolate Institutions and Violate Men 24

Prospects 26

Job Training 27

Causes of Failure 31

The Validity of the "Employability" Goal 31

Ambiguity of Aims 34

Confusion in Programming 36

The Relevance of Training 37

Training and Community Facilities 39

The Obstacle Course 39

The Measurement of Progress 42

Social Report 47

Monitoring the Programs 48

Gaining a Constituency 50

Conclusion 54

THE WAR ON POVERTY:
PERSPECTIVES AND PROSPECTS*

Perspectives

Fundamentalism and Incrementalism

The war on poverty has been greeted by sharp criticism from those on the political right as well as those on the left. It has been described as "too small and too limited to cope effectively with the problem" (New York Times editorial, November 21, 1964) - - only $800 million has been appropriated for its first year of operation. It has been interpreted as a war on the poor: "Under the delusion that we are pressing against poverty (we may) exert pressure against poor people" (Alvin Schorr, "Equal Opportunity All"). It has been thought of as a "hodge podge" of programs . . . a curious combination of the techniques made famous by the phrase "Madison Avenue" and "the Wizard of Oz" . . . designed to achieve the single objective of securing votes (minority views of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare). It has been described as "a mockery," "a deliberate fraud" and "a conservative embracing of the status quo" (David Komatsu). It has also been characterized as a dangerous gimmick designed to show that poverty can be eliminated without changing the structure of society (Richard Titmuss). The major objections are its limited scope, its inadequate funding and its faulty philosophy.

Its supporters, on the other hand, defend it as an effort that at least begins to deal with the problems of the poor; it is the best that could be carried through Congress, they say, considering other pressing requirements (like that of keeping federal expenditures to less than $100 billion); it is one program with some chance of success and it is

likely to improve and expand over the years. Defenders are concerned with the pragmatics of political possibility, not with the fundamentals of long-run necessity.

Fundamentalism and incrementalism - - the clashing claims of large-scale, sweeping changes and of small, gradual movement arising from the reduction of dissensus - - are the fulcrums on which policy is evaluated. Choice of perspective helps account for the different views of the poverty program, of civil rights and other recent legislation. Fundamentalists and pragmatists are talking past each other and becoming principled, conscientious objectors to each other's contrasting visions. One states the case in terms of long-term developments, the other in terms of political feasibility. Pragmatists tend to tailor their analysis of long-term developments to what is feasible today. This is delusion - - remaking the image of the future to meet the needs of today. The analysis of what is needed should be based on an understanding of the problem, rather than on political feasibility. Analysis can be modified to encourage action, but it should not be stunted in its development, for then it becomes an apologetic for previously determined policy. Contrariwise, the fundamentalists cannot have the rich advantage of criticizing everything because it is insufficient. They must also consider how to move from what seems possible today to what seems necessary tomorrow.

Present-day social criticism in the United States lacks a middle-ground, a "skeptical idealism," which bridges between a concern with the long-term drift of society and the pragmatic possibilities of politics.[1] If we assign George Meany as the symbol of the latter and Paul Goodman

as the symbol of the former, most social analysis is presently pre-empted by the Meany and Goodman schools of thought. We lack a middle-range social and policy analysis, informed by an understanding of the trends of society and relevant to, but not bound by, present-day policies and programs. We lack an incremental idealism which has a vision of the future and a strategy for intervention to effect change at critical points in our present society.[2]

We think the poverty program must be discussed in the larger context of economic and welfare policy. We have done so in the first draft of this paper, but space limitations have forced us to narrow our analysis to some limited aspects of the work-training and educational programs. We deal broadly with sections of Title I and II of the Economic Opportunity Act, but we will not deal, as we would have liked, with the policy issues of the Community Action Program. Other neglected areas are:

• The needed expansion of jobs and the application of diverse methods for achieving this goal in today's affluent society.

• The extension and improvement of social security and other direct income-maintenance programs.

Highlights of the Economic Opportunity Act

The Act contains seven Titles: Title I involves Youth Programs and contains 3 sections.

1A The Job Corps. Provides for rural conservation camps and urban residential training centers.

IB Work-Training Programs. To provide work experience and training for school dropouts and those continuing in school. This program is operated by the Department of Labor and is referred to

as the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

1C Work-Study Program. To provide part-time employment, with a maximum of 15 hours a week when classes are held, for students in institutions of higher education.

Title II is the Urban and Rural Community Action Programs.

IIA General Community Action Program. The Act defines a community action program broadly to include "services, assistance and other activities of sufficient scope and size to give promise of eliminating poverty." Illustrative examples of such programs are: employment, job-training and counselling, health, vocational rehabilitation, housing, home management, welfare, and special remedial and non-curricular educational programs. One-half of expenditure will probably go for educational programs. The focus is on the mobilization of public resources to be administered by a single agency which is required to submit a broad plan of action. The Act encourages "maximum feasible participation of the residents of the areas and members of the groups served."

IIB Adult Basic Education Programs. A program of literacy training for adults over 18 years of age.

IIC A voluntary assistance program for needy children. This program appears to call for the creation by OEO of a program similar to the New York Times annual appeal for needy families. It seeks to provide for individual participation on a personal basis in assisting in the support of one or more needy children.

Title III Special programs to combat poverty in rural areas.

IIIA - Authority to make grants and loans.

IIIB - Assistance for migrants and other seasonally employed, agricultural workers and their families.

Title IV Employment and Investment Incentives. Assistance in establishing, preserving and strengthening small business concerns and to improve managerial skills of its employees.

Title V Work-Experience Programs. Experimental and pilot projects for those on welfare to secure or retain employment, self-support or personal independence.

Title VI Administration and Coordination. This title creates the Office of Economic Opportunity and VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America).

Title VII Treatment of Income for Certain Public Assistance Purposes. Disregard income (first $85 + ½ of the excess per month) earned under Title I or II in determining need of individuals applying for public assistance and other programs under the Social Security Act.

The Setting - A Battle Without Supporters

The "war on poverty" begins at a time of unprecedented prosperity, with gross national product approaching two-thirds of a trillion dollars. It is aimed at helping a minority of the population, not the majority. Indeed, it is hard to see why the year 1964 saw a declaration of war on poverty. Of course, we know about President Johnson's desire to have a liberal program which he could claim as his own; no doubt liberal intellectuals' questioning of the course of our economy

has had some influence. And it must be recognized that the civil rights demonstrations were probably the most important political events propelling interest in helping the poor. Yet, the bulk (70-80 per cent, depending on the measure) of the poor in the United States are white, and the bulk of the funds for many programs will probably benefit the white rather than the Negro poor. Nor is sizable unemployment, exacerbated by a rapidly expanding young labor force, sufficient to explain the inauguration of a war on poverty. Indeed, one of the most striking features of the anti-poverty campaign is its development <u>without</u> the support of strong interest groups which usually initiate and promote such legislation. If the war falters, it would not be clear where its supporters could be found.

The "war on poverty" was not propelled by the organization of the poor in rural areas and in large cities demanding their "economic rights." Nor do the prospective political demands of the poor seem to be great enough to "require" that a "war on poverty" be launched in 1964. If there had not been a war on poverty in 1964, it is doubtful whether there would have been mass pressures for such activity in that year or in the succeeding one. We expect that nothing succeeds like success - - if the program succeeds, it will develop supporters. If it fails, it will be disclaimed by those who are already critical of its mission.

The war on poverty is in advance of the political pressures of the day. This is the achievement of the war; this is its weakness.[3] The absence of a strong, organized, well-directed movement demanding more effective measures for the poor has resulted in the formulation of a weak bill and in its further weakening during the journey through Congress.

We can be disappointed that a talking horse prevaricates when it says that it won the Kentucky Derby or we can be astonished that we have found a horse that talks! While the astonishment should not eliminate the need for judgment of what is done with the unusual capacity, it should not be ignored in the race for assessment of performance. We make these remarks because we feel that much of the strong criticism of the poverty legislation, unfortunately accurate, overlooks the possibilities of the legislation and the need for understanding how it might be moved in more useful directions.

The war on poverty can be a sop to the poor, to discourage them from asking for more effective programs. That is its danger. Its hope, despite its severe limitations and the probably unnecessarily truncated vision of its program, is that the war is a beginning, that it may lead to increasingly more effective measures to help the poor. To move in these directions requires the development of a political constituency that pushes for more appropriate programs and the clarification of the vision of what it is that will help the poor.

What is significant, then, about the war on poverty is not the present program. Rather, it is in <u>the acceptance of a public commitment to help the poor</u>.[4] This commitment has to be enlarged, shaped and carried out. New goals and successive programs will have to emerge. While we shall deal with the strategy of building a political constituency which can strengthen the commitment, primarily we shall be concerned with an analysis of the improvement, expansion and redirection which the present programs require.

Perspectives

The "war on poverty" is not just the New Deal in different dress. True, it takes over old New Deal programs like the CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps) and the NYA (National Youth Administration). True, it does not initiate great innovations (for the United States) like the Social Security and unemployment insurance programs of Roosevelt. Nonetheless, taken at its potential best, it moves in new and very significant directions. The New Deal was aimed at the provision of essential social services which would relieve want and distress; it provided a floor of security, whether in terms of minimum wages or old-age pensions. The "war on poverty" is aimed at expanding choices (of jobs and education) and thereby enlarging human freedoms. Its goal is not the construction of a floor but the opening up of doors into the main edifice of our economy. The preamble of the Economic Opportunity Act states the goals of the program: to open

> "to everyone the opportunity for education and training, the opportunity to work, the opportunity to live in decency and dignity."

Poverty within affluence and economic boom requires different programs than poverty within scarcity and national economic failure. The Social Service State, with its concerns for securing basic minima for all and thereby relieving want, is possibly supplanted by the Welfare State, directed to increasing opportunity to break into the affluent sectors. This perspective represents a dramatic and bold departure from the welfare policies which enjoined our legislation in the past decades.[5]

The call for the extension of opportunity goes beyond the established consensus and consequently contributes to the great range of criticism

with which the war on poverty has been greeted. The conservatives fear not only the expenditures, but the possibility that the expansion of choice for all will reduce the freedom of some. The role of government is expanded, and the possibility of structural changes reducing the advantages of some of the advantaged, at least in the short run, is enhanced.

While the rhetoric of the Act promises a new and bold departure from past policies, important historical continuities in the Act must be examined: Not only in the limited sense that it embodies the legislation of the Kennedy Administration which was not passed by Congress - - the Domestic Peace Corps, the Youth Employment Program, the Work-Study Program - - but in the more fundamental sense of the philosophical assumptions which underpin the Act. These historical continuities, as Titmuss has suggested, can be traced back to England's New Poor Law of 1834. The goal of welfare policy then was the reduction of pauperism (the receipt of public funds) and not the elimination of poverty. Pauperism was seen as a condition of individuals. Poverty, a condition of society, was not discovered until the turn of the 19th century when Charles Booth revealed that a third of the city of London lived in poverty. Given the goal of reducing pauperism, the strategy devised was that of inculcating proper work habits among the able-bodied poor through the elimination of outdoor relief and the use of the work house (almshouse). This overarching preoccupation with a small sector of the poor, the able-bodied poor who are not motivated to work, is a recurrent theme in social welfare policy. It can be found in the English legislation of 1911 and in the poverty program of today.

But this approach neglects the 60 per cent of the poor (defined as having a family income

under $4,000) who are employed but do not earn sufficient income to meet their needs; it neglects, also, the 25 per cent of the poor who are aged and who have presumably earned their right to retire from work if they so desire. The poverty program of today is not directed at these groups, which constitute the bulk of those in poverty. It is directed at the present and future pauper (today the more polite term is "dependent"). President Johnson has graphically stated the issue -- the program seeks to convert tax eaters into taxpayers.

The single most striking aspect of the present war on poverty, in addition to its historical continuities, is that it has little to do with poverty in the sense of income deficiency. Indeed, the program makes no pretense about addressing itself directly to the matter of income. The Act does make a step forward in providing that income earned in the training and work programs is not to be calculated as family income in applying for or staying on public assistance. But discounting income can hardly be described as a major plank in the program or as a major strategy of providing income to the poor. As Ida Merriam has suggested, any attempt at comparing the one billion spent for the war on poverty with the $11 billion needed to bring all families up to a $3,000 level is irrelevant. The program essentially does not provide direct income for the poor, although it does provide some limited funds for those who work. The absence of direct income support to the poor accounts for much sarcasm

and derision about the small scale of the program, and the possibilities of benefits accruing to /highly-demanded but scarce, middle-class professionals, rather than/ to the poor.

The assumptions underlining the Act cripple the possibilities of accomplishing its mission of expanding opportunity. We shall examine seven sets of assumptions involving: (1) the concept of poverty; (2) the fixing of a poverty line; (3) the use of characteristics as causes; (4) the comprehensiveness of the program; (5) the concentration on youth (6) education as the opportunity vehicle, and (7) inviolate institutions and violate man.

The Concept of Poverty

Poverty is assumed to be a short-run phenomenon. The task is seen as eventually bringing everyone above a poverty line; this line is relatively fixed, even if adjusted for price and other minor changes. It is important today to shed this fixed-line orientation in defining poverty. As Galbraith has declared: The poor are those who have fallen behind the rest of society. In this view, the poverty line is always relative to time, place and possibilities.[6] As the conditions of society change, so does the concept of poverty:

> No matter what standard is selected and what phrases are used to describe it - - maintenance, health and decency, modest, but adequate, comfort - - the specific goods and services that comprise that level of living change over time.[7]

In the family budgets of city-workers, more than half of the increased costs between 1951 and 1959 can be traced to increases in the general standard of living.

The casualties of the affluent society are not accidents; they are produced by their unprotected and unrewarded structural relationship to the affluent society. They are not placed in positions in society that lead to their advance with the rest of society. Thus, we have new groups recruited into poverty as new conditions emerge. Most striking today are the new, aged poor, those who were not poor during their working lives but are poor in their "retirements." Our very rough calculations, based on cross-sectional age data rather than more reliable longitudinal data, suggest that perhaps half of the aged poor are newly poor. If the fears of the Triple Revolution analysts are realized, then cybernation will lead to another group of poor - - formerly well-off workers displaced into long-term unemployment by productive servo-mechanisms.[8]

It will not avail us much if we believe that to bring everybody up to a particular level is enough, for such a notion implies that all of society will stand still while we achieve this improvement. Obviously, this is a myth. As society and the economy change, as new demands and and expectations emerge, then the poverty line shifts. Those not poor today may be poor in tomorrow's circumstances, though they have not suffered any absolute decline in their conditions. For example, as more jobs provide better vacations and adequate old-age pensions, then those in decreasingly attractive jobs, which do not provide these benefits, are falling behind.

The poverty line cannot be fixed, because it is in an escalator position, moving with society. Groups once protected against insecurity and poverty become vulnerable as society changes. It must be acknowledged that the war on poverty is not based on protecting those who

are vulnerable today (like the aged, female-headed families, etc.), nor on building escalator improvements into the conditions of various groups so that they improve as society advances.

Beyond poverty, stand the issues of inequality. They are ignored in the war on poverty. By inequality we refer to the disproportionate slices of the economic pie that are received by different income groupings. There is considerable evidence that inequalities in the distribution of income, wealth, and social services are growing in the United States.[9] The suction power of World War II produced a social revolution, bringing greater equalities of income and wealth. This power has been assaulted by a rising tide of inequalities. The poverty programs, even taken most broadly, make no effort to reduce such inequalities.

The orientation of these programs is quite different. They ignore issues of inequality. In their analysis of poverty they attempt to exhibit a modern anthropologist's sophistication by regarding poverty not only as inadequate income, but, perhaps more centrally, as inadequate motivation, resulting in a poverty cycle. In this view, as Peter Marris has observed, deprivation in one generation leads, through cultural impoverishment, family breakdowns, parental indifference or misunderstanding of their children's educational needs, to deprivation in the next generation. One can break one poverty cycle by entering at many points. The danger in this cyclical theory is that it is difficult to assign priorities. It is not clear from this perspective which intervention is likely to produce the most payoff at a given time with a given group. Also disturbing is that the thrust of this view is to ignore economic, demographic and other changes. When taken in the extreme position, this perspective suggests that a growth in aspiration, without an extension of income, will lead to the reclassification of people as "un-poor."

The attempt

to have a cultural rather than a psychological view of poverty, then, results in a formulation of the poverty cycle in intra-familial and inter-generational terms, rather than in intra-psychic language. It nevertheless seeks to change the poor and not their social situations. Consequently, structural changes are ignored and neglected.

The Poverty Line

Despite the inadquacies of interpreting poverty in terms of a fixed income line, the latter is necessary for measurement of present-day need and assessment of the adequacy of policies. The question then becomes what is the appropriate point at which to place the poverty line? The Council of Economic Advisors opted for a solitary line despite the diversity in family size and in living costs in the United States. With present-day statistical sophistication[10] and the wealth of basic data, this decision seems unfortunate. It opens the war on poverty to the criticism that farm families of two are not necessarily poor if they have incomes of $3,000 and removes the possibility of educating us to the existence of poverty among families with four or more children and incomes above $3,000.

But if we did need a single figure, why $3,000? Available budget estimates show that $3,000 family income is much too low. Careful economists like Morgan have used a higher base, adjusted for family size. The Council of Economic Advisors justifies the use of a $3,000 standard by the assumption that setting the poverty line higher or lower would only affect the size and not the character of the problem. The 1964 report states: "But the analysis of the sources of poverty, and the programs needed to cope with it, would remain substantially unchanged."[11]

This assertion is inaccurate. The resort to the $3,000 line underestimates the scope of urban poverty, overestimates rural poverty, and encourages the view that poverty is a short-run phenomenon that can be handled by a temporary and fairly modest injection of funds and training.[12]

Characteristics and Causes

The analysis of the nature and causes of poverty has been prepared by the Council of Economic Advisors, utilizing data drawn up by the Census Bureau and other governmental agencies. The 1964 Economic Report of the President, which presents the Council's analysis, discusses poverty mainly in terms of the characteristics of the poor. What is done is to examine the incidence and composition[13] of poverty in terms of variables such as age, educational level, sex of household head, race, and so on. This approach is useful because it underlines the diversity of the poor and the need for varied programs to deal with their differing needs and possibilities. But it is only a partial analysis without an explanatory theory. The analysis is not effectively linked to economic and other structural elements.

Frequently, official poverty discussions carry the refrain that the culture, motivation and attitudes of the poor are the essential elements in the production and maintenance of poverty. The concentration on youth in the war on poverty makes this approach plausible but hardly adequate in attempting to understand the multi-dimensions of poverty today. In fact, the analysis of the characteristics of the poor frequently is/little more than psychologizing the causes of poverty, making the problem one of individual rehabilitation rather than social change. In depicting vulnerable risk groups, analyses have ignored why these

groups tend to be vulnerable. Little attention is paid to the fact that over half of the poor are in the labor force and employed, but making insufficient income. True, the non-labor force poor - - the aged, the female-headed families - - are growing, but their plights have to be related to the character of our economic and social welfare institutions.

In contrast, Elizabeth Wickenden's analysis[14] emphasizes the relationship of various groups to the labor market. She talks about those groups who are employed but getting low wages, other groups who are actively interested in work but are unable to secure it, and so on. In her discussion of the categories of the poor, the constant, underlying theme is the relationship of particular groupings to the economy. But this, too, is not entirely accurate since her analysis / stresses status in the labor market and on this basis then devises various kinds of poverty / groupings.

To treat the characteristics of the poor as etiology can be dangerous. It is difficult to know what is consequence and what is cause.[15] To what extent does living in poverty tend to encourage the development of a protective subculture, which is then labelled as those characteristics of the poor that produce poverty?[16] We thus blame the poor for their poverty. More fundamental, perhaps, than this criticism is that it does not give us a basis for thinking about the problems of poverty in terms of the economic and social structure of the United States.

We hasten to add that an emphasis on structural changes does not mean that the immediate relief of suffering cannot be achieved if basic forces are neglected. Rather, the danger is that dealing only at the level of characteristics of the poor may lull us into a contentment with some immediate gains and delay the formulation of more comprehensive

and searching programs which are based on modifications of structure.

Perhaps we are reading too much into the theoretical perspective which underlies the war on poverty, but we do not believe so: Those who think of characteristics as poverty causes and "the culture of poverty" as the main barrier to escaping from poverty are much more likely to be sanguine about the beginning course of the war on poverty than are those who emphasize economic and social welfare programs as the main levers of advance. Furthermore, assumptions about poverty have consequences in the choice and conduct of programs.

For example, the one-half of the poor who are in the labor force are likely to be employed in occupations and industries which pay low wages. It is very common today to explain low wages by low productivity - - the poor are unskilled, poorly educated, poorly motivated, and, therefore, poorly paid. Such an analysis implies that we must upgrade the skill and educational levels of the poor while leaving the economy untouched. But, as Gabriel Kolko suggests, a more probing account of the prevalence of low wages must recognize that wages are also a function of an industry's competitive position in the economy, the capital investment required to enter business, and the proportion of total costs which must go to wages. Textile industries may be unable to pay high wages, while the automotive and the steel industries can. This kind of analysis suggests solutions dramatically different from merely reeducating and retraining the poor.

In emphasizing the characteristics of the poor, we neglect those problems of poverty which are functions of our economic and social structure. We are thus less likely to turn to the problems of social change and reconstruction - - of reducing inequalities - - when we

talk about poverty in personal and individual terms of the characteristics of the poor than when we discuss poverty in terms of the characteristics of the economy which produces the poor. Highlighting structural imbalances is important; not just because we have a certain number of poor today - - more than we are now willing to countenance, though we were willing to countenance a higher percentage yesterday - - but also because our society is undergoing change. We have to overhaul a number of institutions and develop others if we are to deal effectively with these new issues.

The Non-Comprehensive War

The war on poverty, even in its broadest terms, does not provide the wide coverage pledged in the preamble to the Economic Opportunity Act. This may be seen when we review the different groups that make up the poor. S. M. Miller, linking cultural, family, and economic variables, has outlined four categories of the poor: the "stable poor," who are somewhat below the poverty line and have a stable family unit; the "copers" or the "strained," who are in economically painful circumstances but have a stable family condition; the "skidders," who are close to the economic level of the stable poor but suffer a good deal of internal family conflict; and the "unstable poor," who are in great economic and family difficulty.[17]

The war on poverty, despite the concern with the characteristics of the poor, has not sensed the diversity of their condition and the need for varied programs. Rather, the initial thrust is toward those who are disaffected from work, as though this were the bulk of the problem of poverty in the United States. (And, as we shall see, the

programs tend to select those most interested in working.) Many of the poor do not suffer from lack of job motivation but from the inadequate provision of jobs. This is especially true of those who are among the stable poor and the strained. The war on poverty, at least initially, pays inadequate attention to these sizable groups, and the tax cut - - the primary employment measure - - is inadequate for the task of job creation. The emphasis on increasing employability rather than assuring employment is inadequate for today's poor.

The categories of the stable poor and the copers contain many aged; presumably medicare, when enacted, will be part of the poverty war and will help the aged poor. But there is little attention to the overhauling of the social security system so that it will provide a decent floor for the aged, automatically adjusted as economic conditions change.

The 23 per cent of the poor who are in welfare are sprinkled through all four categories, but they are more likely to be in the strained and unstable groupings (the aged, welfare poor are probably among the stable poor). The war on poverty has only the most limited of programs to deal with those on welfare. These provisions are extensions of the philosophy embodied in the 1962 amendments to the Social Security Act, which take as their underlying assumption that increasing professionalization of personnel in local welfare departments and the provision of services (usually interpreted as casework services) would help attenuate the problems of the welfare poor and reduce the number of cases. We doubt that this is true. Benefit levels in many states are fantastically low; the average grant for each dependent child is slightly over a dollar a day. Grants must be raised, at least to the state's own definition of budgetary need. Stigma must be erased and the "right" to welfare assured

if welfare is not to be a debilitating experience. Activities to promote self-help should be separated from the provision of financial aid, so that they will not serve as instruments of social control or infringements of rights.

The poverty war has a narrow scope. Perhaps it will reach out in more effective directions to deal with the variety of the poor, but its initial perspective is stunted.

The Concentration on Youth

The Economic Opportunity Act focuses almost exclusively on youth. In contrast, the British have emphasized providing a floor for the aged. Our emphasis probably arose from the American emphasis on "education," and from the continuing fears of juvenile delinquency and the search for more effective means of social control. Such "poverty" measures seem to obtain Congressional approval more easily. But there are dangers in the heavy reliance on youth poverty. Such concentration encourages the feeling that the problems of poverty are easily solvable, that we can relatively quickly train youth out of poverty and into existing or expanded niches in society. Consequently, we are less likely to think in terms of structural changes which are needed if we are to reduce the number of our present and future poor.

Where programs are seen as beginning programs, perhaps inadequate in dealing with their tasks, one criterion of their usefulness is whether they unfold and sharpen our vision of the larger and more complicated task. The emphasis on youth poverty may, we fear, hide rather than clarify the further tasks of a war on poverty. By emphasizing youth,

it is easier to perpetuate the myth that most poor are misfits, unwilling or unable to work. This orientation supports the underemphasis of the war on poverty (1) on insuring the availability of jobs for those who want to work (the bulk, we suspect, of the non-aged, male poor) and (2) on those who do work, but earn low wages or only obtain part-time employment.

The emphasis on youth has its attractive side - - to rescue the young before they have falled into apathy and despair; to provide new life for this rising generation and the generation which they will father. The question is how well will it work? Can the young be "rescued" at age 16? To speak of the importance of "the culture of poverty" and then to be optimistic about small programs changing the outlook and life-prospects of the youth of this culture implies that one does not believe in the analysis. We cannot have it both ways: that the culture of poverty is the problem, and that hope can be injected into the situation with relative ease through a training program (even of high quality with an obvious payoff - - two conditions which we shall discuss later). The culture of poverty theme is over-played while underbelieved.

We think there is some importance in changing the conditions of groups as a whole, rather than providing "a career open to the talented few" of an impoverished group. Would increasing the income of a poor family do as much to increase the children's interest in further advance as would specific training programs? We are not confident that the results of a study of these alternative ways of spending poverty funds would support a training program, separate from improving the economic

conditions of families and neighborhoods. True, some youth would escape from poverty more easily than before, but would the greater number of youth? Economic and social change may have to precede the call for individual responsibility and adjustment.

Education - - The Opportunity Vehicle

The firmest element in the American consensus is the emphasis on the central role of education in pulling people out of poverty or in maintaining them above the poverty line. Today education is the major route to social mobility. This thought underlies much of the anti-poverty analysis; for example, we are frequently shown the greater incidence of poverty among families whose heads have had less than a grammar school education (8 years of education) than in higher-educated families. Despite the accurate emphasis on the importance of education in high-industrial society, the poverty analysis has failed to make clear a number of important points about educational achievement levels and expenditures.

Our thinking is mired in an older era and is not sufficiently attuned to emerging trends. We are shooting to get dropouts to become high school graduates, as the latter increasingly suffer econimically, especially relative to college and graduate school alumni. It is likely that in the high-education society toward which we are moving high school graduates will increasingly fall behind college graduates in income and security[18] and will be prey to many of the vicissitudes now occurring mainly among dropouts. Our educational aim should be to increase substantially the number of college graduates (and to increase employment opportunities for them, especially in the social services).

President Johnson's speeches during the 1964 presidential campaign were very hopeful, speaking of guaranteeing everyone as much education as he can use. But the war on poverty does not reflect any sense of preparation for emerging educational trends. The amounts spent on education are not very great, though current expenditures in diverse educational programs are considerable. The question is not only the total amount spent on education, but on whom it is spent. While the poor have a fifth of the children, they probably receive as little as one-tenth of the $28 billion spent on education in the United States. Morgan reports that children in the lowest income families attend schools where the expenditure per child is 13 per cent below the national average.[19] This is a conservative estimate, since it is based on the questionable assumption that average local expenditures are a useful estimate of educational expenditures for all individuals who live in the community, regardless of income level.

As in many other realms of American life, a redistribution of expenditures is needed so that the poor benefit more than other groups. If the educational level of the poor advances at the same rate as or less rapidly than the more advantaged groups, they will achieve at best only marginal gains in their ability to compete in the labor market. Despite the increase in educational expenditures, it is not at all clear that the low-income groups are gaining relative to others. We cannot make a definitive statement on this question because we do not have adequate data, but it is the impression of many that the overall increase in educational expenditures in the United States has not meant that a higher percentage of the outlays benefits low-income

groups who need the help most. This impression may be inaccurate, but what is significant today is not only the total level of expenditures on education but the share that goes to the poor. Expanding educational expenditures will undoubtedly help them, but the contribution may not be substantial.

And - - let us face the sad fact - - giving more money to financially starved educational institutions will not be sufficient. True, they desperately need money, but many close observers of the American educational scene are increasingly pessimistic that great changes are needed in the conduct of education, changes which do not depend primarily on funds, but on goals, selection, organization, pedagogy. Consequently, it is not enough to give money to school systems, but it must be given in ways that improve the quality of education. This has partly occurred in the Vocational Education Act of 1963, which aims to support and redirect vocational education away from home economics and farming. It is implicit in President Johnson's new legislative proposals for education, but much remains to be done in reorganizing the fabric of our educational system. The proliferation of the educational system, rather than the reform of old institutions, may only serve to complicate and elaborate an already unwieldy structure.

Inviolate Institutions and Violate Men

The primary thrust of the war on poverty is to affect the opportunities of the poor by changing them as individuals, rather than by changing the institutions which impinge upon them. The beginning programs in the work training field are largely rehabilitative programs;

the underlying assumption is that if the poor are further trained, motivated and remotivated, they will be able to increase their chances to reach the main economy. The employing institutions are not major targets of change, whether through subsidies, direct governmental expenditures or investments to ensure the employment of the poor.

The great distance from the theme of social change is also revealed in the willingness to give funds to institutions that have already failed with the poor. Educational systems, employment services, social agencies - - many, if not most of them, have a sorry record of inadequate and low-quality service to the poor (and frequently, to the non-poor as well). Providing additional funds to financially starved institutions may improve their services, but not drastically. The need is for change - - in goals, in organization, in selection of personnel, in practices. Money helps achieve some change, but it does not guarantee <u>qualitative</u> improvement.

Political issues intrude in providing funds with hooks that will lead to change in educational, employment and social service organizations. But overcoming bureaucratic and professional encrustations is essential if we are to produce the kinds of services that will really improve the situations of the low-income population. Monitoring programs only in terms of fiscal accountability or immediate placements will be insufficient. What is most disturbing is the widespread feeling that money will solve most of the present problems of the educational and social services. In truth, the latter need to change so that they fit the people and needs of today. Existing agencies and professions are not geared to working effectively with the poor. Giving money to them will only partially solve problems; they need to be jogged, led,

helped, checked, pressured into doing effective work. New kinds of agencies will have to be developed; new kinds of service occupations will have to emerge. We cannot take the existing network and performance of our social institutions as given. The war on poverty cannot exempt the agencies that dispense its largesse from the need to change. If it does, even large sums will yield sterile results.

Prospects

It is extremely difficult, of course, to attempt to evaluate the war on poverty at its very beginning. But we know enough about the experience on which the specific programs are built and about their outlook to assess what problems will be emerging. We do not expect the opening years of the war on poverty to produce stunning achievements. Rather, the major contribution will be to open up issues in the conduct of a better designed and coordinated set of activities and programs. We think more could have been done in the opening year, but the haste, the failure of social scientists to develop effective, policy-relevant theory, the lack of a thought-out approach, the bureaucratic in-fighting, and the absence of a strong and positive political constituency have led to limited programs.

Some who assume a fundamentalist position would question whether it might have been wiser to wait until a better design could have been forthcoming. We doubt it - - <u>if</u> the present programs are not taken as models to be strengthened but as models to be tested and possibly discarded or sharply revised. The present package can contribute to policy and programs if it is used to highlight issues and trends, suggesting where further lines of policy may come.

Job Training

In a success-oriented society, one tries to make sure that one is successful. In part, this can be engineered by defining success and the criteria utilized to measure performance in certain ways. Another procedure is to select subjects for programs who are of the highest caliber and who would be likely to improve or succeed without our intervention. "Selective recruiting standards" is what we mean by "creaming," that is, working with the least disadvantaged. This was the experience during the first year, at least, of the Manpower Development and Training Act, the programs of which concentrated on prime (ages 25-45), white males with at least a high school diploma, that is, those easiest to locate in jobs.

We expect creaming will also be the experience of the Neighborhood Youth Corps. Consider the following projections for this program. Out of 200,000 anticipated jobs only 15 per cent will be for full-time employment. More than half of the jobs (110,000) will be for summer employment or for quarter-time jobs. Such programs are best suited for those already in school. The dropout is clearly neglected.[20] The paid work experience of the Neighborhood Youth Corps will/keep/difficult likely out youth.

President Johnson has demanded that the war on poverty evince early success. Consequently, the pressure will be to cream, to select those youth who are most likely to "achieve" through these programs and, indeed, might have achieved without them! The Job Corps will not accept youth with physical handicaps or with serious delinquency records, regardless of when the delinquencies were committed.

Some are outraged at creaming, since it neglects those who are most disadvantaged. But creaming as a short-run tactic is not always objectionable. It may be a political necessity to win support for further legislation by evincing "success." New activities may require a tooling-up period, during which the program involves primarily those easiest to work with. Either or both reasons provide a rationale for temporary creaming. But creaming cannot be a permanent policy. It cannot be the basic structure of a program. There should be structural constraints against long-term creaming. After an initial period of grace - - a year perhaps - - all programs at the national and local level should demonstrate that they are dealing with a range of youth, and perhaps disproportionately with the most disadvantaged. This would require that reports of program performance provide the data to check on whether creaming persists. The funding agencies would have to be empowered to reduce expenditures to agencies that continue creaming.

While creaming is important, we must also examine the programs within a broader administrative context. Questions of social policy can be posed in three strategic areas: entry, continuity, and reabsorption. Together they comprise a completed cycle of social change; no stage can be neglected for each depends on the other. The question of entry most obviously deals with those who apply for programs and are turned away. Titmuss has suggested that rejection from the Job Corps may be one of the more important sources of rejection that a person experiences in his life, for it may well imply final rejection from the world of work. It is therefore essential that we follow those who are rejected and make sure that they receive the physical and mental health services

they require. There is danger that they be written off as the forgotten youth of America's social underclass. We also need to consider those who do not apply - - the invisible clientele who are unaided by the service world. They may not know how to negotiate the complex service jungle and come to reject what they cannot understand, or we may not yet have devised means to reach out to provide them with help. Youth Opportunities Centers will serve as recruiting, screening and referral sources for MDTA, the Job Corps, and the Neighborhood Youth Corps. All will play a part of this crucial role. Decentralization of their operation into neighborhoods may be essential for them to be effective, since disadvantaged youth will not travel readily.

Obviously, it is important that those who start a program, complete it. Yet one of the most persistent characteristics of all work-training programs is their low holding power, typically, attrition rates are very high. The best antidote may be the provision of <u>authentic</u> programs which lead to increased skill competence and to jobs. Programs develop a "rep" (reputation) among youth. Inauthentic programs which lead nowhere will create dejected youth, with little faith in themselves and in the programs. They will become fallouts. Many of the CCC camps during the depression discovered that large numbers of youths were deserting the camps. Mass desertions from the Job Corps may be a real, if disturbing possibility, which should not be discounted as long as the programs permit voluntary participation.

In addition to those who are dejected, we must also consider those who will be ejected - - pushouts - - because they cannot adjust to the program or the program cannot adjust to them. Some efforts have been

made to limit the discretion which administrators of the Job Corps have on ejecting youth. After the first several months, special permission may be needed before a camp can request that an enrollee leave.

Finally, there is the persistent dilemma of reabsorption. Low arrival rates from referring agencies is by far the typical pattern. What mechanisms will be developed to assure that those who graduate from the programs will be absorbed into the labor market, MDTA, schools, community action programs, or established community services? Referrals will simply not be adequate unless firm assurance is provided that these youth will be given preferential treatment.

We must not neglect the question of the equitable distribution of poverty programs among disadvantaged youth. The high reliance on summer and part-time employment in the Neighborhood Youth Corps may lead to creaming - - a high proportion of white youngsters who continue in high school - - while the Job Corps may recruit large numbers of Negro youth. We have been informed that 70-80 per cent of the Job Corps may be Negro. If this gloomy prediction is accurate, a new form of indoor and outdoor relief may have been created - - Negro youth are removed from the community for periods of up to two years, whereas white youth are absorbed in the local labor force.

We must avoid the notion that the prospective participants are inadequate; the responsibility is always with the program and its administrators to provide activities that are effective. <u>It is not so much that individuals fail to comply or utilize established programs, as it is that programs fail to devise means for meeting the needs of individuals</u>. This is the essential context in which to view recruitment, the content of programs and the high attrition rates which all programs

seem to have.

Causes of Failure

A more general point about programs is involved. It is likely that if the war on poverty does not do well that many administrators, politicians or social commentators, will leap to the assertion that there is something wrong with our youth. They may fail to enlist in the war, or, if they do join, they may fail to see any payoff and desert in great numbers. If they fail to get decent jobs later despite their training, it may be charged that it is something about them that is the obstacle. This is the easy path in analyzing failure and defeats. It will be important as we encounter failure - - as we will - - to police ourselves so that we do not make the youth who go through or fail to go through the programs the ultimate scapegoats. If we concentrate on youth as the source of failure, then we ignore the kind of analysis which might lead to new, more effective programs. Evaluating goal and program success is more useful than impugning those who do not neatly fit into plans.

In a difficult task, failures will always occur. It is what they do to us and what we do about them that becomes significant in the longer-term picture. The great danger is in looking at failure as stemming from the inadequacies of the clientele and not in terms of the tasks of society.

The Validity of the "Employability" Goal

In some ways, the work programs of the Economic Opportunity Act are more sophisticated than other work programs aimed at low-income youth.

Their administrators recognize that many of the jobs that graduates of such programs receive are low-grade, dead-end jobs, frequently kept for only short periods of time. The work programs are primarily oriented to increasing "employability" rather than delivering youth into presently available, low-level jobs. The hope is that those who graduate will be able to move into higher-level jobs via training programs which prepare them for better positions.

But will this occur? For example, will working on problems of conservation in the Job Corps increase urban job possibilities? Will enhancing "job motivation" open many good jobs? One necessarily raises these questions, for much of the initial scheduling of activities of the work programs is to improve work attitudes and motivation, not to provide marketable skills. The latter may be talked about, but the practice seems to be attitude-improvement exercises. For example, the Neighborhood Youth Corps programs will provide funds to public and non-profit agencies to employ youth, but there are no requirements about skill development on the job nor provisions for mandatory educational or training components. Indeed, the very goal of employability in Title 1B may have been lost, as the program seems to have become converted from work-training to work-relief. The Neighborhood Youth Corps should pay for the effective supervision and training of its clients as well as for their working hours.

Today's labor market does not lead to optimism about the success of increased "work motivation." First, we believe many unemployed youth can do much better than become "remotivated" - - they could develop skills. Second, motivation programs will lose youth rapidly, as the youth increasingly recognize that they do not have great job

payoffs. But, most important of all, we doubt that a great many youth would be hired because they have completed a "work motivation" program. The problem, as Cloward has so aptly put it, "lies not with the input of their motivation but with the output of competence after training."[21] True, the state employment services may be more willing to refer than previously because they have been through such a program, but there just does not appear to be a million or so jobs for low-skill youth. A small number of youth in any large city can be placed through intensive job development procedures with private employers. But we should not deceive ourselves into believing that private enterprise, unaided, can provide jobs for low-skill youth.

It will be extraordinarily disturbing if we get youths, who feel that they have been given a rough time, to go through new programs of training, only to find out that they still cannot get employment. We must deliver adequate jobs, or we are hoaxing.

Mobilization for Youth, one of the more thoughtfully organized work-training programs in the United States, found that in the 14-month period after the program began in October, 1962, 1700 young people applied for assistance. Approximately 25 per cent of these recruits were placed in competitive jobs as a direct result of this program. (These percentages can be inflated, as are national statistics on job placements, by calculating placements as a percentage of those who have completed the program rather than those who have enrolled.) The bulk of the 425 youth were placed in marginal occupations at low wages.[22] While follow-up data are not available on the length of time youth held jobs to which they were referred, some figures are available on wages received. JOIN/another New York City program, reports that 66 per cent of their 2410 placements earn

between $50-54 a week.[23]

Irregular and low-paid employment is not a satisfactory outcome of programs which stress the employability theme. Employability has to be seen as the means to decent employment, and someone in the war on poverty - - the Secretary of Labor, the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity - - must have the responsibility and power to see that the end, decent employment, is achieved. In the present situation, no one has the responsibility for insuring the final payoff - - a decent job. We do not believe that the structure of present programs can deliver adequate numbers of worthwhile jobs; jobs will have to be created.

Ambiguity of Aims

The war on poverty also reflects concern with juvenile delinquency and the misdeeds of the young. The attractiveness of the Job Corps idea is largely based on the mystical American belief in the purifying effect of contact with tall trees and mountain air. We want to do "something" about our youth. The "something" may mean that we are mainly interested in social control, rather than helping youngsters obtain decent jobs. The various job programs in the war on poverty can degenerate into devices to reduce our fears of delinquency and rioting, to police the poor, not to develop them. This danger persists because an underlying theme among many connected with the war on poverty, especially at local levels, is that the purpose of the programs is to provide settings which administer control over youth and to "resocialize" them for "living in society."

Youth programs might not be considered failures if they just take care of youth for several years in an

"aging vat" called a work camp or training program. Although one might hope that they will be trained as well as "aged," the programs could be considered successes even if the youth do not later obtain jobs. If this becomes the fate of the programs, then some critics are right in charging that the war on poverty is a cloak for a war on the poor.

We would be getting youth into programs on the presumption that their job careers would be moved along, but that would not be the real goal. And such manipulation is likely to fail. Low-income youth, much experienced with the con games of the adult, "outside" world, would soon recognize the training for what it is - - control, not aid.

Some of the professionals involved may abet this tendency as they stress the therapeutic effect of work experience. They see an opportunity to sneak in a mass therapy program as work training. Psychotherapy will have a role with many a youth in the programs, but it should not be bootlegged in the guise of directly improving career chances. Further, the stress on counseling and group therapy is a threat, particularly since much of it will be done by those unclear about its goals and how to conduct it effectively. If it is not done well, it would be better not done at all.

A program with therapeutic effects is not necessarily one that is therapeutically oriented. We frankly believe that securing low-income youths decent jobs is the most important therapeutic agent of all. For those youth who cannot easily achieve this goal because of personality difficulties, then dealing with the internal obstacles is in order. But this situation cannot be assumed to be always present, nor can therapy, or training as therapy, function as a substitute for the availability of jobs.

What we must remember is that "motivation" is the means in these programs, not the end. If it really is the end, then the programs will fail, both in gaining jobs for youth and in "motivating" them.

Confusion in Programming

Reflecting the variety of low-income youth, there is a great diversity of work programs. Some of them are preparation programs to develop work motivation and literacy skills, others are pre-vocational, providing a beginning and supervised work experience that may lead to further training or a job; still others are at the level of vocational training in which a fair degree of skill is involved.

The availability of diverse programs is good, but there is the danger of confusion in the diversity. Sometimes work training to provide skills is confused with work training experience to provide motivation.[24] There is need for much greater clarity in specifying the training needs of different kinds of youth and developing the kinds of programs which are appropriate.

At the local level, especially, many agencies do not seem to have a good fix on the kinds of youth they have and want to deal with. Their programs seem frequently to be copies of programs elsewhere with little regard to local labor market conditions and the diversity and potentials of their youth. The funding agencies will have to provide more effective leadership here.

A training program may wish to accomplish one or another of the three goals of preparation, pre-vocational and vocational training. Then, the question is the appropriateness of the particular goal. The aim may be to achieve all three. Then, the issue is the phasing and coordination among the programs. But the starting point must always be the needs and possibilities of the youth involved.

The Relevance of Training

Successful training requires that youth be fitted for jobs that exist. To aid in achieving this goal, labor market analysis is required. The impression we have gained is that many of these analyses are not adequate. They lack adequate information about available jobs, since there is no provision for mandatory listing of job vacancies and for the projection of labor trends, a complex task, which, when performed at its best is often hastily completed and based on inadequate and incomplete data. In some cases, the analyses favor jobs which have a high

rate of obsolescence. In other cases, jobs are recommended which are inappropriate for the population to be serviced; e.g., secretarial work is indicated as the avenue of development for youth who cannot speak English or have substantial reading retardation.

The choosing of possible employment skills is not a simple, mechanical task. It requires sensitive and far-sighted awareness of job trends; it must be related to an understanding of the youth to be trained. If training areas are not selected with the greatest of care, the programs will avail little.

Perhaps the professionals who make the analyses need further training. Perhaps specialists have to be sent into at least some communities for a limited period to make the needed determination. Perhaps, too, a variety of groups have to be brought into the process of need determination. The best arrangement will probably vary from community to flexible community. Unfortunately, this/orientation is difficult for a federal differential treatment agency to maintain since communities can take / to imply that one of its agencies is inferior to that of another community. Perhaps at this stage, then, bringing in experts from outside to work with the local analysts will be most efficient.

Regardless of the device used to improve the determination of training area, it must be recognized early how vital this is. We do not want to provide more obstacles to swift action, but this step of training requires the most thoughtful analysis. And many involved in programs have told us that they do not think their local agency is adequately equipped to do the job!

Training and Community Facilities

In order to produce adequate training programs a variety of community services will have to be immediately available; these range from good, available, free medical and dental care to psychological services to vocational services to school programs which are effective with former dropouts. The inadequacies of educational and social services will become glaringly apparent. Many communities do not have such services; those communities that do, usually have waiting lists. In many places the quality of service is shockingly low. We have to begin now in community after community to plan for and produce the kinds of services that are necessary. Community action programs and the variety of work programs will have to work together much more effectively than presently if we are to see a great improvement along these lines.

The Obstacle Course

In discussing MDTA programs, Somers writes:

> ...the complicated relations between the Office of Manpower, Automation, and Training, the Bureau of Employment Security, and Health, Education and Welfare - - both in Washington and at the local level - - have sometimes served to delay the inception of programs and impair their effective functioning.[25]

Many would consider this rebuke mild. The war on poverty which multiplies programs and redirects old-line bureaus will worsen the tangled web of relationships. The demand in the Economic Opportunity Act, as finally enacted, for a high degree of state participation in programs makes the course of action even more unsettled and difficult to engineer. There is need for much greater authority in the Office of the Director of Economic Opportunity, and he must be willing to

knock together heads of contributing and subordinate agencies - - which are frequently competing with each other and uncooperative - - and to gain some control over other governmental agencies involved in the war on poverty. It is now a jungle. And perhaps the hardest part of the jungle to traverse is federal-state-local relationships. We need new kinds of relationships among these levels. If state activities are going to be expanded through federal tax allotments, then we will need even more a significant turning in the present, complicated, slow-moving interplay.

Despite the reading of reports, attendance at conferences, discussions with administrators, we must sheepishly report that we have the greatest difficulty in keeping in mind the various programs that comprise the war on poverty. Where does the jurisdiction of the Youth Opportunity Centers, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Manpower Development and Training Program, the work-training programs of the Community Action Program leave off and resume? It is like listening to a fluent and idiomatic native speaker of a language one is just learning - - it has a familiar ring but very few things get through! The decoding runs well behind the rushing verbal stimuli.

We may be defensive, but we do not believe that the problem is a lack of application or a characteristic difficulty to absorb information. The programs and their jurisdictions - - multilayered, overlapping and fragmented - - are complicated, and they frequently change. If professionals in ordering information are overwhelmed by the task of understanding the independent and frequently competing battalions engaged in the war on poverty, what will happen to youth dealing with them?

And their task will be complicated by the need to figure out what is the best part of the program for them.

We have no doubt that it will soon be apparent that there is great need for decentralized information-orientation service units. They should be located in low-income neighborhoods; they should be able to refer youth on-the-spot among the Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, training programs, educational remedial work and social work services and to see that they are immediately serviced. A youth should not be forced to find his way unaided through the unmarked fields of agency sovereignties. The unresolved dilemma remains - - referral must have an assurance of action; it must not be a means for one agency to expell its "crocks" to another agency unwilling to accept such refugees. If the situation is enormously complicated, if referrals are meaningless, if services are not immediately provided, if attention is not given to the achievement of interlocked progress, then low-income youth will be expended, rather than invested in, in the fight for agency aggrandizement. <u>The unit of the war on poverty is the youth, not the program</u>.

This point is especially important for youth who have been in one program and then need a different kind of program. For example, a boy who has picked up on basic reading and writing in the Job Corps may now need specific skill training which his camp cannot provide. If he has to go to a city to get this training, will the further training, under, say, the jurisdiction of a community action program be carefully and explicitly arranged? <u>Continuity of services must be assured</u>.

The logical place for such a central service is in the community action programs. The Youth Opportunity Centers of the state employment

services, administered through the U. S. Bureau of Employment and Security, hope to provide some central referral and screening services in the manpower field. Whether the state employment services, which have a poor record with low-income youth, can be adequately revamped to do this new (for them) manpower job and to go beyond that is uncertain. Undoubtedly, the agency under which such decentralized service centers should be provided might well differ from one community to another, though we see the strongest case for the community action programs. The most important thing is the provision of easy and effective entrance into the battlefields of the war on poverty; otherwise, much of the good will of youth may be spent in traveling from one slice of the front to another, only intermittently getting action and becoming disillusioned veterans of rear-guard snafus and inter-agency squabbles.

The Measurement of Progress

The mode of evaluation of a program is not only a technical issue but a question of values, that is, a public policy issue. Good programs require useful criteria of evaluation. A serious war on poverty requires both long-term and short-term goals and means of measuring the degree of achievement of these goals.

We suggest below two approaches to the evaluation of programs. One set of criteria involves the fairly immediate impact of the training programs on securing jobs for trainees; here both quantity and quality of jobs are important. The other set of criteria utilizes changing income profiles as a measure of the success of the war on poverty.

In judging the effectiveness of the work programs and the possible need for strengthening or changing them, we must be clear about the ultimate goal - - a "decent" job. A "decent" job is one which comes close to prevailing standards in terms of pay and security. It should have high likelihood of leading to a better job and/or withstanding the immediate pressure for obsolescence and eradication. In short, the job must provide not only a decent floor but offer advancement or longer-run security. To be trained for a job that will soon disappear is an advance over unemployment, but not a continuing one if unemployment is likely to recur.

Experience with the hiring of difficult-to-place youngsters underlines the importance of length of time on a job. A great many placements are soon ended; youngsters are pushed out or drift off a job in a matter of weeks. The training agency may produce a good record of placements when, in actuality, many of its graduates are unemployed.

In evaluating training programs, questions like these must be pursued: What kind of jobs did the trainees get? How long did they keep them? What occupational futures do they have? What has happened to those unplaced? Are youths' opportunities to get decent, secure jobs actually enhanced to any considerable extent? This should be the overarching theme of the evaluations and reports.

It will not be possible to evaluate failures among the Job Corps in a short period of time, and definitive answers may not be forthcoming even later because of the complexities of conducting research on action programs. To rely solely on research findings may delay necessary changes. Some changes can be proposed even at this point. For

example, one might question on moral grounds the present requirement that youth sign a loyalty oath to qualify for the benefits of the programs.

Since one of the goals of the work programs is to increase dropouts' return to school, a comment is necessary here. It is frequently unrealized that a high proportion of dropouts - - perhaps 10 per cent to 25 per cent do return to school without any special school or community effort to get them to return. But most of them drop out again.[26] For example, President Kennedy's crash program in the summer of 1963 to get dropouts to return to school did lead quite a number to resume their education. But, in many cities, they soon left again. The schools had not changed in ways that would permit them to deal more adequately with youth who had earlier school difficulties. Consequently, it will not be enough to say that youth have returned to school without checking whether or not they graduate.

Reports should also indicate the number who enter a program as distinct from those who complete it. Many placement performances are inflated by neglecting those who start but do not finish the programs. Information on dropouts from programs can reveal much about possible creaming.

The income criteria of evaluation can follow the lead of the Council of Economic Advisors. In the realm of economic policy, the Council has utilized the concept of "frictional unemployment," the minimal amount of unemployment that would occur in a dynamic economy. Unemployment above the frictional level of 2 per cent to 4 per cent is a signal that the economy is not successfully dealing with unemployment and that action is needed to reduce the rate. Thus, the frictional

rate provides a goal for the Federal Government - - to strive to reduce the rate to this level.

A similar kind of goal measurement, as Bertram Gross has suggested, may be useful in conducting anti-poverty programs. We can establish the poverty equivalent of "frictional unemployment," that is, "frictional poverty." The goal of public policy would be to reduce poverty to this level in some stipulated time period. Once we achieve the frictional poverty level, we strive to prevent the poverty rate from rising. Further, the poor should constitute a fluid group. If "frictional poverty" is made up only of those who are long-term poor, then we are failing to develop programs which deal with the forces that have produced poverty in selected groups of the population. Those who are poor should be only temporarily so. If this is not true, current programs are failing in their objectives of helping the poor. The intent is to reduce poverty to a transitional level, to be eliminated as the appropriate program emerges.

Frictional or transitional poverty, then, should be a small percentage of the population; those who are poor are temporarily so, not a long-term poor for whom society has failed to develop programs to deal with their problems. A figure of 5 per cent, we suggest, might be the target goal of frictional poverty. Above that level, immediate action is called for.

Since poverty is many-sided, multiple indicators are needed. Not only do we need indicators of income poverty, but also indicators of asset poverty (particularly important as people age), educational poverty, health poverty and the like. We should strive to reduce poverty in all these areas, not just in the income area. Improvement

in one dimension does not automatically produce improvements in others. Policies may vary in order to be effective with the different dimensions of poverty. For example, income poverty may be reduced by transfer payments through social insurance, while health poverty would probably require investments in public health measures as well as the reorganization and refunding of medical care. While we have written mainly of income poverty, the other dimensions cannot be ignored.

The speed with which we move to achieve the 5 per cent rate is a political one. We would suggest that in five years the rate of poverty be reduced to the 5 per cent level; this would mean a rate of reduction in poverty of less than 3 per cent per year. This requires a speeding-up of the long-term rate of reduction as calculated by Robert J. Lampman.[27] If we fail to move at this rate, then the poverty programs should be carefully assessed and redirected so that the rate of progress can be accelerated.

In setting out goals and measuring performance, it is important not to become a prisoner of a fixed poverty line. If we do, we may be solving the old poverty, but not the new. As average income goes up in society, so does the poverty line. Consequently, the line which defines who is poor should be moving up as income increases. The poverty line should be adjusted for cost of living changes and for the annual average increase in income or productivity or some such measure of changing conditions in the general society. Otherwise, we can reduce the number of poor only to discover that we have a new poor, who are above the out-moded poverty line but below the new standards established by society.

Social Report

The impetus of the war on poverty might be utilized for the introduction of a "Social Report."[28] The Employment Act of 1946 gave rise to the important and influential "Economic Report" of the President and Council of Economic Advisors. The Manpower Development and Training Act provides the useful Manpower Report of the Secretary of Labor, outlining statistics and issues in the utilization of manpower. Today, we need the introduction of an annual "Social Report" which will highlight changing conditions in the United States. Issued by the Office of Economic Opportunities, it might not only report the performance of its various programs (e.g., the number of youths placed in what level of jobs for what length of time as a result of training programs) but also analyze the larger issues. It might well include statistics on morbidity and mortality rates for various income levels and groups in the United States (it would shock many Congressmen to learn that the USA is not among the first ten nations in low infant mortality rates, or that the older a reservation Indian youth gets, the more his chances of longevity fall behind that of the rest of the population); on the quality and quantity of housing; on the level of education attained by various income groups; on the adequacy of benefits received under welfare and social security schemes; on indicators of social unrest, etc. True, many such items appear in periodicals like Welfare in Review and the Social Security Bulletin and in annual summary tabulations issued by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. But the systematic annual summation in one place of these data, a vast expanse of the indicators of social life, and an assessment of their implications for economic and social policy appear extremely urgent. It would place

the anti-poverty programs in the widest possible context.

Together with the Economic Report and the Manpower Report, the Social Report would provide the basic information and continuing analysis necessary for the development and monitoring of programs that deal with the emerging issues of American society.

Monitoring the Programs

At the beginning of this paper we discussed the absence of a firm political pressure propelling the war on poverty. If the poverty program is to move in more productive channels, it will undoubtedly require the monitoring support and active pressure of diverse groups.

Outside organizations can play a most important role in monitoring programs, studying what is going on, evaluating the effectiveness of the programs, pressuring to upgrade quality and appropriateness of programs, and the like. Well-informed groups, such as civil rights organizations, can be pushing the programs into more effective channels. This pressure will be particularly important in communities where professionalism on the part of staff must be overcome (e.g., emphasizing selection tests of students to near-exclusion of placement on jobs), or where community-business reluctance to employ minority or poorly-schooled youth is great. At the national level, support will be needed to move the programs into broader lines.

The role of the intellectual, the scholar, and the informed citizen will be great in watching over the progress of the programs, developing standards of accountability, and spreading their findings. It is important to have wide public understanding of the progress made (or lack of it). Social criticism will be an important device for promoting

goal success. Social scientists have an especially important role as informed, independent analysts and critics.

If the criticisms of newspapers (see Village Voice, November 19, 1964, on the New York Times) to the effect that they no longer develop their own reportage and increasingly are dependent on public relations releases are valid (as they seem to be), then interest groups must do the basic news-collection job that the press once did. By building effective links with newspapers, this information and analysis could then get attention.

The monitoring of the anti-poverty programs should (and we believe it will) become one of the major activities of civil rights groups. Less and less will these groups be met with an out-and-out unwillingness to improve the conditions of the downtrodden. Increasingly, a variety of programs will be proferred to ameliorate the situation. The task of the civil rights groups will then be to pressure for more effective programs and to monitor and criticize the performance of programs that are initiated or expanded.

Some of those in the civil rights movement are offering a catastrophic view of the shoals and reefs threatening the American economy if it is to navigate to the shore of high production and high employment. They demand far-reaching programs of planning that are unlikely to generate much political strength today. Whether or not their analyses are correct, they must develop a strategy to deal with the programs that are emerging today. They can reject them totally as tokenism and inadequate. Or they can use them to open up important issues. We see no politically useful alternative to the latter course.

To assess adequately poverty programs so that new issues can be raised and weak programs supplanted by more effective ones requires detailed knowledge of what the programs do and what happens to those who have been through them. Some technical competence is needed here, but not very much. More important is a stern and steady eye to the sparrow - - the actual opportunities of those who have been in touch with the program. Where do they stand now?

What is required is to ask the right questions. For example, are youth getting the fullest protection that our society is already offering to other citizens? Why not press for unemployment insurance for successful graduates of the programs who fail to secure a job or who are placed in jobs that have only limited tenure and then are unable to find another job?

It is also important to make sure that the answers which are given are valid. This may require some spot checking of those who have graduated, but this has been done by some civil rights groups. It is in the tradition of checking to see, e.g., whether a stated change in personnel practices has actually led to the employment of large numbers of minority members. The technical questions in monitoring are not grave, and many liberal social scientists would be eager to help.

Gaining a Constituency

The civil rights groups, thus, form a crucial part of the constituency of the anti-poverty programs. They will be pressuring for broader, better funded, more effective programs. Their pressure alone will probably win considerable legislative extensions of the programs over the years.

Whether their pressure will be enough to win programs that will lead to structural changes (e.g., more progressive tax structure to increase redistributive effects) in the economy, is less certain. It seems likely that other groups must be brought into central concern with the poverty programs if the latter are to move in new directions. Here, two lines of action have been suggested: coalition of the white and Negro poor; coalition of civil rights and liberal groups.

Some in the civil rights movement are thinking of encouraging political mobilization among the white poor, both in the big cities and in Appalachia. With many concerns similar to those of the minority poor, the white poor might be willing to join the latter in political campaigns to strengthen and expand the anti-poverty programs. Two steps are involved: the political mobilization of all the poor, especially the white poor who have lagged behind Negroes in expressing their unrest and in seeking improvement in their conditions; and bringing together on specific issues or on a wider basis the variety of groups of the poor.[29] They would seek the election of those who would represent the poor and be <u>accountable</u> to them because they owe their political fortunes to them. Whether the black and white poor will move together will depend on the issues that emerge, the skill of organization and the like. The key, though, is the mobilization of many groups of the poor.

of the war on poverty
The community action programs/can help to stimulate the poor to organize. If we are genuinely interested in having Americans self-determining - - providing opportunity, not a dole - - then mobilization of the poor is significant. Providing services without involving the

poor in decisions and in operations perpetuates dependency and apathy. The theme of community participation in the Economic Opportunity Act should not mean only elite citizen participation, as it has in the administration of urban renewal. An effort must be made to overcome "social work colonialism" in all the programs, for this props the poor but does not encourage community self-goverance.

The attacks on Mobilization for Youth are symptomatic of the reluctance to permit community self-direction. But the movement toward political activity is important for the effective conduct of the programs and for their development in more penetrating directions. The community participation provisions can serve as a Wagner Act for community organizations, not only legitimating them but requiring their active participation in the negotiations which determine the fate of their localities.[30]

Thus, the war on poverty may make its major contribution in legitimating the grievances of the poor. By paying attention to poverty and accepting a governmental responsibility for at least some action, the poverty war may encourage more of the poor to feel that they have a right to protest when their conditions do not improve rapidly. They may then organize to express their views. Yet, this is a possibility that many believe to be very unlikely today. Gunnar Myrdal and many American social scientists have emphasized the apathy of the poor in the United States. Certainly, the poor and the unemployed are not currently an active, pressing political force.[31] We should not, however, assume that the absence of militant behavior is necessarily a permanent condition. Similar comments were made about Negroes just a short time ago. Under some conditions a long-time, poverty-stricken, and politically

inactive group emerges into political aggressiveness. Frequently, this happens when its conditions are improving, for then it acquires hope and gains the feeling of new, legitimate claims on society. The inadequate meeting of hopes and claims stirs discontent even though conditions may be improving. Rising expectations rather than ever-increasing debasement are more productive of political anger.

The war on poverty may encourage new expectations and claims which will energize the poor. In doing so, the poverty war may produce the political pressures which will make possible more effective programs to eliminate poverty in the semi-affluent society.

The second line of strategy is to move outside the poor in building support for the improvement of anti-poverty legislation. Here, labor unions and members of the middle-classes must be increasingly brought into support. They are already supporting the general outlines of the poverty program, but they would have to put these activities on a higher priority level.

If the poverty programs are an enclave separate from other attempts to improve the conditions of Americans, their general support will probably be limited, permitting weak programs to continue. But if their scope is comprehensive, and if they enlargen economic demand to preserve/prosperity and to improve/housing, mass transportation, civic amenities and the like/ then the possibility of building a broad constituency would grow.

and expand
the
of the non-poor as well as the poor,

Conclusion

Some critics are treating the anti-poverty programs with distaste and prophesying disaster. We think this overstresses the inadequacies of the programs. Others are blithely convinced of assured successes to come. We think this view ignores the stunted character of the programs and their faulty engineering and organization. We would have liked to see a better designed and more far-reaching set of proposals and a more coordinated administration. But, to paraphrase President Johnson, this is the only war on poverty that we have. We have to learn what directions are more effective and how to move in those directions. We would have liked another beginning, but this is it. There is no guarantee of how far or how fast the war on poverty will move to alleviate the plight of the poor. Informed social analysis and increased political pressure will be needed to move the poverty campaign into more effective channels. High optimism curbs analysis; high pessimism cuts the involvement that will produce pressure. A strategy of analysis and change is the urgency of the day.

FOOTNOTES

* We are indebted to Bertram M. Gross, whose comments have affected the texture of much of the analysis. The preparation of this paper has been aided by grants to S. M. Miller from the Stern Family Fund and the Ford Foundation for study of the distribution of income, wealth and social services. The authors alone are responsible for the paper. Many have aided us by their criticism and comments: Ben B. Seligman, Richard Titmuss, Adrian Sinfield, Ida Merriam, Kurt Reichard, Sar Levitan, Harry Kranz and Robert Schrank. Fern Freel made the paper possible by translating scribbles into typed pages.

1 Bertram M. Gross has expressed the issue well in his discussion of "skeptical idealism":

> It would be intellectual blindness not to see all these negative potentialities. Our eyes can be opened and our eyesight cleared only by the searing frankness of skepticism.
>
> But skepticism alone is only part of realism. The other part is idealism, the vigorous formulation of positive potentialities in careful, flexible sequence from the present to the near future and onward to the distant future.
>
> This is no simple matter of a choice between the two. Either one without the other is self-defeating.
>
> The Managing of Organizations, New York: Free Press, 1964, Vol. II, p. 837.

2 Middle-range social analysis is further discussed in S. M. Miller, "Prospects: The Applied Sociology of the Center-City," in Alvin W. Gouldner and S. M. Miller, eds., Applied Sociology, Free Press, 1965.

3 Bertram Gross has forcefully argued that a perceived crisis is a necessary though not a sufficient condition for the introduction or

expansion of national planning. We do not believe that the civil rights thrust and the "disinvisibilizing" of the poor by social commentators created a "crisis," goading action. See B. M. Gross, ed., Planning Against Poverty, forthcoming.

4 Adam Walinsky, in a thoughtful article, questions the adequacy of this formulation. He argues that the status panic of the middle classes in America today will prevent investments in raising the relative status of the poor. Adam Walinsky, "Keeping the Poor in Their Place," New Republic, July, 1964.

5 Assistant Secretary of Labor Moynihan has asserted quite sharply this distinctive emphasis of "the war on poverty." Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Monthly Labor Review, 1964.

6 This view of poverty is developed in S. M. Miller and Martin Rein, "Poverty and Social Change," American Child, March, 1964. Reprinted in Louis Ferman, Joyce Kornbluh, and Tom Hayden, eds, One-Third of a Nation, forthcoming.

7 Lenore A. Epstein, "Income Security Standards in Old-Age," Research Report No. 3, Social Security Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1963, p. 4.

8 For a spirited criticism of the analysis of the triple revolution, see Charles E. Silberman, "The Real News About Automation," Fortune, January, 1965.

9 The scattered data are discussed in S. M. Miller and Martin Rein, "Poverty, Inequality and Policy," in Howard S. Becker, ed., Social Problems, New York: John Wiley and Sons, forthcoming. Poverty and inequality are frequently confused; in the article just mentioned we try to clarify the differences.

10 One glaring and surprising lack of sophistication appears in the current handling of statistics on poverty. The trend estimates show a decline in the percentage who are poor today compared to an earlier point, frequently 1947. The more recent year is used as the base year for price corrections. This type of index, the Paasche index, is known to lead to a high statement of the degree of fall over time. The alternative method, the Laspeyres index, which uses the early year as the base year, understates the degree of change. We do not argue that the Laspeyres index should have been used. What is singularly lacking in the trend statements is a discussion of the well-known, built-in bias of the statistical methods employed - - which, in this case, leads to overstatement of the degree of decline in poverty.

Incidentally, our own calculations show a startling reversal of the findings about a reduction in the extent of poverty. If 50 per cent of average family income is used as the poverty line, the percentage falling below this line has actually increased since 1947. We do not defend this procedure - - though it is an interesting one - - but only wish to point out the misplaced satisfaction with a single indicator in a situation which requires multiple sights of the nature of movement.

11 Economic Report of the President, January, 1964, Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, p. 58.

12 The range of criticism of the war on poverty is due, in part, to different assumptions about the extent of poverty in the United States. Komatsu defines the scope of the problem as coming close to 43 per cent of all American families (using a U. S. Department of Labor Family Budget standard), while the Minority Report of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare defines the scope of the problem as closer to 13 per cent of American families (using for its definition an unpublished study by Herman Miller which defines poverty as the proportion of families living below the prevailing public assistance standards of eligibility in each state).

13 The "incidence" of poverty refers to the percentage of a group, e.g., the aged, who are poor. "Composition" refers to the percentage of the poor who have a given characteristic, e.g., old-age. These distinctions are important because it is possible, for example, for a group having a high incidence rate of poverty to constitute only a small percentage of the poor. This is true of Negroes. Many of the writings on poverty -- though little of the work of the Council of Economic Advisors -- make this error.

14 Elizabeth Wickenden, in a mimeographed paper prepared for the National Social Welfare Assembly, 1964.

15
Leon Keyserling's discussion of the interplay of "cause" and "consequence" is very important. Conference of Economic Progress, Poverty and Deprivation in the United States, Washington, 1962.

16
We hasten to add that we do believe that attitudes are important in keeping some in poverty and that the attitudes of the poor have to be considered in the development of programs. We question whether attitudes are always the prime issue and whether they can be changed drastically in the absence of actual advances into the main society.

17
S. M. Miller, "The American Lower Class: A Typological Approach," Social Research, Spring, 1964. Reprinted in Reprint Series, Syracuse University Youth Development Center; in Arthur Shostak and William Gomberg, eds., Blue Collar World, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964; in Frank Riessman, Jerome Cohen and Arthur Pearl, eds., Mental Health of the Poor, New York: Free Press, 1964.

18
Clearly, the income differential between high school and college graduates is widening. At the same time, the advantage of a high school diploma over non-completion of high school is not always clear and decisive. See S. M. Miller, "The Outlook of Working-Class Youth" in Shostak and Gomberg, op.cit.

19
The basic data are from James N. Morgan et al, Income and Welfare in the United States, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963, p. 306. The analysis of the data is in an extraordinarily useful paper by Robert J. Lampman,

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

March 9, 1965

file - Poverty Act

MAR 10 1965

Geo - Mary see orig complaint

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York City, New York

Dear Jim:

I hear there's a complaint from CORE regarding poverty board representation in San Diego, California.

Any information you can give us on that would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Bill

William F. Haddad
Acting Assistant Director